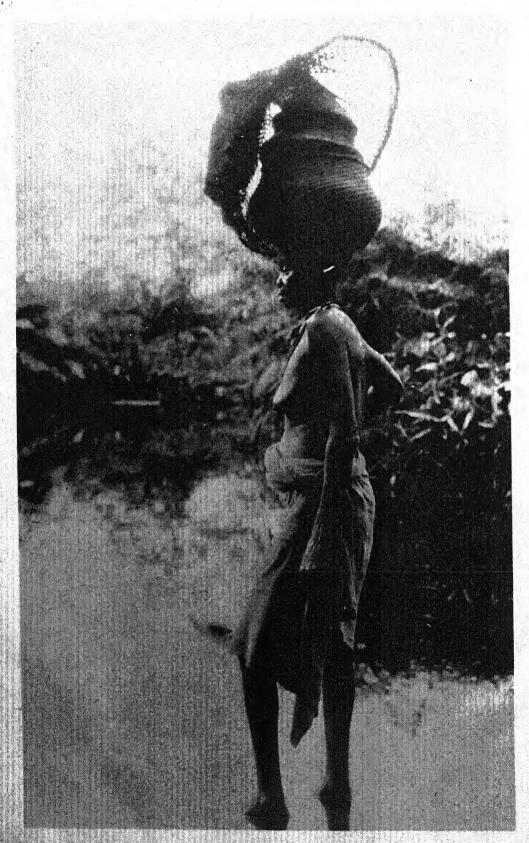
TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND



FRONTISPIECE: Woman carrying basket and dip net for fishing on her head.



FRONTISPIECE: Woman carrying basket and dip net for fishing on her head.

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VOL. XXXI

TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND

BY

GEORGE SCHWAB

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

BY

GEORGE W. HARLEY

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TO THE MEMORY OF HARVEY S. FIRESTONE

TO WHOM THE GRATITUDE OF THE LIBERIAN PEOPLE STANDS AS AN ENDURING MONUMENT IN THE HINTERLAND.



FOREWORD

IN 1916, when Oric Bates and I were work-I ing on the first volume of the Harvard African Studies, a man who said his name was George Schwab, a stranger to both of us, called at the Peabody Museum. He was short, broad, and thick, with a massive nose, a generous mouth, and twinkling eyes. He looked like a retired football guard, but he said he was a missionary. At that time my conception of a missionary was the wet cartoonist's idea of a prohibitionist. Oric and I had not talked to George Schwab for many minutes before we realized that he knew a great deal more about Africa than its mere need for the gospel. George Schwab had met more gorillas and chimpanzees and knew more about their habits than any other person we had encountered. He told us facts about the pygmies that we did not know and could not find in books. He displayed the most intimate knowledge of the anthropology of the Bantu tribes of the Cameroun. We very quickly decided that we wanted to see as much of this man as we could and that the Harvard African Studies and the Peabody Museum needed him.

George Schwab has been associated with the Peabody Museum as a collector and field investigator for more than 30 years. During most of this period he has been Research Associate in African Anthropology. However, Mr. Schwab has pursued his African studies as an amateur of anthropology. For nearly 50 years and up to the time of his retirement, he was a missionary to the Cameroun under the Presbyterian Board. During his leaves of absence from his African post, Mr. Schwab has usually spent a good part of his time at Harvard in the earlier years attending courses in anthropology, and subsequently, working upon the research material which he had collected for the Museum while in the

field.

A large part of the winter of 1918-19 was spent by Schwab and the present writer in compiling the sheets of a 1:1,000,000 map of Africa to be used by the Colonel House Committee in the Paris Peace Negotiations. That

it ever was so used seems improbable, but we, at any rate, added considerably to our own knowledge of African geography, ethnography, and the science of cartography.

Although Schwab would be the first to disavow a professional status in anthropology, he has read widely in his own field and is a keen and experienced observer of native character, customs, arts, and industries. While he is most intimately acquainted with the Bulu tribe of the Cameroun, it seemed to us, when we were planning an expedition to Liberia, that George Schwab and Mrs. Schwab (always his efficient collaborator) were best fitted to conduct the project. The present volumes are a part of the results of that expedition.

George Schwab has a quaint sense of humor which is always cropping out in his personal contacts and in his writings. It adds no little charm to his anthropological discussions and makes them difficult to edit without sacrificing the inimitable Schwab touch to the rigors of strictly scientific form and arrangement. I find Schwab's anthropological style most diverting and I know his materials to be ac-

curately and soundly appraised.

I cannot refrain from saying here that my own association over the years with George Schwab has been one of the most pleasant and profitable of my scientific career. He is a grand man, a top-drawer amateur of anthropology, and a loyal friend. It was a fortunate day for the Peabody Museum, and for me in particular, when he wandered in to talk to me about gorillas, pygmies, and West African ethnology. The reader of this vast monograph will certainly acquire much information about Liberia. I hope that he will also get to know George Schwab, a great Africanist and a profound student of man.

George Harley, who has so kindly consented to edit his friend's work, is equally well equipped by long residence with intimate knowledge of Liberia and its natives. For 21 years he has been a medical missionary at Ganta in northern Liberia, a point where the only road across Liberia joins the only road with French West Africa.

In this time he has built some 26 buildings, using only native help. Carpenters, masons, mechanics and medical technicians have all been trained by him on the spot. The buildings include dispensary, a school house, teachers' dwellings, sawmill, blacksmith's shop, 3 dormitories, a hotel, and leper colony. The medical work has been entirely self-supporting and Dr. Harley has sold a sort of health insurance to 50,000 natives and made it pay.

This intimate contact with the natives has brought him unusual opportunities for their study as has already been shown in his works, "Notes on the Poro in Liberia" and "Native African Medicine."

He has received the highest decoration given within the country by the Liberian Government. He is Medical Consultant to the U. S. Public Health Mission in Liberia and to the Firestone Liberia Construction Company. He is Liberian Health Officer for two Districts and their representative on a sleeping sickness commission. He is also connected with the U. S. Economic Mission.

The time and effort devoted by Dr. Harley to the editing, revising, and supplementing of the data of the Schwab manuscript makes him in effect virtually a collaborator if not a coauthor of this book. Dr. Harley actually spent a great part of two separate leaves of absence from his post in Liberia in working on the Schwab data.

The large mass of physical measurements and observations on Liberian tribes made by Schwab has been supplemented by even more extensive data independently gathered by Harley on the same tribal groups. This work on the physical anthropology of Liberia could not be included in the present volume, because the former is in itself a sizable monograph and would excessively enlarge what is already a huge work.

Over the period of years since the Liberian study, Harley has become as much of a research fixture on the staff of the Peabody Museum as his discoverer, Schwab. He is a medical scientist of distinction and, avocationally, a physical anthropologist of excellent standing. George Harley, although totally different in temperament from Schwab, is to be mentioned in the same breath with the latter as a splendid person, an accurate scientific observer, and an associate in African studies whom the Peabody Museum is proud to possess. I have never sat down to decide which of these men I admire more; I am almost unrestrained in my enthusiasm for both of them.

March 1, 1947 EARNEST A. HOOTON

PREFACE

THE Liberian hinterland has at last been drawn into the stream of rapidly changing conditions affecting the rest of primitive Africa. As elsewhere, this has been brought about by commercial expansion, plantation development, Government improvements, missions, and, not least, the building of motor roads.

In 1928 Mrs. Schwab and I set out to make an anthropological survey of the most important tribal groups before their cultures were broken down, to determine what elements in these cultures should be fostered and developed, to study the various problems of readjustment necessary for life under the new conditions, and to appraise the mission work

among the tribes observed.

We arrived at Monrovia in mid-January, accompanied by a Ngumba "boy" from the Cameroun who was to assist us in collecting zoölogical and botanical material. This boy had been in our employ as collector, taxidermist, and general handy man for many years. The remaining weeks of January were spent in making the local contacts necessary to travel in the interior and in getting ready for the

journey.

Our plans were based upon the advice of Dr. James L. Sibley, Director of the Advisory Committee on Education to the Republic of Liberia, who knew something of the interior, and who had consulted with Professor E. A. Hooton of Harvard University regarding this expedition. We planned to go first to the Mano and Gio tribes in northeastern Liberia, then to the Loma, via the Kpelle tribe, about whom Dr. Westermann has already written a monograph. After this, we were to return to Monrovia, our base, go to Cape Palmas, and from that point traverse the interior of eastern Liberia back to the Gio country. From there, we intended to go down through the Kru and Bassa country, coming out either at Sinoe or Grand Bassa.

The first part of the program was executed as planned. The second part, we were obliged to change for two reasons: the unusually heavy and long-continued rains made travel exceedingly difficult, and the scarcity of men in the

southeast made it virtually impossible to secure carriers. We were able to go only as far as the Tiế tribe, via the Grebo, "Half-Grebo," Palepo, and Sapã tribes; then we returned to Cape Palmas through the Konibo and went back to Monrovia.

Our intention to collect zoölogical and botanical, as well as ethnographical material, had to be given up when our Liberian cook became "indisposed" and left us after the first week en route, leaving no one but our Ngumba boy to do the cooking. Nor were we able to secure all the climatic data and route information we had hoped, because the compass, barometer, and other scientific instruments that were expected to be available for our use were not at hand.

These notes are necessarily very incomplete, especially where such abstract matters as religion, native science, and the like are concerned. Much of the information we did get on these subjects came from missionaries. The limitations of our interpreters, with whom we could communicate only through the Liberian brand of pidgin English, was a great handicap. It was with extreme difficulty that most of them could understand, or attempt to express themselves, even in this medium.

Another difficulty was the fear people everywhere had of giving any sort of information on any subject. "It might be told the Government" and thus, in some unforeseen way, bring trouble upon them. Or they might betray something that cult etiquette demanded should be kept secret; for such revelations they would

be heavily fined and punished.

"If you will give me two hundred shillings, I will tell you things, for I may be fined that much or more," was the reply of one chief.

"The chief is not here," was another answer, which meant that without first asking for and obtaining his permission, one could not talk. The amount of information obtained on any given subject can, therefore, be said to reflect inversely the degree to which our informants were influenced by the foregoing restraints.

Our degree of success in getting the correct pronunciation of native terms and phrases depended upon how many of the informant's front teeth had been removed for ornamental purposes. "We regret that, owing to the limitations of our interpreters, we were often unable to analyze phrases and separate them into component parts. In such instances, we have written as one word what is really a phrase.

A narrator's or interpreter's statement has now and then been given in the pidgin he spoke, because we felt that his thought was best

conveyed in that idiom.

When a fact is noted or a statement made regarding only one or a few of the tribes, it does not necessarily mean that the others are excluded; it may be that our information in

regard to them is incomplete.

In connection with superstitious practices, ceremonies, and the use of "medicines," we often state that thus and so "must be done," or that "it is necessary" to do this or that, or that to do or not to do somehing "means misfortune." We mean, of course, that the people believe certain results will follow and act in accordance with their beliefs.

It should also be remembered that there is not necessarily an ironclad formula for any of the practices, required of every individual of a tribe in certain situations. There are often individual as well as local variations. Writers who give the impression that this or that is always done by all members of any given tribe or clan, are on a plane with those Europeans who, gaining certain impressions after seeing and hearing a few tourists, declare that "all Americans are rich," or whatever else it may be.

To Dr. George W. Harley of Ganta in the Mano country, who kindly consented to edit the manuscript of the report, I am greatly indebted. Out of his knowledge gained during 21 years' residence in Mano, where he has had numerous contacts with members of the various tribes of northern Liberia, he has made many valuable criticisms and suggestions. These, together with his many notes on "medicine," smithing, religion, and burials have been incorporated in this report. Dr. Harley has also furnished drawings of traps and snares and his excellent map of Liberia.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Dr. Hooton for reviewing the manuscript and offering useful criticism.

To the Reverend H. T. Miller, we are in-

debted for a number of folk tales of the Mano, and also for some of their proverbs, collected at our request.

To Mr. Gustav Allersmeier, a young German merchant whom we met at Nyaaka in the Half-Grebo, we are much indebted for observations and for aid in clearing up many points on which only partial information could be got through interpreters.

In making the drawings from her field-note sketches, Mrs. Schwab was helped by Miss Frances Senska, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Senska of Sakbayeme, in the Cameroun.

We wish to express our thanks to the late Dr. J. L. Sibley, the Liberian Government's Adviser on Education; to various Government officials, the management of the Firestone Plantations Company, merchants, missionaries, native friends, and our carriers, without whose help and encouragement we could not have attained our objectives. We also wish to thank the Bernese Geographical Society for permission to use the map of the Loma Town, the Geographical Review for permission to reproduce pictures and tables, and Dr. Struck for permission to use his ethnographical map of Liberia and the surrounding territory.

We are indebted to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions for granting us an eight months' leave of absence in which to make the

expedition.

Finally, an expression of appreciation is due Mrs. Schwab, without whose loyal support and collaboration in securing information, working up the notes, and in other ways assisting and advising me, this report would not have been possible.

We hope that these notes will be received in the spirit in which they go forth. Should they come into the hands of anyone differing with us, or having conflicting, or more extended information on any of the matters herein treated, we would be grateful for word of it. The expedition was undertaken in the hope that whatever we might be able to do would be used by those living and working among the Liberian natives or by those who might sometime visit Liberia, as a basis for further research.

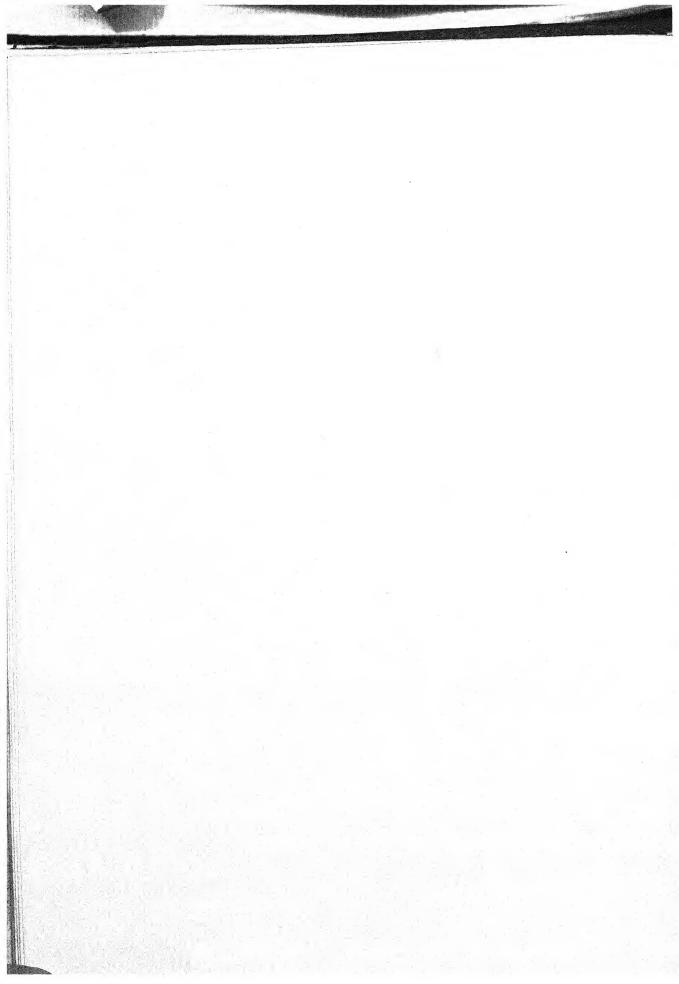
GEORGE SCHWAB

Sakbayeme, Edea, Cameroun, West Africa, 1931 Many of the deficiencies of our original report have ben made up by our own subsequent revision of the material, but, in larger measure still, by the wealth of expert knowledge of Liberian anthropology and by the editorial

labor that has been lavished upon this work by our collaborator, George W. Harley.

GEORGE SCHWAB

Winter Park, Florida, 1946



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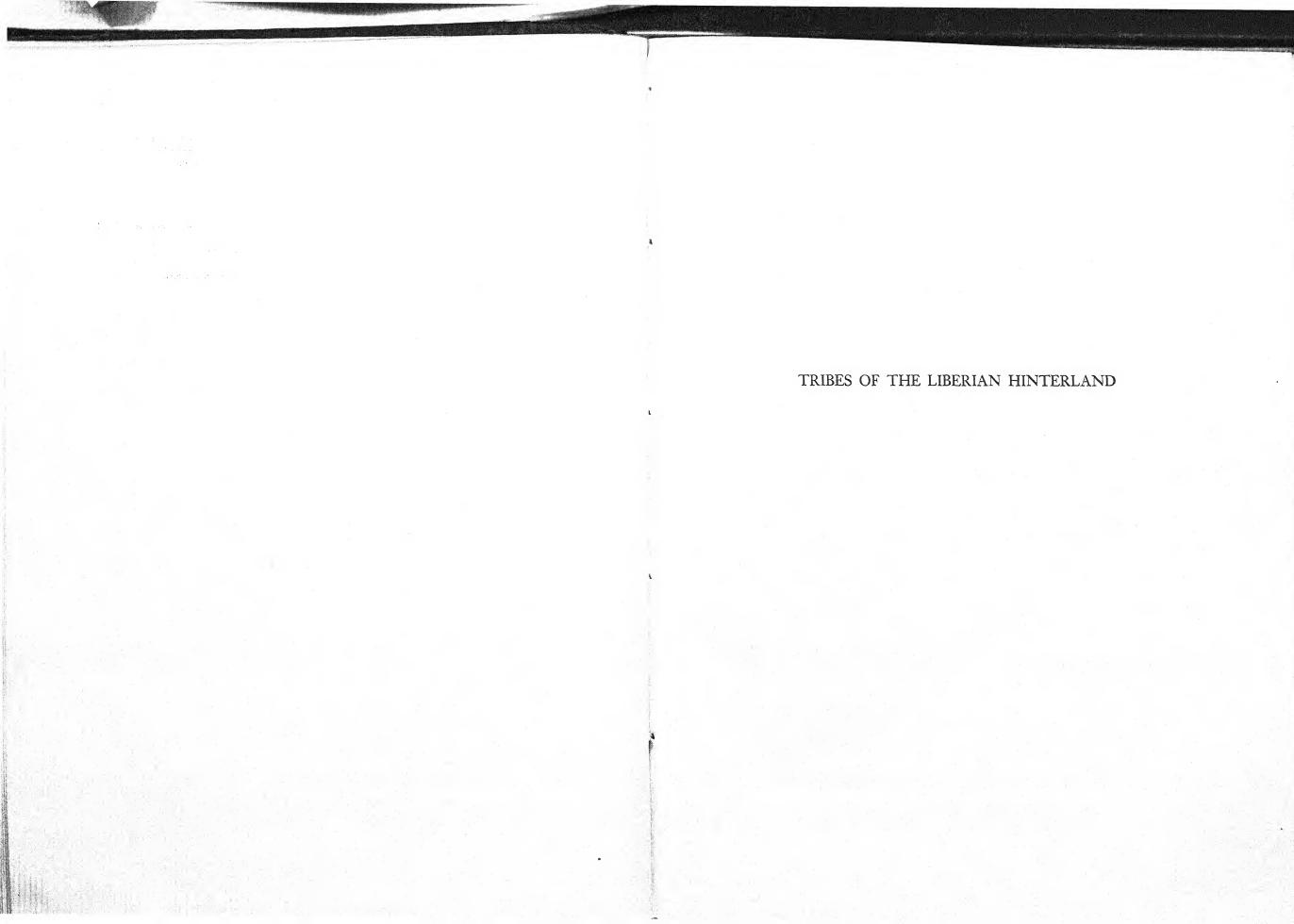
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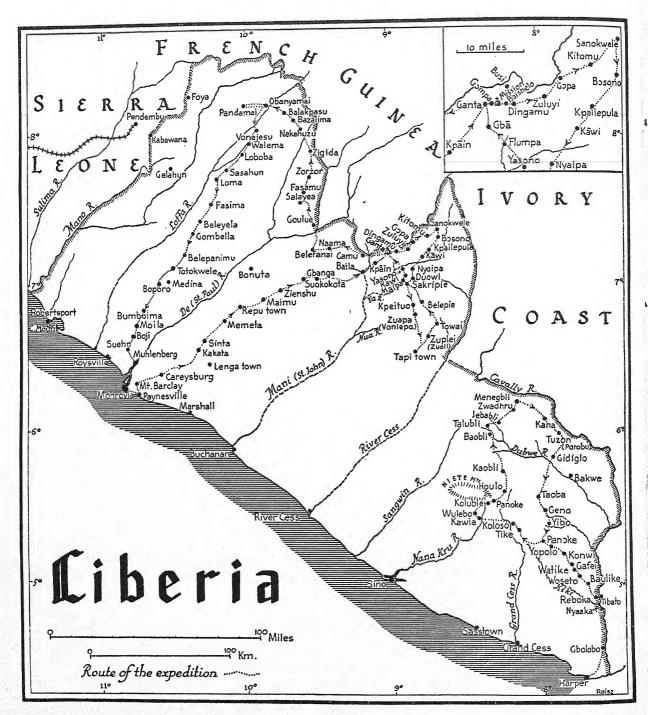


Fig. 1. Map of Liberia, showing route of expedition.

THE CALENDAR OF THE EXPEDITION

		months' leave of absence granted Mr.	May "	16, To Monrovia by truck.
and follows:	Mrs. S	chwab for the expedition was spent as		17-22, At Monrovia, packing ethnographical material and getting ready for sec-
January	4,	Sailed from the Cameroun.	44	ond journey. 23-26, Monrovia to Cape Palmas by steamer.
"	13,	Landed at Monrovia.	"	27–31, At Cape Palmas, assisting at Educa-
et.		In and around Monrovia, making nec- essary contacts and getting ready for the journey.		tional Institute held by Dr. Sibley, completing preparations for second
Fahrmary		Start for the interior.		journey, and awaiting transport.
February "	13,	Arrive at Ganta, the base for our work in Mano and Gio.	June	 Leave Cape Palmas and arrive at Ny- aaka on Cavally River.
44		Scout for a suitable location to begin	"	2-3, At Nyaaka, awaiting carriers.
	14-15,	investigations.		4-6, Nyaaka to Yopolo in Palepoland.
44	-6	Move to town of Busi.	"	7, At Yopolo awaiting carriers.
"	16,	At Busi.		8-13, Journey to Panoke in Sapaland, losing
46				two days en route waiting for car-
66	23,	Move to Zuluyi.		riers.
"	-	At Zuluyi. Move to Sanokwele.	66	14-22, At Panoke, of which two days were
"	27,			spent measuring people. Held up
	28-IVI	arch 1, At Sanokwele.		here several days for carriers.
March	2-7,	Sanokwele to Tapi Town in Gio. Held	44	23-26, Move to Baobli, in Tie. This was the
44		up two days for carriers at Sakripie.		hardest and worst part of our entire
**	8–19	At Tapi Town. Found the locality		travel.
		unsuited to our purposes, but forced	44	27, At Baobli.
		to remain because of lack of carriers.	66	28, Move to Zwadhru.
44	20-2 I	, Move to Towai.	"	29-July 3, At Zwadhru. Two days spent here
"	22-25	, At Towai, of which two days were		measuring people.
		spent measuring people.	July	4-5, To Gidiglo in Koniboland.
44		, Return to Ganta via Geland.	"	6-7, At Gidiglo awaiting carriers.
46	29-A	oril 1, At Ganta, measuring people and	"	8-10, Back to Yopolo in Palepo.
		getting ready to go to the Loma	"	11, Move to Gi in Sabo.
		country.	"	12-13, At Gi, measuring people.
April	2-4,	Move to Naama, Kpelle country.	"	14, Move to Walika.
	5,	At Naama, measuring people.	. 66	15, At Walika, awaiting carriers.
"	6-7,		"	16, Move to Nyaaka.
"	8,	At Salayea, looking over ruins of old fortifications.	"	17–18, At Nyaaka, packing ethnographical material and awaiting transport.
"	9, 1	Move to Zorzor in Lomaland.	46	19-20, Back to Cape Palmas.
- "	10-22	, At Zorzor. Spent three days measur-	**	21, At Cape Palmas, waiting for steamer.
		ing people. Held here because of	44	22-23, Back to Monrovia.
		lack of carriers.		24-August 22, At Monrovia, packing and
26	23,	Move to Zigida.		shipping ethnographical material col-
"	24,	At Zigida, awaiting carriers.		lected by the expedition, making
"	25-26	, Move to Pandamai, in Gbundeland.		short trips to near-by places, writing
- 46	27-N	lay 3, At Pandamai. Two days measur-		Report No. 1, on Mission work in
		ing people, held up for lack of car-		Liberia.
		riers.	"	23-30, From Liberia back to the Cameroun.
May	4,	Start for Monrovia.	Thus	there were spent a total of:
"	8,	Arrive at Beleyela in Beleland.		
"	9,	At Beleyela, awaiting carriers.	1.	18 days in getting to Liberia and back to the
"	10-1	2, To deserted site of Bumboima, where		Cameroun.
		carriers dropped us.		6 days at Cape Palmas.
**	13,	At Bumboima, awaiting carriers.	3	92 days in travel (and waiting for carriers) in
44	14-1	5, To Boji.		the interior.
			2	

TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND

- 4. 16 days in Mano.
- 5. 16 days in Gio.
- 6. 2 days in Kpelle.
- 7. 14 days in Loma.
- 8. 7 days in Gbunde.
- 9. 9 days in Sapā.
- 10. 6 days in Tie.
- 11. 3 days in Half-Grebo.
- 12. 2 days in Konibo.
- 13. The rest of the time 51 days at and near Monrovia.

Of a total of 75 days, passed among the various native peoples, 17 were occupied in finding and persuading people to allow themselves to be measured.

Our efforts to elicit information from hammock-men and carriers as we were on the march were not altogether successful. The general response was, "How man be fit talk palabah dee tam he go waga-waga [while walking]." This attitude is the same as that taken by the native of the Cameroun whenever we have attempted to get information while walking. To talk over matters, the primitive African must either be standing or seated, preferably the latter, never moving.

The days we were forced to wait here and there for carriers were not entirely lost with regard to getting information. Yet the necessity of persistently following and reminding the chief of our plight made it impossible to use the time as profitably as we might otherwise have done.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION OF VERNACULAR WORDS

WORDS in the vernaculars are written phonetically, in an adaptation of the standard phonetic symbols. In writing them, the following sound values have been used:

a — as in father.

a — as in cat.

e — as in fate.

 ε — as in met.

→ — as in f*u*n

(the short, indefinite vowel).

i — as in machine.

1 - as in fit.

o - as in fold.

o — as in jaw.

u — as in oo in food.

Vowels marked thus ~ are nasalized.

Where two vowels occur together, each has its own separate sound.

A colon following a vowel lengthens its usual sounds

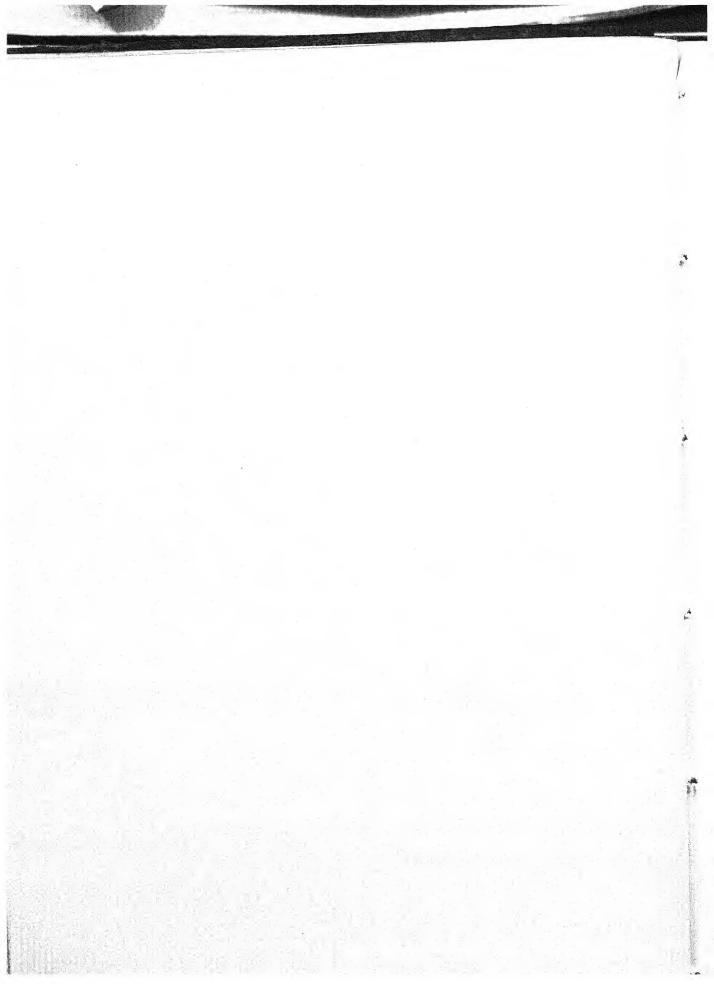
The consonants j and y have their usual English values.

The consonant c is not used.

The consonant r occurs rarely.

The conditions under which these notes were made did not allow any check on individual variations in pronunciation. Mistakes have most likely occurred between the following pairs of letters, which are often confused by the natives themselves, and are sometimes changed for euphony. Local variations are also confusing, often showing differences of pronunciation in different clans in the language area. Furthermore, lacking the standardization which would come with the writing of a language, various dialects are still in a fluid state, constantly adding new words and changing the pronunciation of old ones.

The sounds most easily confused are: b and gb; p and kp, m and km, v and f, d and t, l and d, r and l, m and n, s and z. Vowels are perhaps even more likely than consonants to vary, and the following are easily confused: o and o, o and o



PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE COUNTRY 1

WE BEGIN this study by describing in some detail the regions through which we passed. Apart from giving a rough sketch of the country's physical features, it may help to acquaint the reader with the natural environment of the tribes studied.²

Descriptions we had read of the physical features of the Liberian hinterland were of such a general and sometimes mistaken nature that we had formed a decidedly inaccurate mental picture of it. We had visions of such climbing as would qualify us for membership in some Alpine club. While some sections were rugged and broken, with a few hills that might be classed as low mountains, we failed even to sight those "towering ranges" with their six to ten thousand-foot peaks of which accounts persist. When, in the future, the final surveys are made, we shall be much surprised if an elevation of more than 4500 feet is found within Liberia's borders. The Nimba mountain mass, "approximately 6560 feet" and "the lofty Druple range — a mountain mass with an approximate altitude of 9840 feet," mentioned by Johnston, ile mostly in the French Ivory Coast territory.

The manner in which the Nimba mountain mass became French, according to the account volunteered by one of the most respected and best-liked District Commissioners of the Liberian hinterland, we give here in his own words:

"In 1916 I was commanding troops near the eastern frontier. Two French recruiters in search of natives to be sent to the war in France came along. They were going up into that wild country. When they got up into the part between the Cavally and the Cess rivers, they found we had not yet occupied it. The Cavally formed our eastern boundary, so this land between the two rivers was ours. But when they found we had not stationed troops or established posts there, they occupied it and took possession of it for their own country. We could do nothing. And it was I myself who found them the carriers, the Liberian men, for their recruiting expedition!"

SECTIONS OF COUNTRY

THE KPELLE COUNTRY

We left Monrovia by the motor road, which runs practically parallel with the coast through low, sandy, rather open country as far as Paynesville,⁴ then northeast to Mount Barclay Station (old rubber plantation), situated on a hill. At Mount Barclay the road turns north to Careysburg, which is some thirty miles from Monrovia by this indirect route. The country gradually becomes more rolling and less open, with marshes in the low places, which are flooded in the rainy season. Beyond Careysburg the motor road runs through part of the Firestone Plantation to Kakata. From here we

went on to Memeta by hammock, passing through rolling or hilly country where secondary forest was interspersed with farm clearings. Between the hills were sluggish streams, meandering through broad, swampy meadows dotted with raffia palms.

Between Memeta and Maimu, our third camp, the conditions were much the same, except that there were fewer and smaller streams. About midway between the two places we climbed a steep, rocky hill, reported to be 600 feet above sea level and 300 feet above the surrounding country. Here was the first waterfall. The slopes were covered with primeval forest.

Alldridge, 1901; Anderson, 1870; Büttikofer, 1890; D'Ollone, 1901; Johnston, 1906a; Moret, 1910; Seymour and Ash, 1860; Starr, 1903; Strong, 1930; Volz, 1910; Wallis, 1910.

⁸ Johnston, 1906b, vol. I, p. 482, and map, p. 496. ⁴ See route map (fig. 1) and large map at end of book; also Calendar, p. 3.

¹ This chapter was written by Mr. Schwab in 1928. Since then trails and accommodations for travelers have improved considerably. Many of the inconveniences he describes would not be experienced today. Harley,

²The most reliable travelers' accounts of Liberia and adjacent countries are as follows:

After Maimu, on to Zienshu, the way became rough and stony, going up and down over low, steep hills. The numerous streams were less sluggish, with narrow swamps bordering them. Where an extended outlook could be had,

higher hills were noted in the distance.

Gbanga was our next objective. We passed through Suokokota (the town of Suo Koko, a female paramount chief). Gbanga is an important center and the headquarters of the district on the Jaw (Zo or Zo) River from which the Jawquelli (or Zoguelle) section of the Kpelle tribe gets its name. The way was rougher, with alternating stony and gravelly stretches. Hills were somewhat higher than those between Maimu and Zienshu. More streams, with wider valleys, were encountered on this day's march. There was more original forest, and farm clearings were less frequent.

After leaving Gbanga the trail went up and down over an irregular line of hills for two hours. The soil, a pebbly laterite, made walking difficult for the carriers. We passed by the remains of an old iron furnace in this section. In most of the valleys, between the steep slopes, were broad, swampy places with slow streams. Beyond the hills was a sandy, rolling plateau which became more even as we advanced toward Galai, five and a half hours from Gbanga. From here on to Baila (Belela), the last Kpelle town, located on the St. John River, the land was rolling and forested, with stream beds 15 or 20 feet below the general level. The riverbank was broad and sandy. The channel, deep and sluggish, was spanned by the first hammockbridge we saw. There were shoals above and below this deep channel.

THE MANO COUNTRY

From the river it was a journey of two hours to Kpāin, the home of the first paramount chief we came to in Mano country. There we camped. Between Kpāin and Ganta (Gapa) was four hours' good going. Swampy meadows alternated with low-lying, rolling stretches practically all the way. Ganta is the headquarters of a paramount chief and the site of a Government station. It is only twenty minutes' walk from the east branch of the St. John, which forms the international boundary.

Ganta is located where an old trade route from French Guinea to the sea crosses the main

trail from northeast Liberia to Monrovia. Five river valleys join within 20 miles. The fertile land and comparatively easy walking have concentrated the population in this area. The people prefer scattered villages to large, central towns, since this makes it easier to go back and forth to their farms; but Ganta bids fair to become some day an important center. On the French Guinea side, west of Ganta, we noted one especially outstanding elevation. East of Zuluyi, which is about two and a half hours from Ganta, were wooded hills, the first real primeval forest we had seen thus far in Mano, the rest having been cut down by the natives for farming years ago.

From Zuluyi to Sanokwele, the headquarters of the district, is six hours' fair going. The route runs for some time near the St. John, over low ground which is flooded in many places during the rainy season. Gradually the route diverges from the river, near Kitoma, as it approaches a range of heavily forested hills, part of which is in French Guinea. This range extends northeast by east but seems to have a number of irregular outrunners toward the south, over which the road climbs. Sanokwele had a greater elevation than any part of the road so far, and still higher hills to the north and northeast could be seen from there.

In the swampy meadows, immediately surrounding the town, some of the streamlets had practically dried up. When we left this center we went south for a total of twelve and a half hours to Sakripie, camping at Nyaipa en route. There was a succession of rough and stony hills, mostly steep, one very high, before the Ya River was crossed, seven hours from Sanokwele.

The Ya is here the dividing line between the Mano and Ge tribes. The valley of this river is narrow and sandy at this point, but wide and fertile nearer the St. John, into which it flows.

GELAND AND GIOLAND

From Sanokwele to the Ya there were no swampy meadows. The fast-flowing streams ran over rocky ground until the Ya had been left behind. Then the streams became more sluggish and sometimes were flanked by swamps of varying width. The broadest of these formed a semicircle around Sakripie. The water and mud were waist-deep where we floundered through it.

We reached Kpeituo, the last Ge town on this route, in three and a half hours. En route we crossed a number of creeks bordered by fairly wide raffia swamps. These became fewer and narrower in the uninhabited forest beyond Kpeituo toward Vonlepa (Zuapa), the first Gio town. The soil was brownish clay or sand.

Tapi Town was seven hours from Vonlepa. Surface and soil conditions were almost the same as those of the previous stretch, with a tendency to hills near and around Tapi Town. From this place we noted two outstanding elevations some distance away, the one to east-northeast, the other west-northwest. When we left Tapi Town we went back a few miles over the route along which we had come, then turned northeastward. In three and a half hours from the fork in the trail we came to Zupui (Zuplei), passing Geinyaplei (Soplei, Catfishtown) on the way. Camping at Zupui the next day, we went six hours to Towai (Bãta, Zantowe, Zafua).

From Towai the next place, Belepie, was four and a half hours at a fair pace, mostly through high forest. The trail to Belepie seemed to lead more toward the west, turning from there northwest five and a half hours to Sakripie again. Between Belepie and Sakripie we passed six sizable towns, the most we had found anywhere in such a short distance. The country was about the same as from Tapi Town to Towai. There were no swamps the first half of the way, but after that we waded several broad ones.

After Sakripie we came to Maipa in less than an hour. This was the last Ge town on this route back to Ganta.

An hour more and we were at Kawi, a Mano community. This stretch led up and down over an irregular line of hills. Then, in two hours from Kawi, we came again to the Ya, having passed over more gently undulating ground and several swampy streams on the way. The clay riverbanks were steep; the waters very low. In the four hours from here to Ganta we crossed few swamps. The broadest, at a place called Gbã, midway between the Ya and Ganta, was crossed by a long, rickety stick structure. We felt as though we risked breaking through and being impaled on fallen sticks below, but nothing happened. The country was, in the main, either undulating or flat.

After we left Ganta for the last time we retraced our steps a few miles toward Gbanga, then turned west. Three hours' walking brought us to the St. John River higher up, where it receives a tributary from the northeast. Both confluents form part of the boundary between Liberia and French Guinea. Below this junction the St. John flows entirely through Liberian territory and forms the boundary between Mano and Kpelle country.

As our Mano carriers refused to penetrate any farther into Kpelleland, we camped at Gamu. This town is at the foot of a high hill, three hours west of the St. John and only a few miles from the French Guinea frontier. We could see many higher elevations, all of them on the French side.

From the river to Gamu the trail had first gone over undulating, then more and more hilly ground. Our Gamu carriers agreed to take us to Naama, five hours farther on, where they were due to begin cutting bush for a Government rice farm. The physical aspect of this region was more hilly and more heavily forested than that from the St. John River to Gamu.

Beyond Naama to Belefanai the way leads westward for two hours, then north from Belefanai across the St. Paul (Ding) River to Bangye and on to Goulue, six hours farther. Here the hills along the trail were still higher, especially to the west of the St. Paul, over which we went on a half-submerged floating bridge. At this point and as far in the distance as we could see the river bed was very wide and rocky.

Salayea, two and a half hours from Goulue and slightly northeast of it, was the last Kpelle town on this part of the route. Between these two points the trail led us over ever higher and steeper hills, with deep gullies between. In these ran streamlets with muddy banks that were no joy to the carriers.

LOMALAND

Upon leaving Salayea we were soon out of Kpelleland for the time being. An hour and a half's walk brought us to Fasamu, the first Loma village. Three hours more and we were at Zorzor (Zozo). We were now in mountainous northwest Liberia, the region whose reputed peaks and ranges had made us appre-

hensive before we started. Between Salayea and Zorzor the route went up and down, but it was considerably easier going than it had been

from Naama to Salayea.

We visited the small town of Yala, an hour and a half's good walk north of Zorzor, to interview some old men reputed to know the ancient history of the Loma. "Their ancestors were clams," for they shut up tight when they saw our hand move toward a pencil. Yala is on the bank of the Niunda River, which flows into the St. Paul a few miles above the point where we crossed. Flowing somewhat south of east from its source to its junction with the St. Paul, it forms the boundary between this section of Liberia and French Guinea. Below the junction, the St. Paul flows through Liberian territory, duplicating exactly the situation described above for the St. John.⁵ The bridge was down, and not caring to wade to the waist in the muddy stream bed, we did not cross to the French side. At Yala on the Liberian side is Pillar No. IX of the northern boundary survey.

Obstacles on the way to Yala were two broad swamps with tiny streams and a steep, coneshaped hill. From this hill, an old town site, we had an outlook over the region round about. While the surface was very hilly, sometimes with broad valleys, the elevation was secondary to that in the region of Zigida, six hours north of Zorzor. From the height on which the Government military post is built, we had a wonderful panoramic view of the country in three directions. To the west were the Walo Mountains, the highest and most broken range we had yet seen, running in a general north-south direction. To the east, on the French Guinea side, were several isolated peaks, the northern sides of which were bare rock or grass-covered.

There seems to be much ironstone, or possibly even magnetic iron ore, in all the geological formations of northwestern Liberia. Wallace mentions the erratic behavior of his compass when he traveled here in 1908.6 Many of the local residents believe that this is a cause of the terrific thunderstorms at Zigida. The commanding officer of the local garrison and Dr. Lape of the American Lutheran Mission informed us that these storms were severe beyond description. Nowhere else

in Liberia had they ever heard such crashes. While there was no storm during our short stay at Zigida, those which occurred while we were at Zorzor were as wild and violent as any we ever care to experience.

After seven hours of toilsome ascent, and often a scrambling descent over precipitous rock that would "gladden the heart of a goat," we crossed the range west of Zigida and were at Nekehuzu. Between it and Zigida there was no other village. It is on the Laowa (Nawa) River, a branch of the Loffa. The sandy valley was level, and over a mile wide where we traversed it. Two more hours of walking over hillocks brought us to Bazalima (Baziga), the last Loma community through which we passed.

GBUNDELAND

Continuing for another hour and a half over the same sort of ground we reached Balakpasu (some of its inhabitants call it Blakplasu), the first Gbunde village.

This place was perched on the top of a circular, domelike elevation rising some 250 feet above its surrounding broad and swampy meadows. In the old days these had formed an excellent defense for the place during the rainy season. From this eminence, high hills were to be seen in all directions. Between here and Pandamai (Kpwademai), our next camp, the trail led mostly over rolling or fairly level ground for seven and a half hours. Once it skirted the foot of a sizable elevation near Obanyamai, a town about halfway between Balakpasu and Pandamai. We crossed a few streams, which ran in narrow valleys.

Pandamai lies at the eastern foot of a hill which, with several more, seems to be the northern offshoot of the irregular Walo range. The highest mountain reaches a height of some 4000 feet. It is partly from these mountains that the place "gets its strength," we were informed. Before it is a plain several miles wide.

Our next objective was Vonejesu, south of Pandamai, the last Gbunde town on our route. From Pandamai the way led back to Obanyamai and thence on to Bedezea, a small eighteen-hut village situated on a hilltop. While the trail again went up and down over numerous hillocks, there was only one real hill to cross.

⁸ See p. 9. ⁶ Wallis, 1910, p. 285.

Streams were rapid, but of a negligible size, without fringing swamps. Our men, having already walked seven hours and finding friends and food plentiful, suddenly discovered that Vonejesu was "so far away it could not be reached before dark, dark night" (very late). So camp it was. It took us three and a half hours to get there the next morning, recrossing the Loffa River and finally passing over a fairly high range we had seen from Bedezea the previous day.

Vonejesu is two and a half hours from the left bank of the Loffa. In the vicinity are a number of peaks, including Mount Helvetia, which was named for his country by the unfortunate Swiss explorer, Volz, who in 1907

met his death in northern Liberia.

Another two hours of walking brought us to Walema, a Gbande town. This lies on the Mvale, a river of respectable size even at the time we crossed it on a hammock-bridge, though the rains had begun but recently.

Continuing onward from Walema for threequarters of an hour, we climbed a hill of rock, bare except for patches of the short grass, used for thatch, growing where soil had accumulated. From the top we could see hills in all directions, some with bare, sheer sides and forested tops. The range of peaks near Vonejesu stood out in bold relief, with a line of lower elevations to the west. Two more miles brought us to Koilazu, a new village in process of construction near the edge of a steep, rocky escarpment, down which we scrambled for two hundred feet into more even country. From here on to Lobobo, the last Gbande town, an hour and a half to Koilazu, there were only slight hills, and so on to Sasahun, the first Belle town, which we reached near midnight.

Loboba is on the Laowa River, a good-sized stream. Its valley is fairly wide and sandy in this region. Other streams that we crossed this day were small, running between clay banks

without bordering meadows.

BELLELAND

'The Belle inhabit a narrow plain, which we crossed in a zigzag from north to south. From Sasahun to Fasima was eight hours' going at a medium pace. For the first three hours we continued across the undulating plain.

8 Volz, 1910, pp. 201 ff. See also fig. 6.

On the edge of the plain stood Loma, the infamous, the one old Liberian town of which, thanks to Volz, we have an accurate and detailed description and plan. It has lost its former glory. At the time we passed through it fewer than a hundred half-dilapidated houses remained standing. The place had as neglected and dirty an aspect as any we had seen.

After the plain came a range of hills running in a northeasterly direction. We had several hours of hard going up and down over stony trails before we came upon more of the bare rock formations. From one of these we looked out over a wide valley in which lay Fasima at the foot of another range, and scrambling down the steep rocks, we reached it without difficulty. The streams we encountered this day were mostly very small and swift, running over stones and rocks, with innumerable little waterfalls in their courses.

Leaving Fasima in its little valley we reached Beleyela in five hours. For several days we had heard about the "terribly high hills" we would find in this stretch, but this was only another exaggeration. By this time we placed little value on advance information regarding routes. There was one long but gently mounting slope, then bad climbing up and down over broken ground, until we had crossed the watershed and emerged upon the edge of a high cliff. From this point we had a view over miles of country in three directions. Beyond a wide and uneven plain, extended range after range of hills of varying height. Goat-fashion, we got down the abrupt and rocky descent, then went on over smaller hills to Beleyela, once a large and important center, now only thirtyfive huts. From there on to Banga, the last Belle town, was two and a half hours. Twice we crossed the Tuma River, an affluent of the St. Paul.

KPELLELAND AGAIN

An hour from Banga was Gombella (Komboto), a new Kpelle village, and four and a half hours beyond this, the few still standing huts of deserted Belepanimu on the Garlo Creek. This flowed through a wide and swampy flat. This whole day, we had been going over a gently undulating land without a hill of any consequence.

To Totokwele on the Toto, whose winding course we crossed five times, was six hours' slow going over a number of hills. The highest, Mount Kpo, was a stiff climb. Boporo was two hours from Totokwele. This, the farthest interior reached by Büttikofer, was a sad relic of its former state. Only nine huts remained, and some of these were scarcely habitable. Although it is supposedly a Kpelle town, at present only a handful of degenerate Mandingo traders were living there, with a few Kpelle laborers. The surrounding region was hilly,

especially to the south and southwest.

What had been Bumboima (Baboma) was six slow hours from Boporo. We walked nearly all the way because of innumerable trees and vines lying across the disused trail, crossing small streams bordered with deep mud for some distance on either side, and thankful that there were only low rises on this stretch. When we reached our destination the carriers, refusing to go farther, dropped us and our loads and with a whoop departed for Boporo, while we bemoaned our fate. This town in the primeval forest had been reduced to three huts, only one of which was inhabited or, for that matter, habitable. In a leaky shelter behind the inhabited house we found pieces of heavy stone which proved to be high-grade iron ore. They belonged to a local hunter, who intended breaking them up for shot to use in his "gaspipe" gun. Further inquiry disclosed that all the hunters of this region used ore for shot. We learned that there were high hills of this sort of ore formation only an hour's walk back of the town. To prove it the occupant of the habitable hut sent two men who were temporarily staying in the tumbledown houses to get some larger pieces. They were back in a little more than two hours, each with a small heavy chunk.

Moila (Molo, Mora), also a ghost-town, was reached after five and a half hours' slow walking from Bumboima. Between the two towns was Yakpwelle, a town of eight huts. The name means "red [or yellow] water people," or "people beside the muddy stream"; no misnomer, certainly, judging by the dirty water through which we floundered and the muddy banks and sandy bed we encountered. Nearly

all other streams waded this day flowed in rocky or sandy beds. We crossed only a few hillocks.

From Moila to Bau (Bow) was an hour, and from there on to Boji (Bodje) another hour. The chief of Bau said that this was the last Kpelle town. Boji is half Gola and half Mandingo, with a chief for each half of the town.

The motor road from Monrovia toward the interior had been completed to Boji. The road goes continually up and down over hills which seem to be the outstanding feature of this whole region. This road passes through the incorporated village of Arthington, peopled by Americo-Liberians. Two miles beyond we reached the St. Paul River, at Muhlenberg, where we took a boat for Monrovia.

While the first rapids of the St. Paul are at Muhlenberg, the river is safe for small-boat navigation only as far as White Plains, three miles farther downstream. From this point the country is flat with low, rolling hills seldom visible from the river on account of high wooded banks and thick mangrove swamps.

HALF-GREBOLAND

The point of departure for our trip through southeastern Liberia was the town of Harper, which we reached by boat from Monrovia. This place is at Cape Palmas, a fingerlike promontory—according to Johnston, "an attenuated headland plumed with groves of cocoanuts." ¹⁰ Sadly depleted today are thy former groves, O Cape Palmas!

The highest point of the crest of this narrow promontory may be a hundred feet above the sea, ever thundering against its rocky sides. The statement we recently read in a geography, that it is "about 300 feet high," is based upon

misinformation.

From Harper we went to Gbolobo on the Cavally River, about 35 miles to the northeast. The Firestone Plantations Company was improving the motor road here, because it led on through their Cape Palmas plantation.

Low, with marshy flats, at first, the surface became rolling, then hillocky, as we approached Gbolobo. Two houses, the one a customs office, the other the customs agent's living-quarters, were all that was left of this former town, lo-

Büttikofer, 1890, pp. 169 ff.

¹⁰ Johnston, 1906b, vol. I, p. 474.

cated on an eminence about 150 feet above the river.

From here we proceeded in a dugout canoe up the river as far as it is navigable. The banks were flat with an occasional low bluff or elevation. These lowlands must be flooded during the heavy rains, as the high-water mark at the village of Nyaaka was much above the average level of the flats. At Nyaaka, on both sides of the Cavally, are high hill masses.

Going north from Nyaaka over some hillocks we crossed the Kiki (Gigi), a large affluent of the Cavally. Recent heavy rains had caused it to overflow its low-lying right bank for over a quarter of a mile and the higher left bank for some distance. From there on the route was sometimes undulating, sometimes hilly. We noted low hills on all sides wherever an outlook was possible. The small towns of Baulike and Woseto, at which we camped, were on top of the highest elevations in this day's march. Woseto was five and a half hours from the Kiki. To Yopolo from there was eight and a half hours. Only a few small hillocks were seen, the surface being undulating, even fairly level in places.

From the Kiki to Yopolo and thence to Koloso, six hours farther on, the streams were small, slow, and with low and generally muddy approaches to their swampy bordering meadows. Several of these were of a respectable width. The country round about was more hilly than that through which we had come

sinće leaving Nyaaka.

Tike, an hour before Koloso, is on a steep and very narrow, rocky height, which scarcely affords space for its eighty huddled huts. We perspired up one side, only to slide down the other. We were then in a narrow valley, where we recrossed the Kiki, only some three yards wide at this point. From here by a long straight climb we reached Koloso, 400 to 500 feet above the valley. Leaving this town, we scrambled and slid down the precipitous side opposite. From here it took our men six and a half hours at an easy pace to reach Kawia. An hour later we came to Wulebo, the last Half-Grebo village, a forlorn-looking place of twenty-four dilapidated huts. The only hill of any consequence on this part of the trail was near this village. We met only a few westward-flowing streams.

It took us six hours to go through the forest from Wulebo to Koluble, the first Sapā town, for the trail was bad, going through much swamp and along muddy, swollen watercourses. In the dry season, when the stream beds form the trail, a good walker might do it in three hours. The country looked like a rolling plateau.

SAPALAND AND TIELAND

A trek of an hour and a half over low, wet, muddy ground took us from Koluble to Panoke (Palo), where we were obliged to camp for some time. Most of the way we followed the course of a stream. In the vicinity of Panoke are the Niete "Mountains." The one nearest this small village is believed to be the abode of all good spirits of deceased members of the Kru group. Beside it is a lower elevation, the reputed abode of their bad spirits. Which of the two had the greater spirit population was not stated.

Because of our utter inability to secure carriers, our movements in Sapa and Tie were re-

stricted to a very small area.

Quitting this supposedly spirit-infested locality, we started for the Tiɛ country. Along this route, all but four tiny villages with a total of forty-nine huts had been abandoned. People were living scattered and hidden in the forests to escape the plundering Liberian messengers and soldiers. The trails were overgrown with

almost impenetrable jungle.

As nearly as we could guess, not having seen the sun because of incessant mists, drizzle, or rain, our general direction from Panoke was first northeasterly, then west of north, and then again northeast to the first Ti\(\tilde{\text{town.}}\) Two hours' easy going over somewhat uneven ground brought us to the first and largest of the four surviving villages on this route. There were several tiny streams and two narrow, muddy swamps to pass over on this stretch. For seven and a half slow hours, the trail followed streams or went through swampy bottoms. Again the surface was uneven but without a hill. We camped in the last Sap\(\tilde{\text{a}}\) village.

From there to our next camp was ten hours of slow going. We crossed and recrossed streams and went through muddy bottoms, bogs, and raffia swamps all day. These raffia swamps are the worst of all, with the deepest

of slimy black ooze and hidden sharp projections. The surface features were a continuation of those of the previous stretch. The place at which we camped for this night had been recently deserted, rice fields and all. A few of

the huts were still habitable.

At the foot of the rise on which the abandoned village stood was the broadest swamp traversed on the whole expedition. It took over an hour for our few hammock-men to get us through this deep morass. There were also a number of smaller swamps, two large creeks, and many small streams to be crossed that day. Sometimes the sandy beds of streams formed the trail. Toward Baobli, the first Tie town, the ground became stony and more uneven. We heard rapids and small waterfalls. The streams had rocky beds. The town itself was on the first real hill we had come to since leaving Panoke. Our hammock-men groped, stumbled, and crawled up its steep rocky slope in the dark, having traveled thirteen hours that day. Our lighter-loaded carriers had made the distance in ten. The country toward the north and east was somewhat hilly, as far as we could

Our next objective was Zwadhru, called on some maps Tchien, the headquarters of the district. We found it to be five and a half hours away. This part of the route was sometimes up and down, but in the main the surface was rolling. Less than two hours from Baobli, we came to the Dugbwi, the Cavally's largest affluent. At this time in moderately high flood, it was about 150 feet wide. A mile this side of Zwadhru, we came to a wide swath cut in the primeval forest and partly cleared but already overgrown again with vines and shoots. We supposed this clearing was to have been a rice farm and asked why it had been abandoned. We were informed that it was a "motor road." Beginning at the Government post, it soon petered out in this wilderness. In its overgrown state, with fallen-in stick "bridges," walking on it was far more difficult than in the untouched forest.11

About Zwadhru were broad swamps, through one of which we floundered when we left the

next day for Gidiglo in Konibo. We had been told that good walkers could do it in a "long day" (sunrise to dark). It took our men seventeen hours (two days).

Menegbli (Menyebli) was two hours from Zwadhru. Along the two days' route between there and Tuzon, headquarters of the assistant district commissioner of the next district, we saw deserted towns or former town sites. In one of these, about half-way between the two Government posts, we camped. The ground was fairly even, with some rises, along the first section of the trail, but soon after we left our camp, we saw a number of high rocky hills and went over one. Some distance farther on was another, whose top formed a long, very narrow ridge, sloping abruptly on three sides. Down one of these we scrambled. In general, the trail was of an easy grade, as it usually followed streams. Fortunately, these had receded some, the rains having become lighter, or this route would have been impassible. Marks and mud on trees and slopes indicated that the low places had been covered six feet deeper than we found them. As it was, the water came up to the armpits of our men at a number of stream crossings.

From Gidiglo in Konibo back to Yopolo in Palepo (Padebu) was another "long day in the dry season." We agree with our informants; it took us eighteen hours, not counting stops

for men to rest, eat, and sleep.

Less than an hour after leaving Gidiglo we again came to the Dugbwi River, over 300 feet wide at this spot. Its racing current made crossing on the small, rickety raft an adventure fit for a movie thriller. The way led along and through muddy tributaries of the Dugbwi with no rises of any consequence. Because the towns along this entire stretch had been deserted, the Government had recently ordered a minor chief to build a refuge for travelers. We reached this haven — supposedly six hours from Gidiglo - after seven and a half hours' going. From this place on to Panoke in Palepo (not to be confused with Panoke in Sapa) we crossed numerous small streams, sometimes meandering through raffia swamps. There was much going

[&]quot;These conditions have been cleared up. There is now a good hammock road throughout this area. G.W.H.

up and down over undulating and sometimes hillocky ground, most of the latter toward Panoke. In the region around this town were many high and rocky hills. About two miles from it we went down the abrupt side of one of these into a little valley. Much of the soil seemed too poor for the rice which was planted in it.

From Panske it was one hour back to Yopolo. Proceeding then to Nyaaka, we followed the same route over which we had come, and so down to Cape Palmas.

SUMMARY

The foregoing details give something of a cross section of the regions occupied by the

various tribes. From these we may make certain generalizations:

The Gbunde and Loma live in a broken and, on the whole, rather elevated part of the country. They are mountaineers, if we may use this term to designate any people in Liberia.

The Mano, GE, and Gio country is lower, undulating or hilly in the south, becoming more uneven and very hilly, even somewhat mountainous as one proceeds toward the north.

In Half-Grebo, Sapā, and Tiē, the surface is more or less undulating or hillocky, with elevations here and there attaining a respectable height. A number of these are in Palepo. There are several "mountain" masses in Sapā and Tiē, only one of which we saw.

THE STONE PEOPLE

We heard three reports, 11a two in Gio, the other in Tië, that we should have liked to investigate. Unfortunately, carriers were not obtainable to do so. The first report was to the effect that at a certain place in Bo, near Gio, there is a big rock with feathers in it, on a hill; and either in or near this rock there are stone people. The second was that at the town of Venye in Boboland there was a cave in a hill, an old assembly place, where there were said to be a drum and drumsticks and many other objects, and people, all of stone. "This hill is so big that the sea can be seen from its top. Wild cattle [buffalo] graze there unafraid."

The Tie report went these one better. Half a day from Paramount Chief Be's town (Bobosi) there was a whole petrified town, it was said, near a big hill from the top of which the whole country could be seen.

"The people, turned to stone, can be seen doing just what they were engaged in at the time. There are two men, one whispering into the ear of the other; a woman looking for vermin on the head of another; a pregnant woman sitting down; a woman grinding pepper; and many other things.

"It was a town of Talabo people. The whole family was made into stone in this way:

"A big breeze [wind] called zeleve came from the direction of the setting sun and asked to be allowed to pass through that town. The Talabo people refused the zeleve permission to do so, whereupon it became angry and turned them and everything else into stone."

WEATHER CONDITIONS IN THE INTERIOR

Comparatively little has been written concerning the rainfall of these parts of the country. It may be of interest, therefore, to give the records that were kept at Ganta for three and a half years. The rainfall here is approximately half what it is on the coast. For 1927 it was 81.68 inches. The next year it was 84.55. The year 1929 was dry enough to endanger the harvest, so that people made rain

Probably all refer to the same legend, as all name Bo or Bobo as the site.

¹² See figs. 2-5. See Harley, 1939, pp. 258, 460, for

medicine. The rainfall in that year was 68.12. The year 1930 was back to normal again with 31.4 for the first six months. The rainfall is also more evenly distributed throughout the year than it is in the coastal area.

A very distinct change in the weather is caused by the harmattan winds, which are first felt as light, cool breezes in the latter part of December and sometimes blow steadily for a

record of the six-year period. Continued to 1945, the record shows the annual average to be 83.37 over the twenty-year period.

RAINFALL 1927 (Total 81.75 inches) Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. Aug.* July June Mar. Apr. May Feb. Jan. 1.00 .38 -75 1.00 1.50 .38 .25 1.25 .25 .13 .50 -75 .25 .38 .25 2 1.00 .25 1.00 -75 1.25 .25 3 1.00 .62 1.06 .13 4 .25 1.25 5 6 .88 .62 1.12 .62 .13 .13 .13 7 8 2.12 .06 1.00 1.12 1.38 .13 .25 .75 9 .38 .25 .06 10 .50 .25 .об .13 11 .38 .50 1.00 1.00 .06 4.00 12 .38 13 .13 .94 .75 14 .25 1.50 15 .62 16 .25 .13 17 1.00 -75 .13 .50 18 .88 .19 .06 .25 .06 .I 3 19 .88 .25 .25 20 .62 ٥٥. 1.88 .62 -75 1.38 2 I 2.38 1.00 .50 1.12 .13 .13 .об .o6 1.38 .50 23 .13 .06 .50 24 1.00 .06 .38 .75 25 .38 1.38 .13 .25 3.00 .25 26 ക .38 .50 3.05 1.25 .50 .13 .25 27 ..25 .50 .75 1.00 28 .25 1.00 .88 ക .75 29 .38 .50 .13 .75 .50 30 .13 .13 31 4.69 5.88 0.88 18.13 2.89 15.38 10.92 9.43 Totals 0.00 3.76 7.44 7.57

* This year the "middle dries" came in August, two weeks later than usual.

Fig. 2. Daily rainfall during 1927 at Ganta.

week in January. These winds are exceedingly dry, coming from the north, and by rapid evaporation make the days and nights seem cooler than the thermometer would indicate.

Most of the regular rains come at night. There is seldom a day in any part of the year when it is not possible to spend considerable time at work out of doors. Sudden tropical downpours do occur but they are seldom unexpected. They usually come just about sunset, arising in the northeast. During the months of March and October, these are likely to be accompanied by considerable wind having the pattern of a tornado. It is seldom strong enough, however, to blow the thatch off a house.

During the three years covered by the records, only one month in each winter was entirely dry. This was January in one winter and December in the other two. In each instance, the other of these two months was next driest, with an average of one inch for the month. Following these two months of comparatively dry weather, the amount of rain increases gradually until June, then decreases somewhat. The second increase comes in the latter part of August, and September is the wettest month of the year. October and November see a rapid decrease in the amount of rainfall.

With the July and August decrease, there is great likelihood that a week or two will pass without any rain at all. This period is known as the "little dries." At this time, the Mano people hurriedly prepare and plant their small patches of cotton.

In figure 2 is given the rainfall for 1927 as

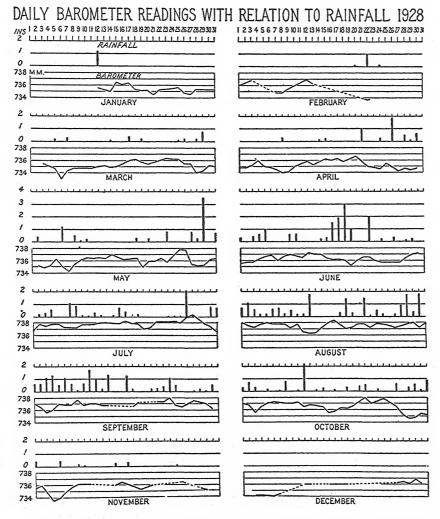


Fig. 3. Daily barometer readings with relation to rainfall during 1928 at Ganta. (The barometric readings were taken at 2 A.M.) Courtesy of the Geographical Review (vol. 29, fig. 21, p. 458).

recorded day by day. In figure 3 is shown graphically the relation of barometer readings to rainfall in 1928.

It was seldom possible, by keeping watch on the barometer, to predict rain, as the readings in figure 3 very clearly show. There is, however, a distinct seasonal variation, with a low reading of 735.4 for the dry month of January and a gradual increase to 737 and above for the wet months of July and September.

In figure 4 the rainfall for three and a half years has been graphically portrayed. This is summarized in figure 5.

The following extracts from the journal may be of interest, as they give further information on the living conditions:

1928 Jan. 1. Dry - but comfortable.

Jan. 13. Unusual rain last night – cooler and cloudy.

Feb. 1. Harmattans - cool nights - dry winds.

Feb. 8. Hazy - very dry.

Mar. 8. Rains have started, middle of day often sultry, air clearing up, dews heavier.

Mar. 11. Heavy wind storm - no rain.

Apr. 4. Flight of ants on Apr. 1. Good cool nights.

TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND

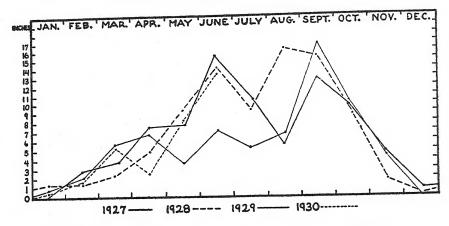


Fig. 4. Rainfall for three years and six months (1927-30) at Ganta.

Month	1927	1928	1929	1930
January	0.00	1.20	0.80	0.50
February	2.87	1.25	1.95	1.40
March	3.75	2.20	5.70	5.30
April	7-43	4.95	5.67	2.50
May	7.56	9.00	3.70	8.30
Tune	15.37	14.20	7.15	13.40
July	10.93	9.40	5.40	• • •
August	5.87	16.40	6.80	• • •
September	13.06	15.50	16.90	
October	9.31	8.80	9.65	
November	4.68	1.65	4.40	
December	0.85	0.00	0.00	• • •
	81.68	84.55	68.12	31.40

 $F_{IG.}$ 5. Summary of rainfall for three years and six months (1927–30) at Ganta.

Apr. 10. Cloudy cool morning - looks like rain.

Apr. 21. Hail 2:30 P.M. – much wind and onehalf inch precipitation, more rain with a little wind at night.

Apr. 29. Typical spring rains at night – days clear and hot.

May 1. Sudden showers occasionally in the daytime.

May 10. "April showers" continue, usually in the afternoon.

May 16. Slight morning shower and thunder.

fune 1. Occasional showers in the evening.

June 20. Rain time has come. It rains almost every night, but seldom interferes seriously with our work during the

July 1. Less rain and cooler. Some very pleasant days.

July 16. Weather very damp and chilly, little sun. Garden too wet to dig in. Trees transplanted are doing well. July 20. Two dry days.

July 31. Rainy mornings – too wet to work outdoors until toward noon. Damp and chilly indoors.

Aug. 15. Drizzly days – a little sun in afternoon – two thunder showers.

Sept. 1. Showers with more sun than last month.

A distinct tendency to rain, mostly at night. Light cool breezes — we all have colds.

Sept. 12. A few sunny days with showers —
occasional thunder — no wind storms
yet — mostly too wet to work outdoors.

Oct. 1. Showers almost every night and morning.

Oct. 30. Rains at night – thunder showers in afternoon.

Nov. 1. Rains at night – thunder showers today.

Nov. 15. Almost too wet to work in the garden. Sultry.

Nov. 17. First cool day. Yesterday very hot and sultry.

Nov. 19. Garden getting dry — seeds planted are slow to come up. Seedlings scorched unless shaded. Grasshoppers have appeared.

Nov. 25. Dry - hot - sultry - too hot for blanket at night.

Dec. 15. Dry - cool breezes - blankets comfortable at night - heavy dews.

Dec. 17. Heavy dews.

Dec. 19. Gentle rain at night. Heavy blow a week ago, but no rain.

Dec. 20. Harmattan winds have begun. Unpleasantly dry and cool.

Dec. 25. Weather very pleasant – warm with cool breezes.

THE TRIBES AND THEIR TRADITIONS

IBERIA is a small country of some 34,000 square miles, roughly as large as the state of Maine, yet it is inhabited by twenty-three tribes and remnants of tribes, each with its own language (fig. 6). These languages, however, show certain affiliations, and it is upon this basis that it has become customary to group the tribes for study. Those to the southeast and along the coast of central Liberia form a linguistic group to which has been given the name of the most important tribe of that group — the Kru. These notes do not deal with the Kru tribe proper, nor with the Bassa, but with the Grebo, Half-Grebo, Sapa, and Tie tribes of the southeastern or Kru linguistic group.

With the exception of the Gola and Kisi, which are true West African, the remainder of Liberian tribes fall into the Mande groups: Mand ε -tan and Mand ε -fu, which use the words tan and fu (or vu) respectively for the number "ten." 1 Mande-tan include the Vai and Mal-

inke tribes, not discussed in this study.

Five $Mand\varepsilon$ -fu tribes were studied. They will be geographically referred to as "in the north" and specifically called by their own names: Gbunde, Loma, Mano, Ge, and Gio. The Kpelle also are classed as $Mand\varepsilon$ -fu.

The $Mand \varepsilon$ -fu tribes seem to have been hill people expanding southwest along the ridges between river valleys. The Kru tribes were at home on the water and spread readily across rivers and along the coast toward the northwest. The many invasions and migrations, the incessant intertribal wars, with slave-raiding, and capture of foreign wives, covering a long period of years, have contributed to the existing ethnic confusion in this part of Africa.

In all sections of the country through which we passed, the population appeared to be composed of two elements: one short, stocky, with dark skin and pronounced negroid features; the other taller, lighter skinned, and finer fea-

¹ The Mande-fu and Mande-tan have been considered by students of West African languages as two divisions of the Mandingo language. This is confusing to Liberian students, since the term "Mandingo" in Liberia refers to the Malinke, nomadic traders from the northeast, who are nominally Muhammadan and differ greatly in both language and culture from the tured. One set of traits was predominant in some individuals, while in others the two elements were combined. The short, pure negroid type is doubtless the aboriginal stock; the taller, lighter skinned, that of the superimposed peoples of more northerly Sudanic origin.

Though the information we obtained as to the origin of the various tribes was confused and often contradictory, we give it for what it

may be worth.

While the Gbunde, Loma, Kpelle, and Gbande are linguistically rather closely related, our immediate concern is only with the first two of these tribes.

THE GBUNDE 2 AND THE LOMA

Gbunds is the name by which this tribe calls itself. To the Kpelle, they are known as the Gbund ε or Kimbuzi; to the Gola, as the Bo; to the Americo-Liberians as the Kimbuzi.3

The Loma call themselves Loma or Toma. By the neighboring Mandingos they are known as the Toma; by the Kpelle, as the Toa, Toale, or Tomai; by the Americo-Liberians, as the Buzi, also as the Domar Bousie.4 To the Mano they are known as the Twa Mia, because of a distinctive cloth shirt, twa, worn by their bravest warriors when they came to raid the

For the origin of the name, "Buzi," the explanation given us was that a powerful Loma chief named Buzi sent people to Monrovia to buy salt and other goods. Upon being questioned by the Liberians as to where they had come from, they replied, "From Buzi Town." Another version states that this same chief sent some of his people to build a town on the St. Paul River down near the "settlements" (towns of the Americo-Liberians inland from Monrovia). When asked what people they were, they always answered, "Buzi's."

Liberian tribes. They are foreigners, from whom the Government requires revenue in return for license to trade and permit of residence, just as it does of Europeans. In these notes the term "Mandingo" will be used specifically for these traders.

2 See p. 10.

3 Westermann, 1921, p. 8.

² See p. 10.

4 Westermann, 1921, p. 8.

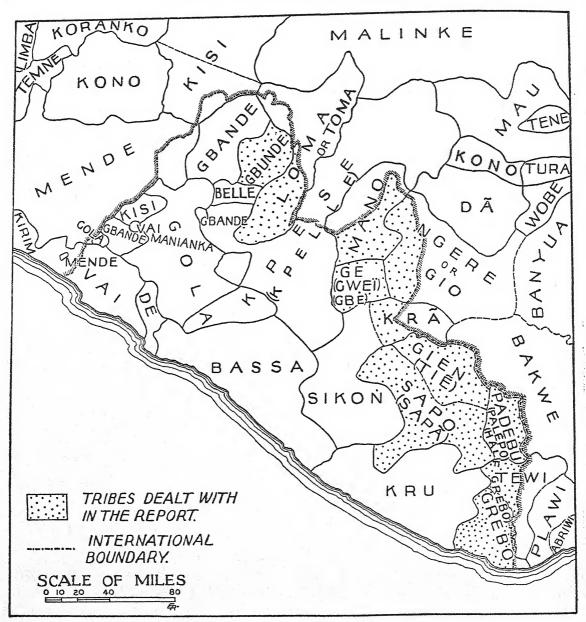


Fig. 6. Map showing the tribes dealt with in the report. (Only the portions of the tribes which fall below the International Boundary are discussed.) Courtesy of Dr. Struck.

Ancestry of the Gbunda and Loma. The Gbunda and Loma have a common ancestry if our information is reliable. According to this, their "mother" was a Mandingo. If this is true, then the Gbunda have lost any respect their ancestors may have had for the maternal stock. In most Gbunda towns no Mandingo is allowed to settle. In some, they may not even pass a

night; in others, a single night is the length of stay permitted them. Several times old men assured us that "fo' fust time [formerly]" the Gbunde gave their daughters to the Mandingos in marriage but that now "dey done finis [have nothing to do with them]."

One set of informants stated that the founders of these two tribes were "the man, Yawa,

and the woman, Wopa." The other set stated that they were called Bladema and Zowolo. They came from a town called Kaanga in what is now French Guinea. Where the division began that resulted in the formation of the two tribes we did not learn.

Bladema himself seems to have had a mythical ancestor, Bele Bana, who according to tradition was the first man.⁵ He came down from Gala ta (God's Town or the Town of the Dead) on a chain that reached to earth. He brought with him a woman named Gbwele. They had a man-child later called Giziwuo. The narrator refused to reveal more ancestral names.

Some Gbunds and Loma Raids. Various accounts were given of the wars of the Gbunde and the Loma with people nearer the coast and their occupation of the towns of other tribes. Some of the Gbunde settled at Boporo and at Totokwele in the Kpelle country. To the west of Boporo is the town of Gogbwea (go, "hill"; Gbwea, name of the Gola chief who founded the place), which is now peopled mostly by Loma. They are the descendants of Nyakwe, a Loma chief, and his followers, who entered the service of Mandingo raiders under Foli or Filibinya. These raiders are said to have been sent from Missadu (Musardu) in Mandingoland by one Semolutu or Semoru (Samory?). They went down into the Kpelle country, stopping at Boporo, and asking the chief, Sowgbwoso, to give them a place to use as a base for their raids. (Sowgbwoso is said to have been of Gbande extraction, but his ancestors had come down from their own country so long before that he was considered a real Kpelle. One of his grandsons is the present "speaker" of Totokwele.) Sowgbwoso gave them a place to build near his own town of Boporo. Here they founded a town, naming it Semoru or Semolutu. There is nothing left of this today. Apparently the Gola were the first victims attacked by the Mandingo raiders and driven westward into uninhabited forests. Gogbwea was taken and given to Nyak(p)we, the Loma chief who had come down with the raiders.

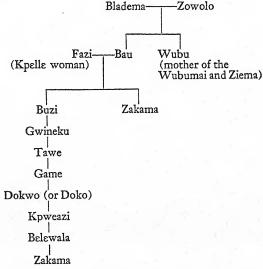
From the Gola country they carried the war into the Vai territory behind Cape Mount. It

was said that Njabaka (Yabaka) on the Japaka Creek was founded by these warriors.

Loma Clans. There are five divisions of the Liberian Loma as named to us: the Kona, in the Gbunde country; the Wubumai or Wubomai; the Ziema; the Gizima or Glizi; the Buluyema (of Kpelle origin), called Briema by the Americo-Liberians. A sixth, the Ubonwe, was mentioned by one person. The largest is the Gizima. It was said that war was never waged against that section on account of their numbers.

"Ma" is a Bassa ending signifying "people." "Brie" and "Zie" are stream names. Thus, the Briema are the people of the Brie Creek; the Ziema, the people of the Zie Creek. (But the Ziema settled first on the Vea Creek, a branch of the Tibu or Jeppe River, which, in turn, is a branch of the Loffa.) "Mai" also means "people"; thus, Wubumai, Wubu's people.

THE GIZIMA CLAN. Zakama, a Gizima man, gave us the following ancestral table of his clan; sometimes he talked as if the first two or three were ancestors of all Loma:



Bau is reputed to have been a great warrior. The area where the Gizima clan now lives originally belonged to the Valvala clan of Kpelle. Bau made war on them and drove them out, after which all others of that region became his people. They said, "Let him go and

the present inhabitants of Liberia. See Néel, 1913, p. 419.

⁵ We saw an old stone image at Beleyela in the Belle tribe that was said to be an effigy of the founder of the tribe (fig. 96, a and b). It undoubtedly antedates

rest [build] on top of the hill and oversee us." So that section, gizi, "the hill," was given him, and he built Molawu or Malawo, "the first town on top of a hill." Its people were known as the Gizima, "the people on top of the hill." To this day the Loma people go there to celebrate certain events and perform certain ceremonies.

That town on the hill, Molawu, is the most feared in all Liberia, though there are scarcely a dozen huts left in it. From it no taxes or deliveries in kind are exacted by the officials. No soldier or other Government employee ever goes near it, so fearful is its reputation. It is related that some soldiers once went there and forced the inhabitants to give them rice. When, later in the day, the kinja's (temporary hampers, see fig. 48, a) in which it was being carried were opened, the rice had turned into stones! In a way the town deserves some of its reputation. The most powerful practitioners of black magic in all the north live there, and they know their poisons. It also seems to be the home of outlaws and refugees from native justice.

The first Zakama, who must have lived at least two hundred years ago, is even today spoken of with horror. One of his reputed pastimes was braying in mortars the live infants of captives taken in war. All men, women, and children were butchered. He is said to have kept a slave, or captive, chained to a post, cutting from him pieces of flesh to feed his dog. When the victim died he was replaced by another. "I am not proud of my name or him whose namesake I am," our narrator, Zakama, told us.

Buzi, the other son of Bau, succeeded his father as chief and became the hero of the clan. It is from him that Bladema's progeny and their adherents got the name of "Buzi people."

THE BULUYEMA OR BRIEMA SECTION OF THE LOMA. At Zorzor, one Kolba, the paramount chief of this section, gave us the following account of his people's coming into Lomaland. His lineage from the time of their arrival is:

Masabumu | Dogbwazi | Vlauba | Walawulu Masabumu was a Kpelle from the Zokwelle clan, who probably lived farther to the north than they do now. He was invited by one Doko, a Loma chief of the Gizima section (not the Doko named above), to come and help him make war on other Gizima and Ziema towns. Masabumu and all his people accepted. When they came to the De River (the St. Paul) they found no means of crossing, but the river was full of turtles at this point, so they walked over on the turtles' backs. (Such legends of crossing water on the backs of turtles, crocodiles, or other animals during migrations are as widespread as any in Africa.) The combined forces of Masabumu and Doko were victorious. The Kpelle were asked to remain in that region, and the place where the Buluyema now live was given to them.

The Loma account of the coming of these Kpelle into their country differs materially from that given above. According to Loma narrators, the Loma began the war against the greatest of all the Kpelle "kings," one Yakpwawolo Pe, whose rule extended "far down in Kpelle." Part of the Go Kpelle, who lived to the southeast of the Belle, north of the present Zokwelle (Jokwelle), refused to join their tribal brothers in the war of defense. These, under a chief whose name was also Yakpwawolo Pe, went to the Loma and surrendered to them. The latter then gave them a home in Lomaland, so they are the Loma's "strangers" (guests) to this day. They are also the Loma's "uncles," since Fazi, whom Bau, the chief, married, was a daughter of Dabolo, a chief of these Go Kpelle.

Belle People in Lomaland. Besides these Kpelle there are also many Belle in the country, especially in the region of Zigida. The commander of the small garrison — some twenty-five native soldiers of the Frontier Force — told us that "the people of Zigida and around there are not Loma but Belle." Inquiry there, and later at Beleyela in the heart of the

Belle country, indicated that this report was partly true. A maternal uncle of the present chief of Beleyela, an old man of possibly seventy to seventy-five years, remembered his father's telling him when he was a boy of the Kpelle's having come and made war on their tribe. Many of the people fled to the region of Zigida, where they were allowed to settle. Whether this had happened in his father's time he did not know, but he thought it was long before that.

"Those were bad days for our tribe. Our people lived far to the west. The Gola fought and drove us to these parts. Part of the Gola now live in old Belleland. The Kpelle, too, gave us no rest," were the old man's reflections.

THE MANO, GE, AND GIO

The Mano call themselves Ma-mia, "mia" meaning "people." The Harvard African Expedition refers to them as the Mah. The Americo-Liberians call them Mano ("no" or "o"

meaning "people"). The Ge call themselves $G\varepsilon$; the Mano call both Ge and Gio Sa-mia. The Mano interpreter explained, "Fo' we country, call all dem dey [who] get [have] dis mouf [language], 'Sa-mia.'" The Gio call the Ge Sã or Dã. On Westermann's map 6 they are called Ngere. On still other maps, this region is allotted to the Gbei people, which may be another name for Gε.

The Gio call themselves Ngere, $G\varepsilon$, or $G\varepsilon$ $m\varepsilon$. Those in the regions through which we passed referred to the more northerly clans, as well as those living in the French Ivory Coast and in French Guinea, as the Ni-kwea (ni, "water"; kwea, "up"; the "Up-water" or "Upstream" people). Toward the French Ivory Coast, this same stock called themselves $D\tilde{a}$. The Ti\(\tilde{e}\) call the Gio, Ba fua y\(\tilde{u}\).

Origins of These Tribes. These tribes are closely interrelated. The GE seem to be a mixture of Gio and Mano, who, according to legend, came from a common father but different mothers. As told us by Paramount Chief Towe's "singer," here is their mythical origin: 7

The first father of all people is Ye. There was a

woman, too. She also was named Ye. They were

it brings him good fortune. If one wants anything very much he makes this petition. Abi caught one of each animal of the town. If he had caught animals of the forest, they would have run away again. The town animals he caught were goat, dog, cow, sheep, cat, and chicken.

Now he said, "I don't want my son to be without a wife." Then he took his medicine and blew some of it on each of the animals. This turned them into fine maidens. Abi watched them for some time after that.

twins. They had a son named Abi. He, in turn, had one son named Zã.8 Zã had much power to bring good

or evil upon people. He is petitioned by all even yet,

thus: "Za, bo kende [Za, help me]!" If one says this

Then he said, "You, cat-woman, you are my son's wife, because you stay around the house all day. If I give him the dog-woman, she will follow other men continually. The cow-woman you will have to drive behind the others."

The cat-woman was a peacemaker. She is the mother of peacemakers, because she remains quiet and peaceful around the house. The cat does not like a palaver or quarrel in the house. That is why she carries out her kittens and hides them when there is trouble in the house.

This cat that was turned to a woman bore Zã two sons, Sera and Zuakpwa, twins. Sera was born first. To these [Abi's grandsons], Za gave all the other animal-women. The cat-woman was his own. Her last son was Ma. To him, Zā turned over all his household, because Ma was a wise man. He was the father of the Ma-me [Mano] and the Ge-me [Gio]. This is why they are wiser than Za's other descendants.

The origin of the Kra [the Gio name for the Tie] was this way: Their mother was the goat-woman. Zuakpwa and the goat-woman had a son. Zuakpwa asked him to go find some dew so he could make medicine to make him rich. Sera, Zuakpwa's twin brother, also had a son.

"What's this?" he said. "Am I not above you [born first]? Why should your son be richer than mine?" So said Sera when he heard of what his twin brother, Zuakpwa, was about to do.

So Sera gave Zuakpwa's son a gourd with a hole in it in which to put the dew. The boy's goat-woman mother took the gourd, filled it with smoke, and closed the hole. She took it to the top of a hill and left it for her son to find. The son went to the top of the hill to look for dew. He found none, nor did he see the gourd. As he came down, still searching, he fell into a stream. He took his clothes off [a piece of bark cloth?], laid them down, and forgot them.

When he came back naked to his father and had no dew, all he said was, "Na," just like a goat!

Zuakpwa said, "Go back; go away. You don't belong here."

⁶ Westermann, 1921, map.

⁷ See p. 315. 8 See p. 26.

So he left and went to another place. He became the father of the Krã people. This was the beginning of them.

A son of Ma, he who became the father of the Mano and Gio, went out and found the gourd full of smoke. That is why these tribes are wiser and better than the others.

According to this tradition, and to other statements made by this clan historian, the genealogical table of their origins would be like this:

Mano Clans. The eight old men of Zuluyi whom Wuo, the paramount chief of the Ga clan of Mano, assembled to give us information named the following Mano clans: Bei (Bing), Ga, Yamei, Kei, Gbana, Bwa, Duo, Gbwai, Gbwen, Kpwe, Lau (the largest), Sei, Yalun, Yeke, Za, and Zo, all in Liberia. Of Mano clans in French Guinea, only the Kalana and Maow were given.

They had a different story from the one above about their tribal origin. We give it here, because it seems to us that they were confusing tribal with clan tradition — possibly because of insufficient appreciation of the time element. While clans often did grow from an original ancestor and his household (which included slaves,⁹ dependents, and adherents) in a comparatively few generations, the formation of tribes requires a longer time.

Zo Mia [sacred man] came to earth from the sky. He brought with him a woman, Nya Ma, who later became his wife; also his two brothers, Mekula and Ma. They came to what is now the land of the Yamei clan, in northeast Mano. Zo Mia built a town called

⁹ Slavery was abolished by the Liberian Government in 1847 (article I, section 4, Constitution of the Government of Liberia); but many years passed before this was put into effect in the interior.

Kotozu and established the Poro. There Nya Ma bore him sons, who were given to the two brothers to bring up. Daughters also she bore, who were given to the men "to have children." None of these knew anything about kinship, so they could not know it was bad to have intercourse with one another. Mekula and Ma were just told, "Here, this one is a man; bring him up. This one is a woman; get children with her." So in this way, they soon "made plenty, plenty people" in the land. Mekula built Kpwan Weipa; Ma built the town of Ko-mia. Both of these were near Zo Mia's town.

With the Poro cult, certain laws were given to Zo Mia before he left the sky. He was instructed never to let a woman or an uninitiated man know or see anything concerning this cult and never to let anyone hear its secret language. Mekula and Ma also heard these instructions. Mekula did not keep the law, but talked the secret language in town where all could hear him. The people complained to Zo Mia that calamities would befall them because of this, and demanded Mekula's death. So he fled, taking all the people of his three towns with him. They went northwest and came to a forest in what is now French territory.

When they reached a region that appeared favorable for a settlement, Mekula gave an iron rod to a smith, who made a four-pronged hook of it. A rope was made and tied to the ringed end and the hook dragged along the ground. Wherever the hook should catch, that would be the spot upon which to build a new town. These were the instructions of the diviner of the party. Men went before the hook-dragger to clear the ground for its passage. All the people followed it. They came to a high rock, but Mekula said no rock would stop that hook. All gave the iron to the smiths, who forged axes from it. With these some steps were cut into the rock. These can still be seen today. But all the axes broke. So the men got Mekula and the hook over the rock by other means. The dragging continued for a short time. Then the hook caught on a stick. Here they stopped and built the town of Kolon-wi near this big rock. This town is on the border of Mano and Kpelleland, in what is now French Guinea. [The latter appears to have been inhabited when Mekula and his followers arrived, which may be the reason why the hook "caught" at this particular place.]

The palaver house was first built. That is what is first built in every new town. The people brought dirt from everywhere [small packets from their recent homesteads] for the palaver house, as they still do whenever a new town is built.

¹⁰ A secret society, discussed at length on pp. 267-86.

Even today, Kolon-wi is a refuge for offenders

against the laws of the Poro cult.

As for Ma, Mekula's brother, who was not guilty of offense against the cult, he was told by Zo Mia to go and find another dwelling place, for the region was becoming overcrowded. So he and his people left. They went west, eventually founding the town of Bwa near Sanokwele. Here a son was born to Ma. He was named Fei. When he was grown he left Bwa and founded the town of Bwayida on or near the St. John River. Later, Ma went to live with him and died there.

Zo Mia also had an outstanding daughter, named Yenbe Kpwa, who became a powerful chieftainess. One day when very old she went to see her son's farm, which was some distance from town. On the way there she went aside into the jungle and died. Search was made everywhere but no trace of her could be found. On the third day some boys came upon grains of corn sprouting along the path. They picked them up and followed their lead into the forest. Finally they came upon her. Because the corn showed the trail to her corpse, the Kalana clan, whose "mother" she was, has a corn taboo.

Wuo traced his ancestry back for twelve generations to Gma, the founder of the town of Zuluyi. When Gma came was not known to him or the elders.

Gma
Yedi

Ka (rising inflection)

Gma Tokpwa
Za Zingbwi

Da Mese
Gbweade Yun

Yakpwa Kanwei

Yakpwa Sukulu

Kwai Davo

Yenwebi
Doro Zei

Wuo

It was Chief Wuo and his brother, Zoyo, the smith, who accorded us guild fellowship when we were at Zuluyi.¹²

The market-crier of Zuluyi, an old man of sixty-five years or more, also named eleven of his ancestors, all born in that town.

The Gio Clans. The clans of the Gio tribe were given as follows: Gbea (in the region of Tapi Town), Kwila or Kpwipe, Do, Blo, Bo, Bapli, Gopli, and Sã (the largest).

THE GBEA CLAN. The ancestors of the Gbea clan were living at a place called Gopa. The smithy of that town caught fire and burned to the ground. This was considered a very bad omen for the people, so most of them left under one Tada Kpwe. (Gopa is still inhabited by the children of those who remained there.)13 Tada had a son named Fana Gabli. He went to a place called Kpwetu, where the powerful chief had a very beautiful daughter. Fana became her "friend" (committed adultery with her). This caused a big palaver when her husband heard of it, so she eloped with Fana. Tada, his father, settled the affair by paying much to her husband and mother. Fana was then allowed to keep this woman as his wife. Her father gave her a slave woman so she would not need to work. This slave woman had children by Fana long before her mistress. Some years after Fana had built a new town, Tada quit his own town and went to live with Fana or, as it was stated, "in the country of his daughter-in-law, in the town of Bloi." There another son, Zupia, was born to him.

The clan's ancestry as given by Tapi himself is:

Tada Kpwe Chief's daughter-Slave Woman -Fana-Zupia Meaki Gei Descendants Zopu Yini settled in Tapi Town after Tawo Gei time of Zopu Tapi Bomi (our narrator) (still living)

THE KWILA CLAN. Long ago, Sanazu held a great wrestling match at his town, Bwampe. People came from all the surrounding country. One of the visitors, Daninbila, the "great-grandfather" of the Kwila people, had an adultery palaver with Feli, wife of Chief Sanazu. Sanazu's people demanded that the adulterer be killed.

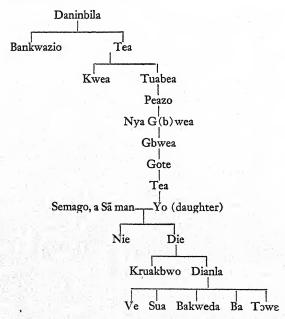
¹² See p. 121.

¹⁸ See also Harley, 1941b, p. 18.

But other chiefs present said, "No. He is our 'stranger' [guest]; we must not do that, but put him on the skin." (Persons being tried must sit down on a hide or skin during the trial and also while the judges are deciding the case. Since a trial may last for several days, the defendant naturally gets off the skin each time court adjourns, but he is technically considered to be sitting on it until the trial is over.)

While Daninbila was still "sitting on the skin" his people came asking that he be released and agreeing to pay. The woman was accordingly given to him. They also brought word that another son had been born to him. His name was Bankwazio. He grew up and became powerful and rich. Daninbila later had another son, Tea. It was because Daninbila had to sit on the skin that his descendants are called the Kwila, from kwi, "skin," and la, "to sit down."

The above was told us by Towe, the paramount chief of the clan, who traced his ancestry from Daninbila.



Dianla was an abler man than his brother, for the Sã and the Kwila held a council and made him chief of both clans. Their object was "to have only one rich man in the country." Under his chieftainship "the country became so rich that a bullock was killed in his town

almost every day" — doubtless the spoils of war, for he "broke all the towns of the surrounding country."

The ancestors of the Kwila clan migrated at some time from their original home, which was near a big river, to their present home in the region around Abi Zã (now Towai or Zãta).¹⁴ They were led to this new home in the manner related above of Mekula, the Mano fugitive who dragged a pronged iron hook along the ground until it caught on an obstacle. Chief Towe's strongest medicine, which he carried everywhere he went, was a supposed replica of this hook (possibly, the original).

THE GREBO

The Grebo occupy only a small area in the extreme southeastern corner of Liberia. They are strung out along the coast from the Cavally River to a place called Fishtown, a distance of some 60 miles. All members of the tribe with whom we conversed called themselves *Grebo*. Sapir ¹⁵ calls them the *Gweabo*. While our notes are not primarily concerned with these people, we feel that the following facts, learned by Mr. Gustav Allersmeier from old Grebo men, are of sufficient interest to be recorded.

According to these old tribesmen, all the coast of this region was once uninhabited. The first settlement was built at Take, now called Rocktown. The migrants came down from the interior to this place by canoes. Shortly before they reached the sea some of the canoes capsized, but all of the passengers were fished out of the water. When all the party had reached the place where a huge rock projects out into the sea, this was chosen as a site for their homes. There was not room, however, for all to settle there, so it was decided that part of the people should go elsewhere to look for a homesite, but none wished to leave. To settle the matter, all those who had been in the canoes that capsized were called forward. They had demonstrated that they could not handle canoes on a river; how could they ever hope to do so out on the ocean? So, away with these people to the interior!

Now, in the Grebo tongue, gre means "quick" and bo means "people"—the quick people, those who were agile and managed

¹⁴ See also Zã, son of Abi, pp. 23 ff.

¹⁵ Sapir, 1929, p. 183.

their canoes ably. Those who had not been so fortunate they called *Wlebo*, from *wle*, "to capsize." "You are no longer Grebo, but Wlebo." These Wlebo's descendants (the Half-Grebo) are still living in the interior behind Rocktown.¹⁶

In the course of time, as the Grebo people multiplied, family groups left and founded other settlements along the coast. Some of the people went by sea to the mouth of the Cavally, where they built Kablake and Cavally.

One of the families of the settlement at the mouth of the Cavally is named Tuamo, signifying stupidity. Their ancestor, when he arrived at the sea and saw so much water, attempted to set his fishtraps in it as he had been accustomed to do in the waters of the interior. All the others laughed at him and gave him the nickname Tuamo, which has stuck to his descendants to this day.

There are now two sections of the Grebo. Whether these are subdivisions of the progeny of the original settlers, or whether one of them resulted from a subsequent wave of migration from the interior, was unknown to the old men. These two sections are called the Krimewe(h) and the Nyime or Nyimewe(h). The former derive their name from Krime, a lake some miles back of Rocktown. The latter got their name from the Nyime (Hoffman's) River. In short, the people of one section are the "lake people"; the other, the "river people."

There was frequent fighting between the two divisions of Grebo, and it was during one of their skirmishes that the Liberian Government succeeded in bringing this tribe under its authority.

THE HALF-GREBO, SAPÃ, AND TIẾ

Bush Grebo is the term applied by both blacks and whites of the coastal region to those clans living inland from the Grebo. We have preferred to use the term, Half-Grebo, which we heard first from our interpreter for that part of the journey—a most decent, reserved,

and dignified man of the Webo clan that lives near Nyaaka on the Cavally River. These people will be dealt with mostly in connection with the Sapa and Tie. Old men of all three tribes stated that their forefathers had come across the Cavally River from what is now the French Ivory Coast and that their "relatives" were still there.

The clan names of the Half-Grebo end in -o, -bo, -po, -pio, -bwe, -pwe. In these names, b and p, d and t, e and i, k and tch, are interchangeable.

Of the history of the Half-Grebo and other southeastern tribes we learned little. There is a legend that Nepala and his wife, Titi, left their home "way up on the other side of the Cavally River." When they came to the river it was in high flood. As they stood there with no means of crossing, a leopard happened along and took them over on his back. This is why their tribe does not eat leopard. Nepala had no fire. The big spirit came to him in a dream and told him to take two hard stones and some soft, velvety fiber from the raffia and showed him what to do with them. So he struck one stone against another and set the fiber on fire. 17

Nepala and Titi had a son, Dogaya, who had three sons: Suan, whose children are the Palepo; ¹⁸ Tuobo, who is the father of the Cess Town (Grand Cess) people of the coast; and Ke, who is the ancestor of the Ketibo (Tchetibo) clan. These last live to the northwest of the Palepo.

D'Ollone 19 records an interesting legend of this region. A clan called the Graoro is said to have come westward from a mountain mass called Nienokoue, in the French Ivory Coast near the Hana River, which is an eastern tributary of the Cavally. They settled in Liberia west of the Cavally near its junction with the Dugbwi. The legend says that formerly there was no mountain at Nienokoue. (There is now a mountain about 800 meters high.)²⁰ The country was flat and thickly settled. One day the people were assembled to celebrate the

¹⁶ See below.

¹⁷ Today matches are usually available. Where they are not, fire is "borrowed." The Loma sometimes use flint. (See p. 49).

¹⁸ These people are known as the *Padebu* both in literature and on the maps, but they call themselves

Palepo, sometimes, Padebo. Their territory formerly extended much farther north of northeastward. They were driven back by the Konibo, who then occupied that section.

¹⁹ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 75. See also footnote 56, p. 329 of this report. ²⁰ D'Ollone, 1901, map.

death of an elephant. While they were eating this good game an old and unknown woman came, wishing to partake of the feast. Everyone drove her away except one man, named Ouoro. He gave her a piece of meat. At nightfall she pulled him aside and told him that she was the head of that country. He was to assemble his household and flee immediately. He gathered them together, and next morning at daybreak they left. They went across the Douo (Cavally) and became the founders of the Graoro clan. Immediately after they left, a rain of stones fell on Nienokoue, burying all its inhabitants. These heaped-up rocks form the mountain.

The Sapa are known as Sapo, Sapahn, or simply Pahn. The Tie call them the Puhe Pah(n). They call themselves the Pulu Panye (like "pagne," French), though our informants restricted the use of that term to the Pudu section.

"This is how we got the name, Sa Pulu and Sa Pahn. When our fathers were still on the other side of the water now called Cavally by the whites, we were the Pulu Panye. That land is so far away that it would take moons to reach it. [Probably much exaggerated.] When our fathers came downward, they rested a time among a people. Their name we do not remember. Our people took their mouth [adopted their language]. So those people said, 'What, you come from up there with a mouth of your own and now you take ours! You are Sa Pulu Panye." (Sa means to take by force, to appropriate without consulting the owner.)

The Liberian Sapa live north of the Kru proper and west of the Half-Grebo. There are four divisions: the Pudu in the southeast (called *Putu* by the Americo-Liberians); the Nemabo, north of the Pudu; west and northwest of them respectively, the Weia and the Sapo (Sabo). The clans said to have remained on the other side of the Cavally when the migration occurred are the Bwo (Bao), the

Fulebo, and the Sede Pahn.

The Sapa tribe has been greatly reduced be-

cause of a war with the Liberian Government in 1924. Their towns today are mere hamlets and the people exceedingly poor, for they were thoroughly cleaned out by the native troops let loose on them at that time. Conditions are not quite so bad in Tie.

The Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) call themselves $Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\); occasionally,$ Tchiē. They are also called Gien, 21 Kiē, Kien, and Tchië by the Americo-Liberians and others. Tiế and Sapa are called Kra by the Mano and Gio. They live in the country lying be-

tween the Sapa and Gio.

There are two main divisions of the Tie: the Meso and the Menye. The subdivisions (clans?) as named by a chief are:

Meso: Tolobo-nyő, Senunu, Zida-nyő, Jibo, Zawo-nyō, Dhrowo-nyō. Nyō means "peo-

Menye: Gabo, Beibo, Balibo, Gidabei, Nyiano (Nyianao), Nenao, Gweibo, Tabeimu, Ziamu.

The elders of Zwadhru (Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\)) said that they, the Tie Pahn, and the Puhe (Pule) Pahn all come from one father, Guida or Gwida, and one mother, Pa(h)e. These two lived "far, far up in Nyeno [or Nyono]," now the French Ivory Coast. When, during their migration, these people reached the Duobe River 22 the fathers of the Pulu Pahn crossed over, but those of the Tie Pahn remained for a while on the near side. For this reason, the Tie are often called the Nine Ny5 (from nine, "behind"), the "behind-the-river people."

Affinity of These Tribes with the Bassa. The elders of Panoke (Sapa) stated that they could understand the Kru and Grebo (including the Half-Grebo) languages and dialects. However, the language, as well as the cults and customs of the Bush Bassa — that is, the Bassa that live behind the Coast Bassa - are nearer to their own. So far as we were able to learn, these include the Sikon and the Gbwei (Gbe). These Bassa the elders called the Mali Pahn (not Panye), and said that "we and they are one [have a common ancestor]." This will give some inkling of the shuffling of tribes and clans in this region.

²¹ Westermann, 1921, map.

^{22 &}quot;Daoube" on D'Ollone's map. This is the western tributary of the Cavally River.

THE VILLAGE AND VILLAGE LIFE

TOWNS

berian villages lie unevenly distributed through the primeval forest like oases in the desert. The larger are known locally as towns, the smaller as half-towns. There are also field shelters where families may live during the farm season, storing their rice in the loft until it is needed. Sometimes small, secret villages and hamlets are hidden away in the forest where goods, food reserves, and domestic animals are kept out of the way of raiders or where people have sought refuge from the advance of an alien culture. Secret and difficult paths lead to them.

The villages differ greatly in size, varying from half-towns with two to five shelters to the towns of paramount chiefs with several hundred huts. The largest are found among the northern tribes where there are occasionally 600 or more huts. The smallest we saw were those of the Pudu clan of the Sapa tribe. There are two divisions of this clan, each under a paramount chief. One of these chiefs collects taxes for the two hundred and fifty roofs of fifteen villages. His own village contains 21 huts while the 4 in which we camped had 21, 5, 14, and 9 huts respectively. In contrast with this, in the Gbunde country are the villages of Zologumai with 173, and Pandamai with 265 huts; in the Loma country, Kilu with 79 and Fisebu with 200 huts; in the Mano country, Busi with 196 huts 2 and Kpain, where the chief told us that he paid tax for 484 huts; in the GE country, Zulaplei with 241 and Towai with 184 huts.

Some of the Half-Grebo villages through which we passed were: Webo clan, Reboka with 51 huts; Tuobo clan, Watike with 76 huts; Nietiabo clan, Woseto with 37 huts; Sabo clan, Gafei with 74 huts; Palepo clan, Yopolo with 113 huts; Ketibo clan, Koloso with 243 huts (the largest town we saw in southeastern Liberia); Kelipo clan, Kawia with 65 huts.

¹ All these figures are as of 1928.

In the Tiẽ tribe: Baobli, 29; Bolobli, 49 huts. In the Konibo: Tuzon, 55; Gidiglo, 69 huts.

These are places where we camped and actually counted the huts. They are taken at random from our notes to give some indication of the size of representative villages in different parts of the country. Towns with 30 to 90 huts are most numerous. Paramount chiefs' towns are larger, 150 to 250 huts being the most frequent size. Allowing an average of five persons to a hut (a conservative estimate), the larger towns would have anywhere from 500 to 2500 inhabitants.

It is probable that all the tribes formerly lived in small and scattered villages. Later, the necessity for mutual defense against enemies forced the people to come together in larger communities. This is true of the Loma at any rate.

"Our fathers lived in three- and four-hut hamlets. Too many wars drove the people back farther and farther. Many were taken captive. So they came together and drank medicine on which they had sworn that they would live together in big towns and be brothers there [quit fighting among themselves] and protect each other. That is why we of the Loma have large towns." So a paramount chief's son informed us.

Many abandoned villages in various stages of ruin and decay, as well as old sites, were met with along all routes. Within a distance of 150 miles along the main road into the northeast there were 49 abandoned town sites. Of 23 still occupied, 14 showed signs of rapid dissolution, while only one had a hereditary chief strong enough to hold his people together and present the front of a thriving town. Five others were still strong towns, but their strength depended largely upon the influx of Mandingo traders under the protection of Government outposts. Three other towns where Government posts were established and

the number of huts in the town—a representative proportion.

²The chief of Busi also reported 119 field shelters or "rice kitchens," a little more than half as many as

where the people had made necessary adjustments to the changing conditions showed a

fairly stable population.

One of the most disastrous of the new conditions has been the great increase in travel. Before the Government established itself effectively in the hinterland, travel was practically non-existent. Seldom did more than two or three strangers pass through at one time, and these were entertained free of charge by the natives. Immediately following the subjugation of the natives and the consequent cessation of petty warfare, the increase in travel began. Native hospitality was easily abused. Early travelers, especially those on Government business, frequently demanded free entertainment. Many a well-meaning chief was reduced to poverty by his generosity. Few could stand it long. They simply moved their towns to more secluded spots. The pilfering of passing bands of soldiers and messengers, natural at first, added to the strain.

Today caravans of natives move along the roads, carrying their rice down to sell it at the stores or to the Firestone Plantation. Others go down to work for tax money, returning some months later with goods bought along the coast. Sometimes as many as two hundred men will arrive at a town asking for shelter

and perhaps for food.

The situation is complicated by the fact that money has always been and still is scarce in most parts of the interior, for which reason the acceptance of a money economy has been slower than usual. It is noticeable that wherever there is a mission on the main road, able to pay with money for labor and produce, the near-by towns have been able to survive the transition.

As the natives learn to cope with the situation some of the towns are moving back to their old sites, but the movement is very, very slow. Some sites are being taken up by settlers moving in from the coast. As a result there is developing along the roads a class of people intermediate between the Americo-Liberians and the mass of the natives — a sort of buffer

⁸ The corresponding ending in Kpelle is -ta; -kwele is used in a similar way. When the interior was opened up the coast Liberians were accompanied by soldiers and interpreters of the Kpelle tribe. Their Kpelle names for Mano and Gio towns were accepted by the

class that absorbs the shock of demands made

by the passing caravans.

In the north, even where the secondary bush has grown almost to the proportions of the original forest, old town sites can be recognized by the giant bombax and the cola-nut trees, both of which are usually found growing at the edge of older villages of this part of the country. The cola-nut trees, for the most part, mark old graves, where nuts planted long ago as offerings to the dead have sprouted and grown. In the southeast this custom does not prevail. There the giant bombax alone stands as a reminder of former human habitation.

Town Names. Many towns have two names. One type of name combines the name of the founder, or of the present head, with a suffix meaning "home of" or "town of." The other type of town name may indicate some outstanding natural phenomenon of the vicinity, or some object or event connected with the founding. Customarily a town is known by one or the other of its two names; less often both names are in common use.

The suffixes that are used to mean "home of" are -tai, -mai, -pa, -pue in the north and -deo, -dea, -bli, -g(o)lo in the southeast. "Town" is wolo in Sapa; (n)golo in Tie; (g)olo in Konibo. Pue in Ge and Gio is modified to -pie, -plie or -plei, and -ple.

Thus, there is Zogumai (Gbunde), Nyaipa (Mano), Zupui (Ge). Towaiplei (Gio), Kaobli (Sapã), Baobli (Tiɛ̃), Gidiglo (Konibo). In each instance the first part of these town

names is the name of its chief.

Wuopa (Mano) is also called Zuluyi. Wuo is its present head but not the founder. Zulu means "driver-ants" (Anomma) and yi means "inside." When, generations ago, the people first arrived at this site, they were hindered in their work of clearing by these pests.

Pandamai (Gbunde) is sometimes called Kpwademai, Guntown, from *kpwade*, a "gun." Kelo (Loma) is a "raffia palm"; its settlers found a small tree of this kind, which was rare in the region. Pia lakpala (Loma) means "forks" as of a tree, road, or stream; the town was built

English-speaking group and found their way onto maps and into common use. Thus, Gãpa (Mano) became known as Ganta, Sãbī (Mano) became Sanokwele, Zãplei (Gio) became Zấta.

between two streams where they united. Tunudi (Mano) is from tunu, "termites' nests," and $d\tilde{i}$, "among" or "under"; there were many termites' nests on the site when the town was founded. Banegie (Gio) comes from ba, "sweet potatoes," and gie, "inside" - literally, "the town with sweet potatoes inside"; there were many sweet potatoes growing on the site when the town was built, or better, rebuilt, as sweet potatoes are an indication of previous cultivation. Kawia (Half-Grebo) means "closed path"; war parties were constantly passing through the Ketibo clan's territory, and this town was built to close the trail. Kro(g)olo (Half-Grebo) is translated "patience town," from kro, "patience," and (g)olo, "town"; the people thus named it because they had been forced to build, though they did not wish to live there and were awaiting the time when they might go elsewhere. Saogolo (Sapã) is "sense town," from sao, "sense," and golo, "town"; the people had sense enough to build at this place in the forest to break the long journey of those coming from the south.

Origin of Towns. We may distinguish two types of villages according to their origin. Each clan has its chief town, which is the oldest and generally the largest, founded by a band of people under a leader who left the ancestral home because of too many deaths and misfortunes or constant harassing by enemies or exhaustion of the soil. The Loma and Gbunde boasted that they were not like the other tribes in this respect. Once having located a town, there they remained, regardless of what happened. The leader of the band became the chief.

As population increased, an ambitious or adventurous family head would leave this center and form a new settlement. Often, in the north, chiefs or "wealthy" family heads, having an abundance of slaves, wives, and children, used to send part of them under trusted men to form a new settlement, or to operate a large farm which later developed into a settlement. In the southeast the old men claimed that they never made such "daughter" towns as were common in the north. This, they said, was because slaves were never allowed to accumulate in sufficient numbers, but were sold immediately down the coast to slave-runners.4

All such secondary towns and hamlets are politically dependent on the mother town to which the land belongs. They are considered as part of the community, as distant suburbs, one might say. A town too small to have a chief and be called a town is called a half-town.

Town Sites. Towns are usually located on elevated land near a stream or on the top of a hill. Some of the latter locations are very high and steep. Balakpasu in the Gbunde country and Koloso in the Half-Grebo country are built on hills accessible from one side only. In selecting sites (always with the help of a diviner), there are two main considerations: a water supply and abundant and easily accessible arable land. (Before the Government had all of the tribes under control, defensibility was a third consideration.) Some of the towns are not happily situated in regard to water supply during the dry season. In several communities in which we camped we found the local source of supply practically dried up. The minute quantity still available was unfit for human use.

Many of the towns are very old. For example, the market place at the entrance to Busi in Mano is now more than 4 feet below the surrounding ground. We were told that this depression had been formed by the sweeping away of the litter after each market day and the clearing away of weeds through many generations. Doubtless owing to the former practice of fortifying them, village sites are

everywhere circular in shape.

In other instances, farm lands near the original home would become exhausted, making it necessary to walk long distances daily to and from the new area under cultivation. Then shelters would be built on the farms, where the family lived until the cultivating season was over. Greens, peppers, and tobacco were planted. If the location was favorable the family or some of the workers remained, the shelters were replaced by huts, plantains were set out, and the temporary settlement became permanent. Not infrequently, outsiders who had fled punishment joined them. Thus a new town came into being. Sometimes strangers were given permission to live in the territory claimed by the clan. Their settlements also grew into

^{*} Nineteenth century.

Appearance of Towns and their Environs. The approach to a town is generally indicated by old farm clearings recently overgrown, or by cultivated ground through which the way turns and twists. On coming nearer one frequently passes cotton paches, cola-nut trees, a cemetery, and possibly a Poro Bush (Gbunde and Loma), or graves and a rude shelter called the "drinking club" (Half-Grebo). On the edge of the town are one or more large bombax trees. At the entrance there may be vines or other medicines across or in the path or suspended from cross-beams supported by posts. Occasionally a small medicine hut (north) or "shrine" (Half-Grebo) stands by the road. These are the town's insurance against evil influences, leopards, black magic, theft, and what not; or they may be put there to attract benevolent spirits. In Gbunde and Loma the smithy is located at the entrance. In the north only, the crumbling walls of old fortifications and gates remain here and there. On the fringes of the clearing that comprises the town site there are plantains, bananas, papayas, and possibly a lime or orange tree. In small enclosures of a square rod or two, peppers, greens, and tobacco are growing. These "gardens" are usually on the sites of old trash-piles where the earth is very rich.

Throughout Liberia towns are built without any plan. Hut is crowded against hut, wherever space can be found, without regard to passages or streets. In the old days when the population was forced to find building room within the fortifications this was a necessary procedure. That it still continues when the necessity no longer exists, testifies to the African's conservatism. When one hut catches fire during the dry season the whole town goes. This actually happened to a community of more than 1600 huts in French Guinea, north of Liberia, in March, 1928, while we were in the Mano country. Every precaution is taken to avoid this. Our personal boy from the Cameroun, on kindling a fire outside under the eaves of the hut as he was accustomed to do at home, was immediately requested by the townspeople to "move him fo' oddah place." In the dry season when the harmattan winds are blowing in Mano it is taboo to build a fire outside a house or to leave the door open if there is fire inside.

In the north the ways through the towns are so narrow that it is impossible for one to be carried along them in a hammock. They wind among the huts in a manner most bewildering to a stranger. In the smaller villages, particularly in the southeast, "roads" are often wider and more direct. This is especially true of the

main thoroughfare.

All towns in the southeast have a large central space where the place of community sacrifice is located. Medicines "to give the town strength" are sometimes buried here at its founding.⁵ Here are also the council house and cult house. In the north the central spaces are mostly found before the chiefs' and sub-chiefs' compounds. In Gbunde and Loma most of this space may be covered with broad, flat stones, under which former chiefs lie buried. Balakpasu (Gbunde) and Nekehuzu (Loma) have such areas, some 25 feet in diameter. In a very few of these spaces a sacred tree may be found, frequently a wild fig. The larger towns have no trees at all. There is no room for them. Where there is one it has often grown from a former stake or post planted on a chief's grave.

The town is divided into from two to five sections according to the number of families or "houses" it contains. Sometimes, as in Tapi Town (Gio), a son who is to succeed to the chieftainship has his own section. In most towns in the north there is also a section for the zo or medicine people. These sections are called quarters by the Americo-Liberians. They vary greatly in size. Busi (Mano) with 196 huts and Bwejumbo (Sapā) with only 21, each had four "quarters." There is nothing to indicate where one ends and the next begins.

In the north each chief or family head may have his own compound within the town, enclosed by a fence, to house his immediate family group. Here he lives with his wives, children, and dependents. Here he entertains his

guests.

These compounds vary in size and plan with the wealth and tastes of the owner or his inclination to pay or escape the roof-tax. In Gbunde one chief had forty of his wives and their children herded into one tremendous hut

⁵ See also p. 361.

in his compound; similarly, a Mano chief had twenty-one wives, together with all the men to whom they had been loaned, housed under one roof. This reduced his tax, for the tax assessors at that time counted huts, not people.⁶

the owner and possibly also that of his trusted head wife, all face toward the court. Now and then a prominent chief — for example, Wuo, in Mano — has a well-constructed fence of raffia midribs. The gate is a covered passage

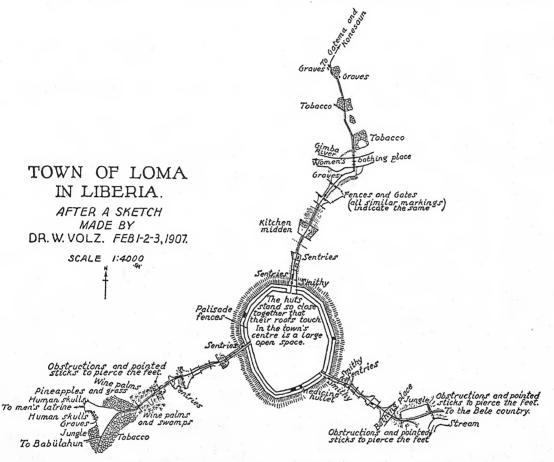


Fig. 7. The town of Loma. Reproduced by permission of the Bernese Geographical Society (Jahresbericht Geographischen Gesellschaft von Bern) (vol. 22, plate VIII, following p. 280).

The compound usually consists of a circular court around which the huts have been crowded together as closely as possible. Interstices between them are closed by rough fences of poles driven into the earth, which take root and grow and therefore are not eaten by termites. Split posts of the light and easily worked umbrella tree (Musanga smithii) are often used for these fences. The doorways, except in the house of

⁶ A law has since been passed requiring a separate hut for each wife. Theoretically, each wife of a polygamist has always had a house for herself and her children. Practically, this was impossible in the old with a solid door at both ends. Inside the compound there may be the chief's private sacrifice place and medicine hut. The household's large dye pots, fowl baskets, and other possessions not kept inside the huts stand in the court under the eaves. Inside, or just outside, the compound is the bathing place. This is a flat rock within a circular or square enclosure of raffia midribs or *Musanga* slabs, on

walled and fenced-in towns. When the hut-tax was in force, crowding was probably as bad as it ever was, if not worse.

which the bather stands during his ablutions. The floor is covered with clean pebbles. In the north almost every household has such a bathing place. In the southeast we noticed very few, and those only in Half-Grebo. If a member of the household is a weaver there is also a loom close to the compound.

Condition of Town Streets. With houses crowded together as they are, with cattle and other domestic animals continually wandering about among them, and with the rice hulls and other household refuse scattered about, the towns would soon be unfit for human habitation were it not for the daily cleaning of the premises of each householder. This was one of the first things we saw done each morning wherever we happened to camp. In the southeast women keep the path to the village water supply cleaned, while cleaning the village is men's work. In the north this may be done by anyone. Cattle-droppings are kept for housewall coatings. Other sweepings are carried to a rubbish heap, of which there are a number at the edge of each town.

There is little room for grass and weeds. In Loma and Gbunde most chiefs punish anyone allowing them to grow about his place. Houses are turned over to guests only after they have been freshly swept and cleaned. The guests are expected to leave them in the same condition upon departure, as well as to keep them and the premises neat during occupancy.

Liberia is blessed with many varieties of wild flowers and decorative shrubs and plants. Many times we stopped to admire or pick those that we found growing beside the trails. But nowhere are plants used to make the town or surroundings of a hut more attractive. Neither are seeds or cuttings of exotic flowers brought from the coast for this purpose, as is often done in the Cameroun.

On the outskirts of practically all settlements red cannas are found; it is not unusual to find an abandoned town site completely covered with them. We were unable to learn anything of how they came to be spread all over the country. Among the tribes having the Poro cult ⁷ the flower may possibly have been an emblem of the Bush Devil, red being his color

and taboo for anyone else. The leaves are used for medicine.

Paths and Trails between Towns. Trails between villages are much as they were in the old days. The few main routes traveled by officials and those along the northern frontier, made and used by the boundary survey commission, are generally cut out to allow hammocks to pass. At five different places in the interior we found a few miles of automobile road, separated from each other by bush and rocky hills. The more difficult places wait for tools better than those the natives have. Recently some 40 miles have been completed near Sanokwele in spite of great difficulties. Upon leaving these main routes we found the paths about as described by the early explorers of the Liberian hinterland. In the southeast the beds of small streams are often used as paths when they flow in the right direction. When the water is too high one flounders and wades along the muddy banks. Paths were worst in the southeast. In the north, until recently, it was only when communities were fairly near together and on friendly terms that ways between them were kept clean. When friendship was at an end the ways were neglected and soon became overgrown. In the southeast it was customary to clear the paths leading from one village to another of the same clan. To continue beyond the clan limits would have been a standing invitation and temptation to enemies, our interpreter sadly remarked. Clearing ways is everywhere men's work.

Customs Connected with the Selection of Town Sites: their Building and Occupation. In Mano and Gio persons planning to build a new town must have the permission of a chief to do so. In Loma and Gbunde, informants said, this was not always necessary unless one belonged to the chief's section. If one belonged to another section he went to his family head, who called a council to decide the matter. In Loma a person who has left his town to escape justice and after a long absence returns, either to find a town of his own or to reside again in the community, has to pass an ordeal to prove that he has not come as a spy or to burn the town. Strangers coming to settle also sub-

⁷ See p. 267.

mit to the ordeal. In Mano, when unknown persons come asking permission to settle they are told the customs, laws, and taboos of the clan. If they consent to keep the laws their request is granted.

In the southeast it seems that everyone is free to locate where he chooses, but family ties, the need for protection, and other considerations prevent the disintegration of the established

towns into household hamlets.

In the north the site for a new village is selected with the aid of a diviner 8 (a sand-reader, nya beni, or a pebble-reader, ado beni, in Loma). In Half-Grebo and Sapā the doctor (dovo, Webo clan; dajio, Sapā) is consulted. He puts some water into a wooden dish (fast being replaced by trade tumblers), takes the horn of a Tragelaphus scriptus antelope, puts the proper medicine inside it, and blows the horn. When he has finished blowing, he gazes into the water, where he "sees" whether or not the locality selected is desirable. This ceremony must be performed when the sun stands high, preferably at noontime when the sun "has the power of showing all things in the water."

In one of the Mano towns the big, two-handed sledge hammer called kpume (fig. 64, g) was considered supreme in this matter. The blacksmith, acting as priest or diviner, would explain the circumstances to the kpume, then take a cola nut, split it in half and say, "Now, if you agree to this palaver and if you say the new site is good, let the two halves of this cola fall alike. If you do not agree for us to move the town, let one fall with the flat side up and the other with the flat side down. Let it reach you." Then he would quickly throw the two halves of the nut on the ground beside the kpume. All present could read the answer. This was repeated three times.

If there is more than one family founding a new town in Gio or Sapa, he who is to be the chief assigns a certain section to each family. This is probably done after much discussion with those interested. If a family includes several householders they decide among themselves the location of each house to be built within the section. Just what the custom is among the other tribes we were not able to

learn.

arn. ⁸ See p. 404 and p. 407. When the locality has been found "lucky," the practice throughout Liberia is to set up a few crude, temporary shelters for those who do the preliminary work until the permanent huts are habitable. The next step, in Gio, is to build a medicine hut.

The first one is generally a leaf-thatched, clay cylinder not more than 4 feet high. A white cola nut and a fowl are sacrificed with proper ceremonies. Then the nut and the fowl's head are placed inside the medicine hut. The fowl is cooked and eaten by all present. Formerly a human sacrifice was customary. At the founding of Sole's Town (Gio), years ago, Chief Sole was informed by a diviner that if he would have power and wealth he must sacrifice his first grandchild. This grandchild happened to be an adolescent maiden, the first child of his daughter. Having been dressed in white and laden with ornaments she was buried alive in a hole lined with much native cloth. Our informant insisted that she was a willing sacrifice.

When the building of the dwellings has progressed sufficiently to shelter the people, they gradually move in with their possessions, but the chief remains behind in the old town. When everything is ready for the "official" moving, a sacrifice of boiled rice upon which palm oil has been poured is made to the ancestors. Part of this is set on each of the paths leading from the old town. Leaves of a tree called male are then placed upon the graves of the chiefs and other influential persons, after which their shades are told: "Rest here; we are going to leave this place and go to a new one." The old town medicine is left behind; it will have no value in the new town. But the housewives take their hearthstones with them.

The Mano also make a sacrifice before quitting the old town for the new. After this is over, the diviner, followed by the chief, heads the procession, if such it may be called. If the new town belongs to a subordinate, he walks behind the chief. Others follow as they are placed or, sometimes, as they happen to fall into line. A woman may be chosen by the diviner to carry the newly made medicine. Upon arrival at the new place another sacrifice is made. (At Tunudi it was a duck, the headman told us,

See also p. 144.

the blood of which was sprinkled on the ways leading into the new village.) The ancestral laws are then recited by the singer, after which a sumptuous feast is cooked and eaten by

everyone.

In Gio the moving custom is practically identical with that in Mano. There the sacrifice is usually a sheep, which is afterward cooked. The feast seems to be primarily a merry-making. When it is over (Gio), a zo selects some man "who get plenty sense fo' he's haid" — one in whom he feels he may have absolute confidence. To him he shows and explains all the new medicines made for the prosperity of the village and the laws for keeping the medicines "alive," after which he is made custodian of the medicines and held responsible for keeping the laws of the medicine and for helping the village chief

in every possible way.

In Loma and Gbunde, before the final leaving of an old for a new town, the bones of a chief whose "presence" the diviner may have found necessary for prosperity 10 are exhumed, carried to the new site, and there reinterred. Whether this is done or not, one or more objects, such as "irons" (Kisi pennies), knives, copper or iron bracelets, and the like, which had belonged to the dead leader and had been put under his shroud before burial, are always taken to the new town with the petition that the corpse allow its spirit to enter the object. Some said that if for any reason, such as war, these sacred heirlooms have been lost, an "iron" from a grave may be substituted. (There are always small iron replicas of axes, knives, and so on, on an important grave.) In this event, the spirit of the person in the grave must first be coaxed to enter into the iron. Unless such objects are taken along there will be misfortune in the new settlement: people will be bitten by snakes or killed by falling from oilpalm trees, children will die, and other calamities follow, until the neglect is repaired.

Here too, as in Mano and Gio, before leaving the old town for the new, the ancestral graves are visited. The shades are assured that they are not being deserted, that the paths to their graves will be kept clear, and that food and offerings will still be brought to them.

When the new town is formally occupied a sacrifice is made to the dead ancestors and, in a vague, remote way, to Gala (God). The animal to be used is determined by the diviner. The ceremony is performed at the village sacrificing place. All men, women, and children must in turn lay their hands upon the animal. A petition is then made to the spirits and to Gala, the general content of which is: "Help we, any bad no go come meet we here. Help we, we go born plenty pikins. Help we, we go look [get] plenty good [luck]. Help we, we no get sick. Help we, we go get plenty thing [possessions of all kinds]." After this the animal is killed and its blood caught. Some of it is buried in the earth at the medicine place; the rest is drunk by someone appointed by the diviner. He also determines whether the animal is to be cooked and eaten in common or whether it is to be divided and a portion given to each section of the town to cook and eat separately.

In Sapa, and probably elsewhere in the southeast, after the clearing has all been done and the new huts are practically finished, the head of the town goes on a journey, visiting all parts of the land to find out which town has the most prosperous appearance. To him, this means the one which has the strongest medicine. There he makes inquiries as to who made the medicine for it, seeks out the doctor, and engages him to do the same for his new town. He then goes home. When the time for quitting the old locality has come this doctor is sent for. On his arrival he is taken to the new town, where he appoints the headman and elders to assist him in ceremonies connected with the making of the new medicine.11 After these ceremonies the people are all called together and told the laws (taboos) connected with the new medi-

cine. Feasting and dancing follow.

¹⁰ See p. 255.

BUILDINGS

Palaver Houses. The palaver house is the center of the village or quarter life. Here affairs are discussed and settled, cases are tried, and sentence pronounced. Before it, on moonlight evenings, the drums beat time for the dancers. The chief, his older sons, his friends, and sometimes one or more of his wives, eat their meals together in it. A man or two may be lounging on the floor or sleeping in a hammock. An exciting gambling game with cowrie shells for dice, or the popular "board" game (ma, Mano, see fig. 74, a) may be in progress night or day, watched by appreciative and vociferous spectators. People are busy spinning, piecing together the narrow strips of native cloth for garment material, or engaged in other homely tasks. This pulsating life gives to the too-often bare and uninteresting interiors a fascination that affects everybody. The light of the bright evening fire, the shadows dizzily jumping about as the breeze fans it, the dusky forms sitting around, intently listening to the recital of some oft-heard tale or to a minstrel playing and improvising - such a scene will remain clear after most of the other impressions of the Liberian hinterland have faded or been forgotten.

Theoretically, the palaver house is also the guest house, but we found it used as such only when a large caravan of carriers happened along and it was impossible to accommodate them in dwellings. Because of their open structure, we ourselves made use of them only a few times. On these occasions, the chiefs always had a "wall" made around the entire structure by fastening mats to the supporting posts. This was to keep out dust, strong winds, or rain.

Palaver houses are rare in Ge and Gio. In Mano some of the old ones have not been kept up. In Sapā we saw no palaver houses at all. Our informants told us that they did not occur. In Tië we found two. The paramount chief in whose town we found one of these said that they were not indigenous.

There are in general two types of palaver house: the round in the north and the rectangular in Half-Grebo. A modification of the round type, with parallel sides and semicircular ends, is probably an attempt to imitate houses seen on the coast.

The Palaver House of the North. The palaver houses of the north are built on earth platforms (fig. 39, a) from 8 inches to 4 feet high. They are open structures varying in size, interior arrangement, state of repair, and neatness. In fact, the palaver house is an index to the owner's character, tastes, and ambitions. In many, a low wall, I foot thick and 11/2 to 3 feet high, extends around the entire structure and serves as a bench. The posts supporting the roof are imbedded in this wall or stand just outside it. "Venetian blinds" of raffia midrib strips are often found suspended from the roof inside the eaves. These are a protection against sun, wind, and driving rain. In the most substantially constructed palaver houses the posts are notched at the top. A heavy cable made of rattan, vines, or withes securely bound together. some 4 inches in diameter, is set into these notches. It extends around the entire circumference of the house and serves as the wall plate. To this are fastened the rafter poles, which project a foot or two beyond the wall plate, thus forming the eaves of the roof. However, since this brings the thatched eaves, which have the same steep pitch as the roof, down so low as to make one stoop on entering, the rafters are often cut off almost even with the wall plate, and a secondary set of short rafters is put in with less pitch, thus raising the eaves. According to the taste of the builder these may be extended to form a narrow portico. Horizontal rows of slender poles, raffia, vines, or bamboo are tied securely to the rafters all the way around the roof, each row 9 to 13 inches above the other. These brace the rafters, and to them the thatch is tied. From a distance a roof ready for thatch looks like a huge pyramidal basket or fishtrap (fig. 39, c, e).

The ends of mature raffia fronds ($d\bar{a}$, Mano) are in general used for thatch throughout Liberia. In the raffia swamps the fronds are cut and then cured. Immature fronds will be eaten by the roaches more readily than old ones. They are laid flat in layers until partly dry. If put on too green the leaflets will curl in the sun and the roof will leak. When it is ready the thatch is tied to the horizontal withes in rows of bundles, three or four fronds to a bundle. Beginning at the bottom, each row overlaps the

one below exactly as do shingles. In tying the lower rows the men squat on the cross pieces and tie the thatch below them, but as they near the top they make a sort of boatswain's chair that is tied to a peg; the peg is fitted across underneath two rafters, the crossbar of the "chair" lying on the thatch already tied. The man squats on the bar and ties more thatch above himself.

In far northern localities where raffia is scarce, a grass is used called mwi in Mano. It grows in exposed, sandy places and on rock ledges with scanty soil. Sometimes the leaves of the sa:la (Thaumatococcus daniellii) are also used. (Mano.) A house may have two or even three kinds of material in its roof if materials are hard to get. At the apex the rafter ends are frequently bound to a round billet a few feet long, the upper end of which is left projecting a foot or more. The final bit of thatching here is done by especially clever men, since much skill is required to prevent rain from penetrating at this point. The frond ends are bound about the projecting end of the billet and a sort of matwork woven around and over them. For a roof cap, an old clay pot or a useless old bucket is sometimes placed on top of the projecting end of the billet. It is more difficult to make the roof cap of the elliptical hut weatherproof. The thatch is put on very thick and doubled over the ridge, finally laced down with vines, or weighted with heavy mats made of midribs and vines.

The supporting posts are generally plain, but now and then a few of them may have carved ornamentation. At Fisebu (Loma), those at the entrance were elaborately decorated with hu-

man figures and other designs.

There are usually several entrances, all without doors. In towns where cattle are kept, a crude fence encircles the house in line with the outer edge of the eaves. Stout posts with holes for wooden bars are set opposite the entrance posts. When the palaver house is not in use the bars are put in place to shut out the cattle. The fence also serves the purpose of keeping them from breaking down the clay bank by rubbing against it.

When there is a loft it is made by fastening huge raffia midribs across the wall plates like joists of a house. Transversely across these midribs and secured to them, others are laid to

form a floor. Mats may be spread over this to help prevent dirt from falling through. An opening in the floor gives access to the loft by means of a notched-post ladder brought in when occasion demands; and a cover made from a slab of buttress root of a tree closes the opening.

The GE have a tendency to ceil the house with split raffia midribs tied on with split rattan. One at Sakripie was remarkable for the skill and excellent taste with which this had

been done.

Smaller open palaver houses or "village kitchens" may have only four stout supporting posts for the roof. In such cases the rafters are then attached to the edge of the circular loft, which is supported by two cross-beams. At the bases of these supporting posts there is often a hollow clay mound, 6 to 8 inches high, with an opening. The mound serves as a seat; the hollow is used for keeping small objects: pipes, tobacco, knives, and what not.

Most palaver houses are unfurnished. There may be a fireplace in the center. In GE and Gio large drums are often kept inside. Lying about may be half-finished baskets, mats, and the materials from which they are made, with implements or merely rubbish. Possibly one or more hammocks, rice hampers, baskets, buckets, oil pots, fiber material, some of the owner's medicines, and other objects hang from the ceiling rafters. Protruding from the roof thatch are pegs on which are stuck hunting trophies: skulls and horns. Chief Towe (fig. 107, a) of Zata is a collector of buckets. He had thirtytwo of them tied in a row to the rafters of his loftless palaver house, in which we camped several days. His ambition is to complete the circle. Ornamenting the wall were skulls of nine leopards, as many forest buffaloes, a crocodile, and a cow. The cow had been eaten as a thanks-sacrifice after Towe had been proved by ordeal to be innocent of accusations lodged against him.

Local men, on going to the palaver house, bring their own seats, which may be either the native chair, the hide of an animal, or a mat. Visiting guests are provided with seats by the owner.

In Gio the men keep the place clean. Elsewhere, anyone of either sex may be asked by the chief to sweep it.

The Palaver House of the Southeast. In the southeast the palaver house is an entirely different institution. It is the "town's strength," and from its medicines radiate influences to ward off evil and insure prosperity. It has many of the attributes of a primitive temple.

As already noted, with the exception of two in Tie, all the palaver houses we saw in the southeast were in Half-Grebo. Not every town has one. For meetings of the men the house of the chief medicine man (fig. 35, h) or the house of the war leader or the open shelter for the big war drum is used. It is possible that for certain discussions men from adjacent towns may gather in the palaver house. Thus it would not be necessary for every town to have one.

While varying somewhat in detail, the Half-Grebo structures were all of a uniform plan: rectangular in shape, built upon posts, with the floor 4 to 5 feet off the ground, and the eaves extending to the ground. All were thatched with raffia frond ends. In the Palepo dialect palaver houses are called *tubakai*. A description of that at Yopolo will suffice for all (fig. 8).

This palaver house (fig. 35, f) faces west. It is 14 feet wide by 18 feet long and 16 feet to the roof cap. Like all the others it rests upon nine sets of posts in pairs, excepting at the center of the façade end, where there are three. The posts at this end are ornamented with carvings. The façade end is closed with bundles of raffia about 2 inches in diameter and 18 inches long, resembling long bologna sausages, fastened perpendicularly on a lattice of raffia midribs. Several midrib laths are fixed horizontally outside the raffia bundles at the level of the lower floor and at the level of the loft floor. The effect is most pleasing and artistic.

Access to the interior, which consists of only one room, 5 feet high, with a loft overhead, is effected by two openings in the floor, one at each end of the house. Under each opening is a post 2 feet high, serving as a step. In the room are several drums — one very large one and a number of smaller ones — which were formerly beaten for war dances, for announcing and celebrating victories, and for ordinary dancing. In the loft are stored powerful medicines. Only the bodio batwa, the head doctor's assistant, who is custodian of these, may enter the loft.

Three circular openings in the façade end of the room, and two in the loft above it, enable the drummers and the occupant of the loft to see what is going on in the court below.

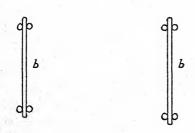
On the floor, under the eaves, are logs serving as seats for those permitted to enter the room when some ceremony or trial is being conducted, or some affair discussed. No woman is ever allowed to enter. Mrs. Schwab was stopped when about to do so. As one faces the façade, the bodis's seat is before the two left front posts, and the tibwa's (head of the rearguard in war) before the two posts at the right. Between them, before the center posts, sits the badio (war leader). His is the seat of highest honor. Behind him, and before the two central posts of the next row sits the woroba (town father or chief). In the space between the seats of the badio and the woroba is the fireplace. Here any "bush goat" (Cephalophus niger) killed by any person of the town must be cooked.12 Failure in this means to pay a fine of a cow.

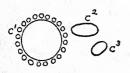
Before the palaver house and lying 20 feet apart, parallel with it, are two log seats a foot in diameter, the one 18, the other 15 feet long. No woman is allowed in the space between these logs when they are occupied by men while a palaver of any kind is being talked. Facing these two logs and 12 feet from them is a fenced-in medicine place with a sacred tree in its center. Eight feet beyond this is the large hut of the paramount chief of the Palepo. The permanent stone pot-stands used for cooking the "town meat" (wild hogs, forest buffalo, and other animals) were lacking at Palepo, though we saw them at other places — in the Tuobo clan, for instance.

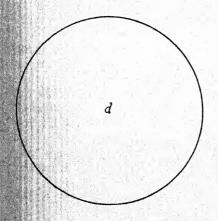
There are also fireplaces before some of the palaver houses. When it is too dark to retire to the forest for discussion, and when some matter requiring immediate and secret action is brought to their notice late in the evening, it is apparently customary for the village worthies to come quietly out of their huts after the others are all asleep. Each brings a firebrand, but must wait until the chief has put his first into the fireplace, for his is sacred fire.

A wooden plank which is cut from a buttress root, upon which larger game is hacked up for division among the village fathers, may be found lying in or near these palaver houses.

Customs and Ceremonies in Connection with the Building of Palaver Houses. Throughout Liberia building the palaver house is entirely men's work. The town palaver house is public







property, and the chief has the right to call upon any man under his authority to aid in the work. Even temporarily resident strangers are not exempt, if the chief chooses to call upon them for help. In Mano the chief may select the spot and insist that the house be erected upon it, but here as elsewhere the custom is to call a meeting of the town council; that is, heads of families and elders. They decide the matter unless opinion is divided, in which event the chief "cuts the palaver." The council also apportions the work among the various families and villages.

When it is a question of rebuilding, a diviner is usually summoned to determine whether or

not the present spot is still lucky.

Family or quarter palaver kitchens are built by members with what outside assistance they can get.

Regarding the ceremonies in connection with the building of these in the north we were able to learn very little. Sometimes powerful medicines are buried under a post or the threshold or the hearth. These may include parts of the human body, the most powerful of all medicines.

Among the Half-Grebo the procedure is as follows. After determining the site and apportionment of the work, all necessary material is collected and left outside the town. While the collecting process is going on, each guest of the town and each stranger passing through it must contribute a "stick"—a piece of the material to be used in the erection of the house. When all is ready to begin, the bodio is notified. Then

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the tubakai or palaver house (men's cult "temple") and its surroundings, Yopolo, Palepo clan, Half-Grebo. a, the tubakai: 1, Bodio's (high priest's) seat; 2, Badio's (war commander's) seat; 3, Tibwa's (retreat leader's) seat; 4, Woroba's (town chief's) seat; 5, 6, short posts, serving as steps to enter the "temple"; x, the place where the "bush goat," the black forest antelope (Cephalophus niger), is cut up by the leader of the warrior class. b, log seats used by men only when "talking a palaver." c,¹ town medicine place. c², c³, stones held up by stick fences; medicine is buried underneath. d, the chief's house; the town smithy is located near by. Scale: ½ inch equals 1 foot.

the spot upon which the building is to be erected and all approaches leading to it are scrupulously cleaned. On the evening when the *bodio* comes to town, his arrival is announced, and no one is permitted to leave. At the edge of the town the *bodio* goes through certain rites, after which he enters and is conducted to a house previously set apart for him. After he has performed his preliminary ceremonies inside he calls eight of the elders, who then enter and assist in making strong medicine for the new palaver house. No one besides the *bodio* and these eight elders may enter that house until he has departed.

Next morning he goes to the place where the structure is to be erected. A bullock's skin is laid upon the earth and the bodio's medicines placed upon it. He then seats himself upon his ancestral chair and directs operations. First the house is staked off and the places where the posts are to be set up are indicated. The bodio then selects four of the eight men who had been chosen to remain in the house with him the previous night. These four men dig the holes for the three central posts of the front, before which the badio's seat will later be. After these holes have been dug he puts the medicines prepared for "the strength of the palaver house" inside. The posts are then set up and firmly tamped by the four men. Until this operation has been completed, these men must neither speak nor be spoken to. Both they and the bodio must also have fasted until it is over. After these posts are in place the remaining ones are set up, and the whole structure is completed that same day. From the four most prominent households of the town four strong men are chosen by the bodio, aided by the badio, to do the thatching and to put on the roof cap.

Because of the sacred nature of the palaver house, a human sacrifice is (or at least used to be) sometimes required. We were told that there lies buried in the ground under the palaver house at Yopolo an infant boy stolen from his mother when he was only two or three days old. His neck was broken, and his heart cut out and eaten, by those who performed the ceremonies, after which he was interred in the space between the badio's and the woroba's seats.

Dwelling Houses. The dwellings of the native Liberians, like their palaver houses, are

of two general types: the circular (fig. 39, d) and the rectangular (fig. 38, a). The rectangular is the true Kru hut. In our travels we saw it only in Sapā. Although the Half-Grebo and the Tiē belong to the Kru group, they build the round type, insisting that this is the original form they had "fo' grandfaddah, grandfaddah, grandfaddah time." Since their ancestors have all come from the northeast, from what is now the French Ivory Coast, where there is only the round hut, this is probably true.

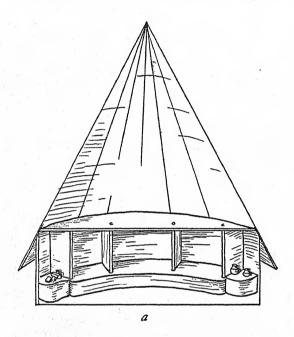
Construction of Dwellings. Except for the walls, interior arrangements, and furnishings, the round house and its modified forms are built and thatched like the palaver houses of the north. The first step in the building of a round hut is to mark it out. A stick is driven into the ground at the center. Over this is slipped the looped end of a string as long as the radius of the hut. Another stick is fastened to the other end of the string and with it a circle is described. The line may be deeply inscribed or a narrow trench dug. Uprights of sharpened poles are driven into the ground line or the trench a few inches apart. In Mano gbalu Myrianthus libericus is used largely for house poles.

In the north and in Tië the hut wall is a circle of such stakes or poles driven into the earth with openings left for the doors. This framework is made rigid by horizontal rows of heavy vine, securely tied to the upright poles. Slender canes of gɔ̃ kala (Hybrophrynium braunianum) are used in Mano. A ceiling is constructed on top of this wall, and over all is fastened a cone-shaped roof, the eaves extending well over the walls. Slender rafter poles extend from a central peak to the eaves and are bound by rows of vine. Thatch is tied on as described in connection with palaver houses.

For roofing dwellings the Half-Grebo use the raffia "mat" common to central Africa. This is locally known as Congo thatch, because it was introduced by liberated slaves from the Congo who were landed in Liberia.

After the roof is on, the earth floor is leveled and pounded. Except in Half-Grebo it is built up above the level of the ground and beaten very hard. In Half-Grebo it is level with the ground. Later on, it is given a smooth finish by rubbing it with charred cow dung or charcoal and finally polished to a gloss with a pulp of beaten hai leaves. Floors thus treated have about the hardness of good lime mortar and give a very pleasing effect to the interior. These finishing operations are done by women.

The sides and lintel of the door frame, hewn from buttress-root slabs, are then set in place



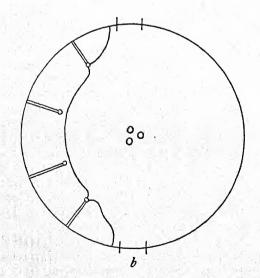


Fig. 9. Kpelle house. a, cross section; b, ground plan. Diameter: 16 feet. Scale: 1 inch equals 50 feet.

and tied with vines to the door posts. The door sill, which is also a piece of buttress root, rests on several rows of short stakes driven into the ground, leaving the tops level. Then the walls of the house are plastered inside and out with clay to a total thickness of 4 to 6 inches. The surfaces are repeatedly rubbed with clay and water to smooth them and fill in the cracks as the mass dries. Finally, a coat of cow dung mixed with black loam is rubbed on by hand. This coat forms the finish of the floors also in Mano and resists wear better than clay. Usually walls are given a coat of white clay for looks. This is very appropriate, and adds that final touch that a coat of paint gives to more sophisticated houses.

The exterior seat-banks and the interior furnishings — beds, partitions, water platforms — are built at convenient stages and treated in the

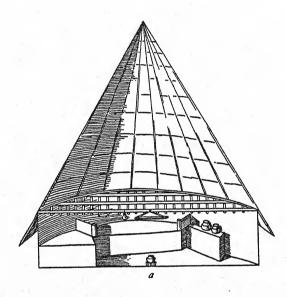
same way as the walls or floors.

In building the Half-Grebo house the ceiling is first constructed on the ground. Its supporting posts are then set up, spaced so that the ceiling edge will come to their outer edge. The heavy ceiling is then lifted up onto them. Next, the poles of the circular wall are set in place about 3 feet apart. To them are bound several rows of thick rattan or vines, a foot or more apart and reaching all around the house except where the doors are to be. To this framework are fastened mats or boards. The mats are woven from raffia-midrib "bamboos." 13 To make these, the midribs are split and the hard outer shell flattened out, causing it to split and crack longitudinally. A mat wall is usually plastered with clay both inside and out and given a finish of cow dung. If boards are used they are from 4 to 5 inches wide and half an inch thick, split and hewn from Musanga logs. They are overlapped and fastened upright by tying them to the framework and to each other. A plank wall is coated with dung or clay on the outside and with dung on the inside. Some houses we saw had been daubed with black mud over which white clay lines had been drawn in imitation of brick.

The Kru house differs from the others in that it is a low, gabled structure with a floor built up off the ground. Both interior and exterior corner posts support the floor, which is of raffia

¹³ For making of mats, see p. 125.

midribs laid across sticks with a midrib mat on top. The floor midribs extend outside the walls and are held in place by sticks tied across these projecting ends and to the supporting sticks. The side walls are of split midribs tied on. The ends and gables are closed with a coarse mat. The end sticks supporting the loft floor, which is of the same material and built in the same way as the lower floor, are fastened to the tops of the inner corner posts. The outside corner posts help to support the wall plates which, in turn, support the lower ends of the rafters.



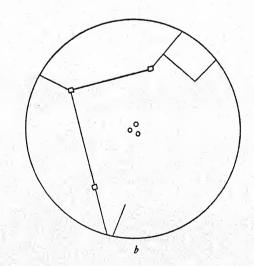


Fig. 10. Mano house, a, cross section; b, ground plan.

The rafters are also midribs, of sufficient length for both sides of the roof. The large ends are left protruding over the edge of the wall plate to form the eaves on that side. A notch is cut into them at the ridge pole, over which they are bent down to the wall plate on the other side (fig. 38, a). When all are fastened in place, the ends are trimmed evenly on both sides, the larger ends being left longer, as stated above. Transversely across the rafters, midrib laths are tied. The roof thatch is fastened to these. The roof extends from 3 to 5 feet beyond the walls of both ends to form a sort of portico. This shelter is convenient for hulling rice and for other tasks that cannot be done inside. Where the gable mat joins that of the lower wall, midrib laths are fastened horizontally, both for ornament and support.

Partitions extending from floor to ridge divide the interior into two or three "rooms" on each floor. The loft is used to store rice and other articles. The hearth is a molded slab of clay, nearly square, which may be moved about to suit the convenience of the housewife. One measured 31 by 34 by 3½ inches. A wooden frame around the sides prevents its being easily cracked or broken. Pot-stands set upon this hearth are of molded clay or suitable

stones

Except in the Half-Grebo houses, the dust-, soot-, and cobweb-covered ceilings are low. It is necessary for even medium-sized persons to stoop while moving about in most houses. Forgetting to do so means a bump and a shower of soot and dirt on the head — a penalty we often paid. In the Kru type of house the people are obliged to bend at a right angle or to creep and slide along the floor. Four feet from floor to ceiling was the height of one in Sapā where we were obliged to camp.

In the north, especially in Mano, the door frame often is very deep, projecting beyond the walls both inside and out, and is thickly plastered with clay. The inside projection then serves as one of the two little partitions usually found behind the door, between which billets

of firewood are piled.

The number of doors varies. In Mano, Loma, and Ti\u00e9 there is seldom more than one. In Gio there are usually two; in Half-Grebo, three. Sap\u00e4 houses have one or two entrances in the front and one in the back wall, 14 to 18 inches

wide and 25 to 30 inches high, through which one crawls to enter. A stick 4 or 5 inches in diameter, extending across the full width of the house, supported by forked or notched posts, serves as a step, as well as a footrest or seat, as occasion may demand.

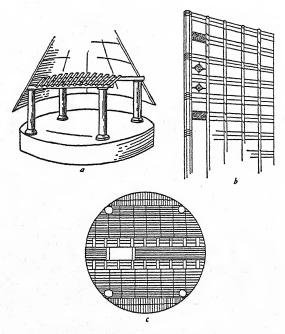


Fig. 11. Ge palaver house for storing cult objects. a, cross section; b, ornamented ceiling; c, ornamentation on the ends of and between the roof rafters.

Except in Sapa, doors seem to have been made formerly of hewn buttress-root slabs. Today these are often replaced by screens of midrib strips or pith tied together with rattan. Even where the latter type are now used — or those of Musanga plank, as on most of the Half-Grebo houses — we sometimes found the older kind, termite-eaten and decayed, lying about in villages or abandoned town sites. The buttressroot door is put in place when the frame is set up. When the door is made, pegs about 3 inches long and of the door's thickness are left projecting vertically beyond the corners at one side. When rounded, they fit into socket-holes in the sill and lintel and form the "hinges" upon which the door turns.

The Sapa door is of midrib pith. At its corners are rattan loops through which pass lengths of rattan, one at the top, another at the bottom. When the door is in place, these are fastened to the outer edges of the wall, constituting a kind of rod on which the door slides back and forth.

Doors are sometimes incised or colored with clay in geometrical designs. Objects are carved in wood and fixed to them. A wooden door at Zorzor (Loma) had a gun and an elephant's tusk at the top, a gourd and a native bill-hook in the center, a bracelet and a crescent at the bottom, all carved in relief (fig. 12, c). A Kpelle door had two carved breasts on the outside near the center.

Inside door fastenings are sticks and wooden bars. Various outside fastenings are employed: a loop of rattan or wire run through a hole in the door frame, acting as a hasp; sticks crossed over the door and wedged into the corners of the frame; raffia or oilpalm fronds set into the earth before the door — especially if the occupants are to be absent from town for a few days or longer. To render these fragile fastenings more secure, medicines are usually attached to them. Where the Poro cult is established (Mano, Loma, Gbunde), members may put up raffia curtains, the "Keep out" sign of the society. 14

We saw no real windows anywhere. Formerly, there were not even window openings. Now, at least one house in practically every town has them. They are most numerous in Half-Grebo. All are small and seldom admit either light or air, since the wooden or midriblath shutters are kept closed. Such "windows" are added as ornaments in imitation of houses seen at the coast.

Interior of Dwellings. One of the most distinctive characteristics of any country is the interior arrangement and furnishing of its homes. This is as true of the primitive African populations as of Europe or America. Interiors differ from tribe to tribe in Liberia as they do from nation to nation in Europe.

The Half-Grebo house is more roomy inside than any other of equal size. There are no beds, water-jar platforms, or bundles of wood to take up floor space (fig. 13).

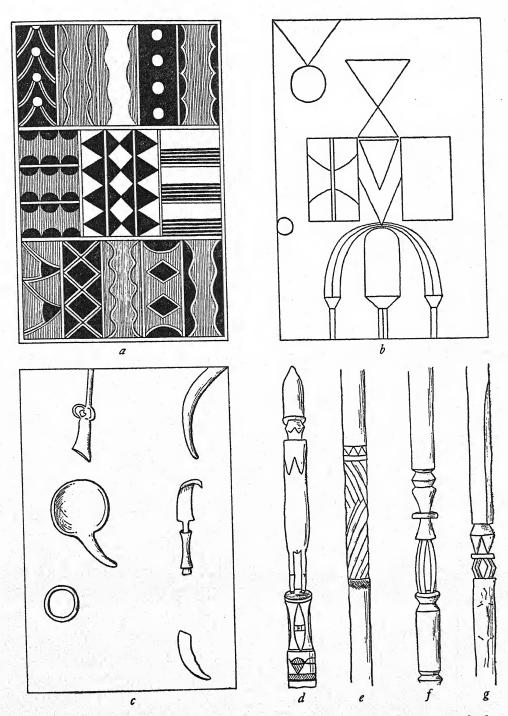


Fig. 12. a, b, door panels, Sabo clan, Half-Grebo; c, door of a house at Zorzor, Lomaland; d-g, posts of a palaver house, Fisebu, Lomaland.

As one enters any dwelling, whether small and poorly furnished or large and attractive, the hearth is always the first object upon which the eye lights. This is true both in the north and in the southeast. It is always in the center

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Fig. 13. Palepo house (Half-Grebo), a, cross section; b, ground plan: 1, supporting posts of ceiling; 2, the "man's" hearth; 3, the "woman's" hearth; 4, water potstand of clay. Scale: 1/8 inch equals 1 foot.

of the floor space, except in the Kru house, which is so small that the hearth must be near one wall to leave sufficient room for a passage-way through the hut. The small space left between the hearth and the wall behind it is filled with pots not in use and a few sticks of firewood. In all the larger Half-Grebo houses, and sometimes in others, there are two hearths. That at the center, where the larger pot-stands are kept, is called the men's fire; that at the side is the women's fire. Most of the cooking is done at the women's hearth.¹⁵

Pot-stands are nearly always of molded clay. In Gio they are built in one piece with the clay floor. In Mano three oblong stones are set on end, embedded in the floor. Elsewhere they are movable. The Gio and Half-Grebo make one or more depressions in the tops of their pot-stands in which to put salt, small cayenne peppers, and other seasonings, to have them handy while cooking, as well as to keep them dry. Generally a few leaves of tobacco are also kept there.

The hearth is the center of the household's activities. Around it, on blocks used for rolling out cotton seeds or on reed or raffia mats laid on the clay floor, sit the Mano and Gio women, stirring the pots of food with carved spoons, their wrists and ankles weighted with heavy brass and iron ornaments that glint in the flickering fire. There, too, on low, round stools often carved in pleasing designs, sit the Loma and Gbunde women, testing with a forked stick the soup they are cooking. There the Half-Grebo clansman sits by his fire on his low, ancestral chair, "bathing himself in the heat," as he says, with his children near. At one side, squatting on a reed mat spread out on the polished floor, his wife at her hearth prepares the evening meal. There also the Sapa women sit on their midrib-mat floors, their legs outstretched, while the children hungrily await the frequently inadequate food.

Over the hearth, suspended from the ceiling or supported by posts (Gio), is the drying-tray, with or without sides, woven of midrib splits (fig. 14). In Half-Grebo a many-forked stick suspended from the high ceiling serves the same purpose. Leaf cones, strung on the vines by which the trays or forked sticks are

¹⁵ See also p. 99.

suspended, protect the drying food from rats and mice. Lying on these trays or tied to the sticks are pieces of meat, fish, small bundles of seeds, peppers, cassava, salt wrapped in leaves, or other foodstuffs. In short, anything that needs to be kept dry or smoked is placed here. Over or near the drying-trays, baskets of various shapes and sizes hang suspended from the ceiling (fig. 15) — except in Half-Grebo where ceilings are too high and in Sapā where they are too low.

sacred, but to be guarded from prowlers, are inside leaf-wrapped packets hung up or stuck into some inobtrusive place where they escape the notice of anyone not familiar with such objects.

In the Kpelle, Mano, Loma, and Gbunde house, there are always from one to six clay beds (figs. 9 and 10). These are sometimes 4½ feet at their greatest width, 5 feet long, and from 12 to 24 inches high. Where two of them come together they are separated by clay par-

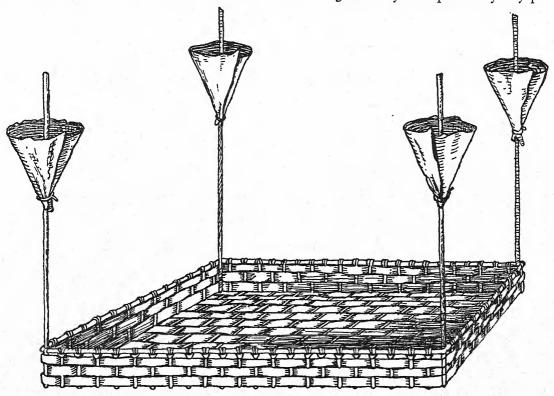


Fig. 14. Loma drying-tray rack, suspended over the hearth.

Nearly as conspicuous as the hearth in the Half-Grebo house are the medicines and sacrificial shrines. These may be at the base of one of the posts supporting the ceiling or hung on the post itself, or elsewhere (fig. 76). In other tribes the medicines are kept in the darkest, most secret place in the house or in niches partitioned off from the main wall. Many of them are heirlooms, possessing magical powers, because they were cherished by spirits now ancestral. These are kept hidden. They are probably prayed to at intervals. Others, less

titions of varying height. Often there is a wooden post set in the floor or in the bed platform, reaching to the top of the partition to protect its outer edge. In Gio and Ge there is seldom more than one bed platform, and that is rarely over a foot high; but it is considerably wider, extending nearly around one side of the house. It is as much a place upon which to set trade trunks and boxes and other prized possessions as it is a place to sleep. All beds in the north are covered with reed or raffia mats or the skins of animals. In the southeast there are

no bed platforms. One sleeps on a mat or skin spread upon the floor.

In Mano, Loma, and Gbunde there is a clay wall reaching nearly to the ceiling across the foot of the bed nearest the front entrance. This wall, together with that of the house, and the jutting door frame or the uprights set into the floor behind the door, forms a three-walled space used for storing firewood. In Gio a rack

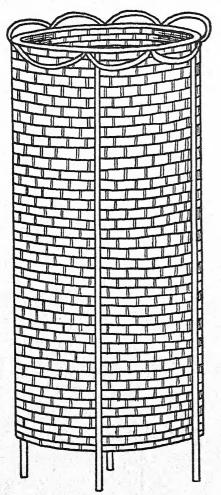


Fig. 15. Loma hamper-basket, called zabogi, for storage of grain.

suspended from the ceiling, or formed by four uprights set into the floor, is kept filled with firewood cut into uniform lengths. The Half-Grebo also have the swinging rack for this purpose. Here, and sometimes in Sapā, firewood cut into uniform lengths and stacked like cordwood was seen outside many huts.

One or two water platforms are built against the rear wall of the house (fig. 13, 4). Ordinarily there are two or three big clay waterpots standing upon them, held upright by rings of bark. At Towai Town (Gio) there were two good-sized platforms in the house of the chief's head wife. On these were standing six large brass kettles of about 10 gallons capacity, two galvanized buckets, and a 20-gallon iron pot, in addition to several large clay pots. All this was purely a show of wealth. In the southeast there are no such platforms. Waterpots are kept on the floor and, as in Gio, held upright by a bark ring about 6 inches in diameter on which the pot is set.

For hangers, forked sticks are secured to the frame when the house is being built, the prongs left protruding from the wall after it has been plastered. Such hooks may also be suspended from the ceiling or the wall plate after the house is built. An ingenious frame of midrib strips and hooks, tied together with split rattan to form a rack, often serves the same purpose. In the Half-Grebo house utensils and other objects are thrust in between the plank or mat walls and the vines that keep them in place, or

they are tied to the framework.

The better Mano hut looks neat and comfortable with its mat coverings over the floor, beds, and walls. Among the other tribes, who do not make so many, the mats are rolled up and tied against the walls by vine loops when not in use. But for nicety of interior arrangement, the Gio display a taste foreign to the other tribes. Often they have a colored clay border around the walls and doors at both top and bottom, or a crude drawing, which sometimes tells a story. Dishes, platters, bowls, mugs, wooden ladles, and all such things as are the pride of fortunate housewives are arranged around the walls. At Tapi Town in the house of the women's cult leader there was a row of very fine plates, some pewter, some faïence, hanging on the wall between the doors, forming a frieze. Beneath this hung a row of porcelain bowls, each in its own rattan framework. All these were gifts from parents whose daughters she had initiated into the cult and whose children she had helped bring into the world. In the house of Chief Tapi's head wife there hung around the wall a row of beautiful lusterware and majolica pitchers and mugs.

Usually houses are kept clean and tidy, though less so among the Half-Grebo than elsewhere. As in civilized lands, the condition of the home depends mostly upon the character of the woman to whom it belongs. One is neat, with a horror of dirt and disorder; another is slovenly.

Lights and Fires. Daylight comes into the native huts through doors or cracks in walls (or window-shutters where there are any). At night, bright fires of dry wood furnish light. If more is desired a brand is taken from the fire or raffia midrib splints are lighted. In Sapa these latter are employed only when driver-ants invade the house. Pitch and pitch torches are unknown. In Gio, fire must never be brought into a house while there is still fire in it. To do so would mean misfortune to the inmates. In Mano an individual other than an inmate of a house will not take midrib splints inside to light them. They must be given to someone living in the house, who lights them and hands them back.

If for any reason it is necessary to make a journey after dark, especially through the forest, firebrands are kept glowing by swinging them to and fro. The lighted midrib splints used for going about town are too quickly consumed.

People wishing to make a fire in the forest or on the farm take along live coals, a firebrand, or (Gbunde and Loma) a burning slowmatch made of pieces of old cloth tightly twisted. We met a number of parties on the way to their farms carrying this last. No one of whom we inquired in all the tribes had ever heard of firesticks. Where no live embers are available two stones are struck against each other (Loma), or a stone or gunflint against an iron implement, and the sparks thus produced are caught on tinder. This tinder is often procured by scraping the "wool" from the fibrous sheath at the base of a palm leaf.

Customs and Ceremonies in Connection with the Building of Dwellings. To build his dwelling house each man, whether married or single, collects material and builds for himself with whatever help he is able to get from male relatives, friends, or others. All building is done by men and boys, except the plastering and coating of walls with white clay or cow dung, which is done by girls and women. Heads of families, if they have enough retainers, build their houses without outside assistance. If not, they can call upon other householders of their quarter. Chiefs have the right to call upon the whole community for help if necessary. Food is the only return given for such help, with probably a feast at the completion of the work.

An unmarried woman who wishes to live in a house of her own usually takes up a temporary relationship with some man who is called by Liberians a "friend." He builds a hut for her, in which he too will live as long as their relationship continues. If the woman does not have such a "friend" she may call upon a brother, her father, or (Gio) the town chief. In Sapa she may be given as a temporary wife to a stranger on condition that he build a house for her and remain in the village with her. In Loma the house of a widow is repaired or rebuilt by the late husband's brothers or relatives to whom she belongs by inheritance.¹⁶ If she enters into relations with any other man, then the responsibility of housing her becomes his and that of the heirs ceases. It is a generally accepted principle that before an unmarried man builds a house for a woman he must notify those to whom she belongs; otherwise they will make trouble for him.

For permission to build in an established community in Loma, an outsider goes to anyone he may know or to the hut of anyone he chooses. This person accompanies him to the chief's place. The outsider presents the chief with a fowl and states his desire. If he can satisfactorily account for himself he gets permission to become a resident, since each additional male means more prestige for the chief. In Mano, too, a stranger must account for himself and agree to abide by the laws and customs of the clan. Mandingos can get permission to build only in villages that have a market. In Sapa the procedure for an outsider is the same as in Loma. If the chief agrees, the man may remain as long as he behaves himself according to local standards. If he has no wife and a woman is available, she is given to him. She then belongs to him, as do the children she bears. If he leaves she goes with him. In that event he will some day find a delegation from her people waiting for him at his new home, to whom he must give a woman to replace the

one given him.

From some tribes we were unable to get any information concerning building ceremonies. In Gio there seem to be no preliminary ceremonies. For the success, health, and prosperity of the owner, medicines are buried under the hearth before the floor is made. In Loma a diviner is usually consulted to learn whether or not the spot selected is suitable. If it is, he determines what sacrifice the builder must make. This may be a fowl, a piece of cloth, cola nuts, a mat, or any object at all. Next, he determines to whom sacrifices must be made: ancestors, spirits, totems, even Gala (God). Lastly, his oracles tell where the sacrifice must be placed: under the threshold, over the lintel, in the roof thatch, buried inside, hung against the wall, or elsewhere. Sacrifices such as cloth and mats must be replaced by new ones when they become too old. If the sacrifice is an animal, only the blood is sprinkled where the diviner directs. While making the sacrifice to ancestors, one petitions one's mother, if she be dead, to grant whatever one may desire.

In Half-Grebo and Sapā the doctor is called to make medicine before anything is done about clearing or cleaning up the site. This medicine he buries somewhere in the spot chosen, after he gives instructions that he is to be called when the house is finished. Then he will make more medicines. There seem to be no other ceremonies during the building process. A big feast is cooked by the owner's wives when the house is finished. In Loma this is done only for the men who have helped, though the feast is not made until after the women have plastered

the walls.

When the house is ready for occupancy (Loma) the owner is sometimes directed by the diviner to twist and tie together two rods—one with whitish, the other with dark-colored bark. Holding these in his hands the

owner walks around the new house the specified number of times, then sets them up near it in the place indicated. Or he may be directed to set up a given number of forked sticks near the main entrance. Either of these operations is regarded as a personal sacrifice to ward off

danger and insure success.

At Bedezea (Gbunde) we saw a hut already occupied, though only the circle of wall poles had been set up and the roof built. Just before we reached this town, medicine had been buried under the threshold of the house and a flat stone about the same size as the door sill had been placed over the medicine to prevent its power from escaping. The men were about to put the door frame in place, but our coming supplied them with a most acceptable excuse for quitting.

Here, as in Sapã and Half-Grebo, it is customary upon moving into a new house to petition Kwo ^{16a} for things most desired — much goods, many children, long life, and the like. Each phrase of the petition ends in a chanted and drawn out *00000*. At the first new moon after moving in the doctor is called to make medicine that will insure the granting of all petitions made at the time of first entrance. He must also remove whatever evil influences he may "find," and counteract any medicines that jealous or spiteful persons may have made for the owner's hurt.

In Sapã a fowl is cooked on the first fire made inside a new house, its blood and feathers having first been smeared on the posts. The fowl is eaten as usual. This sacrificial ceremony is repeated at new moons as often as necessary to keep in the good graces of ancestral and spiritual forces that might otherwise do harm. Where the circular house has been adopted by members of this tribe the blood and feathers are smeared on the four posts that support the ceiling, as is done in Half-Grebo.

From the time of the first clearing of the building site, four months must pass before the builder may kill a fowl, lest his household be scattered as fowls scatter dirt while scratching

for food.

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES

Temporary Shelters, Spirit Houses, etc. Beside the palaver houses and dwellings there are field shelters, sick huts, chicken hovels (kulu, Mano), miniature spirit or medicine houses, and the temporary shelters of hunters, fishermen, and travelers who are caught by

nightfall in the forest.

Field shelters may be temporary or permanent. The former are little more than a ridge pole held up by two forked poles, and rafters resting on the ground. These are thatched with oilpalm fronds, which are plentiful, easy to cut, and handy on the farm. They are split with the leaflets still on and the halves laid horizontally with the leaflets hanging down over the ones below. This makes a quick shelter, which lasts only a few months. Permanent farm shelters are primarily for storing rice. If the head of a household desires one he must build it himself. A loft supported on four heavy posts is carefully roofed and covered with the very best thatch obtainable. There are no walls, but the people do not hesitate to sleep there occasionally, unless leopards are known to be in the neighborhood. Here they cook the noonday snack of roast cassava. Here many odd jobs are done by individuals not inclined to do the heavier work of planting, weeding, and cutting firewood. Here the rice is threshed and the day's supply hulled in a mortar before the workers go home in the evening. Here the children play around while mother is at work, and the brood of chickens brought along for the day can be seen at their little business of retrieving stray grains of rice, chasing insects, and robbing ants of their eggs.

Sick huts are of the most temporary nature. When built for patients with smallpox they are burned afterward. They are usually on an old abandoned farm site, not too far from the

village.

Spirit houses, or medicine houses, vary from tiny huts 4 feet high, to houses of standard size where the keeper of the medicine shares the house with the spirits. The former may take the form of wayside shrines where offerings are made to the spirits. Spirit houses are not very common.

Notes are given elsewhere on building the blacksmith shop.¹⁷

Latrines. Small children usually urinate on the nearest rubbish heap. Older ones and adults go to the larger streams if they are conveniently near (also to smaller ones during the rainy season), to the bushes and plantains at the edge of town, along the trails, or any convenient place where they will be unexposed. (This necessitates one's being constantly on guard in walking anywhere in or near villages.) They defecate upon broad leaves laid upon the ground. Leaves and contents are then picked up and thrown upon the rubbish heap or anywhere convenient. The Gio have a riddle, "Throw bush, throw path"; that is, What is the thing you throw into the bush and also upon the path? The answer is, "The leaf-bundle containing the feces," indicating that it is likely to fall short of its mark. Often the wind blows the leaves back upon the thrower while the heavier contents proceed and fall somewhere near the place intended.

A few latrines seen in Mano and Gio, and one in Sapā, seem to be a comparatively recent and not very popular innovation (fig. 41, e). They were concealed by shrub screens growing behind the houses on the edge of the built-over area. Men's and women's were separate and on different sides of the town. They consist of a log lying on the ground, upon which a person squats, or a log held up by forked posts upon which he sits while another log lying below serves as a footrest. No hole is dug; the feces lie exposed. At several places there were heaps of rice chaff with which to cover them if one felt inclined to expend the necessary

energy.

For toilet paper the soft and tough leaves of several varieties of plants or smooth, round sticks are used. Dried plantain leaves are best.

Bridges and Other Means of Crossing Water. Small streams are forded, or two or three sticks may be laid over them. Occasionally a tree growing on one bank of a larger stream is cut so as to fall across and serve as a bridge. If the water rises too high one waits

¹⁷ See pp. 137 ff. and 271.

for it to recede, a leisure that once was ours in the southeast. There were formerly no other bridges in Mano, Ge, and Gio, until they were required by the Government. Suspension or "hammock" bridges made of rattan have long been in use in Loma, Kpelle, and Gbunde, as well as in other western Liberian tribes having the Poro cult (fig. 32). They are "built by and under the care of the Bush devil." ¹⁸

Canoes seem never to have been in use in the interior, nor did we see them anywhere in our travel except at a crossing of the Kiki River in Half-Grebo, where there is a Government ferry which runs only during the flood season

(fig. 33, a).

Crude rafts of Musanga logs are used on the larger waters of Mano, Ge, and Gio. A length of rattan fastened to a tree on each bank serves as a cable. A loop of the same material is passed over this cable and fastened to the prow of the

rectangular raft where a man stands holding the cable. With the aid of the current he works the rickety contraption hand-over-hand to the opposite bank. Where the rivers were in flood a strong man was completely exhausted by the time he had made a round trip with a loaded raft (fig. 33, b). People do not cross on these rafts when the rivers are high unless it is absolutely necessary, for it is practically taking one's life in one's hands. Once, when the loop broke and the acting ferryman was forced to let go of the cable, we expected to lose two of our men and the trunks with our instruments and notebooks and most of our cash. The almost submerged raft raced crazily downstream but was finally swept toward shore, where the men caught hold of overhanging bushes and stopped it. They then very slowly and with great effort pulled it back, holding to branches and roots.

VILLAGE LIFE

To appreciate and gain some insight into native life, one must spend considerable time in different villages at different times of the year, for activities vary with the seasons. By so doing, one sees and learns what no amount of questioning or superficial observation would ever enable one to discover. Also, relatively speaking, there is as much difference between the daily life in a bush hamlet far out in the forest and that in the large town of a paramount chief as there is between life in a "hill town" of western Massachusetts and that in Boston. Then, too, the general appearance of a town and the manner in which its affairs are conducted depend a great deal on the character and ambitions of the chief.

While we were in the north it was the season of farm cutting, burning, clearing, and planting the "tide-over" first rice in low, moist spots. When we reached the country behind Cape Palmas the first of the year's new rice crop was being cut for immediate consumption and green corn was being eaten. We left before the season of heaviest rains had set in, when only necessity would induce people to leave town. Then the men would loll around the house smoking, visiting, and chatting with each other,

or possibly helping to crack palm nuts to get kernels ready for oil-making or for trading in the more or less distant markets.

We had little need for our alarm clock. Usually we were awakened before dawn by the sound of some woman near our hut beating rice in a mortar for an early morning meal. Then a voice would be heard somewhere out in the dark. A door would creak. More voices. Cocks crowing. Goats and sheep beginning to "talk." More doors creaking here and there. By dawn the whole village was awake and stirring. Every morning, in each town where we camped, in every part of the country except Sapa, there was the file of women with their large pots balanced upon their heads, going to fetch water for the men's morning baths. While the water was being heated they swept and picked up rubbish inside and near the houses. The dung dropped by cattle as they wandered about during the night was at a premium; it was immediately rubbed on the house walls or set aside to be used later. Other little matters were also attended to. While the men were taking their hot baths outside at the bathing place the women were getting things ready to go to the farms.

One by one the household groups—the women with their children, each individual carrying implements for work, a fowl basket with mother-hen and her brood, a pot containing uncooked food, or a firebrand - passed out towards the clearings or farms. Those who were fortunate enough to have something left over from the evening meal ate it before going out. Very few used any of the precious morning time in cooking before setting out. By eight, practically everyone had gone, excepting the old, sick, or crippled, the smiths, and those few who were taking a day off or had some other pressing work to do at home. The chief himself often went unless he had guests or a palaver to settle. A gourd of palm wine would be brought, which he and the men in the palaver house soon disposed of.

Strolling about the town we watched those who had not gone to the farms. They were busy carding or spinning cotton, dyeing and drying the cotton yarn, making a warp, or weaving cloth. (North only.) Others were preparing fibers, or making twine of them; weaving raffia bags, baskets, mats; making a door, a fish net, a kinja, repairing implements, or sewing cloth strips to form a wide cloth.¹⁹ Goats, sheep, fowls, ducks, and dogs were walking about everywhere, seeking something to eat. In Gbunde and Loma old women often had greens, peppers, bananas, and other native garden truck exposed for sale before the huts. Behind this display, seated on their round stools where they might see and hear everything in the vicinity, as well as wait upon possible purchasers, these old women were energetically spinning. In towns where there was a smithy, this was the center of interest, the place for the men to foregather and gossip.20 Passing strangers stopped here to relate and to hear news or account for their presence in those parts. Men came to have knives or implements made, to buy them, or merely to have them sharpened and a new handle put on. A few times we saw a party of hunters stop at the smithy to have a dog-bell strap mended before they set out.

About the middle of the morning a wife of the chief, when he was at home, brought to the palaver house a huge wooden bowl or an enameled trade basin of cooked rice with a relish on top in the shape of some boiled fresh or dried meat or fish. If these were lacking, palm oil was poured over the rice. Sometimes the relish was a thick soup in a separate dish. All the men present or near by were invited to partake. When we were invited we joined in for courtesy's sake. It always seemed like a swallowing marathon, where the prize went to him who could stuff his mouth oftenest with the biggest handfuls.

In the dry season, as the day grew hotter, white clay-smeared infants were brought out to lie on mats in the blazing sun. Very old people sat on their ancestral chairs before their doors. Some small children left at home were helping as they could in the housework, running errands or fetching water. Others were playing or rolling about on the ground or kitchen floors. An ambitious potter might work at her trade all morning, but usually she worked only an hour before going to the farm, and then again upon returning later in the day.

The tranquillity of the village life was now and then upset by the sudden appearance of a Government messenger or soldier. With threats and abuse he would demand that palm wine, food, or whatever he fancied, be brought at once. He was usually given these things as soon as possible, that he might pass on quickly.

Our entrance, too, upset everything for the time being, especially since we were to camp there. The villagers eyed us with suspicion and waited to see whether we would treat them with the condescension they had learned to expect from English-speaking foreigners. Sometimes we heard excited stage whispers. The commotion would not subside until they had learned why we had come, what we had, and what they might possibly get out of us.

During the planting and early harvest season, the first of the returning workers appeared about four in the afternoon. The women carried heavy loads of firewood and anything edible they had found, such as mushrooms, greens, big snails (Achatina) done up in neat packages of leaves tied with vine, along with a few heads of old rice from the field storehouses, or perhaps new rice barely ripe enough to be eaten, which is very difficult to thresh out but is considered a great delicacy. In Half-Grebo

¹⁹ See pp. 181-82.

²⁰ See also p. 142.

bundles of forage for goats, in addition to the rice and firewood, were balanced on top of the women's kinja's. With the return of these workers the round of the late afternoon work began. This, for the women, was fetching water, treading and hulling rice, making palm oil, and preparing the evening meal. For the men it was house-building, repairing, getting implements ready for the next day's work, or doing whatever unfinished tasks they had on hand. Those who had palm wine gathered with friends and relatives in the palaver house. In Half-Grebo the elect gathered at the drinking club's shelter at the entrance to the town. Some men merely loafed, while they were waiting for their food.

The last of the returning workers, arriving at dusk, had to grope about as they got the evening meal ready. The pounding of their pestles could be heard until late. Before these tardy ones had reached home, the early ones had already devoured what had been set before them, and the youngsters were out playing and dancing. Their fathers and older brothers had joined the others at the drinking club or palaver house.

If there was a moon, especially a new one, everybody would catch the mood of the youngsters. Boys in a ring clasping hands and singing to the suggestive beat of a stick-drum or a tin pan, stamping out the rhythm with bare feet on the ground, were oblivious of the daytime world. It was playtime. Some of the games were reminiscent of drop-the-handkerchief, farmer-in-the-dell, and snap-the-whip. Some were even better. The girls, less boisterous, shuffled back and forth with pretty gliding movements and flirtatious gestures. In another group was a talking-drum, and perhaps a professional drummer, a troubadour, if you please. Inspired by his sibilant strumming each would step his turn at a solo dance, some with graceful footwork; some more barbaric and sinuous; some, who had been drinking, furiously whirling and jumping — all joyous, on and on and on, far into the night. At length the spirit would ebb. One by one, they would slip away home. One by one, house doors would be shut. Finally, the last of the conversations inside ended. Sleep was upon these tired people. There remained only the night's voices in the surrounding forest.

AGRICULTURE AND TIME RECKONING

AGRICULTURE

CROP failure in a primitive country is A a calamity for which there is no remedy until the next harvest. Serious drought or deluge means months of famine. Anything at all that interferes with farming operations, the preparation of the land, or the care of the growing crop, is likely to inflict hardship and suffering.1 To insure bountiful harvests and avert disaster primitive people take every possible precaution, but their reliance is on medicines, taboos, sacrifices, and petitions to spirits

- not always with happy results.

The acquaintance of the Liberian native with agricultural principles is very slight. When he does come in contact with them he is as likely as not to think them absurd. Manuring he considers an abomination: "One would taste it in whatever is grown in it." Yet experience has given him a certain knowledge of the best way to cultivate the few crops he grows. That this experience has been ignored by foreigners is one reason why attempts to improve native agriculture have often met with so little response.

Rice, the principal crop, is planted twice during the year practically everywhere except in Sapa. The first planting is for a small, tideover crop; this is planted in low, moist places. In Gio, seed from the dry-time swamp crop is used to plant the upland, rainy-season farms. In Half-Grebo there is sometimes even a late,

third planting.

Corn and beans are planted three times a year in Sapa. Sugar cane, plantains, and other foods are planted once, at any time of the year, preferably near the beginning of either the spring or fall rainy season. Cassava (Manihot) does best if planted in the dry season so that it sprouts just as the very first rains come on.

In Gbunde, Loma, and Gio farms are abandoned after one planting. In Mano they are planted for two successive years. In Sapa only the richest spots of the previous year's farm are replanted. Ground is allowed to lie fallow for several years: three to six in Loma, four to five in Mano and Sapa, seven in Gio. The preference is to wait, if possible, for the softwood trees that spring up in abandoned farms to attain a good size. This requires about five years for Musanga and six to seven years for most other kinds.

The present method of rice culture is wasteful of land. In many sections through which we traveled it had caused the destruction of much forest. According to an official of the Nigerian forestry service, a material lessening in the annual rainfall is already evident where this destruction is going on. It is to be lamented that the West African Governments do not expend as much energy in saving the timber that is one of the country's greatest assets as they do in collecting taxes. Other methods of cultivation, requiring much smaller areas, might be introduced and the population gradually accustomed to them.

Implements. All the agriculture we saw may be called hoe-culture, for the hoe is the implement most used throughout the country. There are two kinds of hoes: one is a narrow iron blade fastened to a hooked stick (fig. 65, a); the other is merely the hooked stick sharpened. This second form we found only in Mano, where it is used in moist and soggy ground. The women claim that the earth does not cling to it as to the iron kind. Pointed sticks and machetes are also used in planting, the former only in Mano, the latter mostly in Tiế, where hoes are not used at all.

For cutting undergrowth, vines, and small trees, the native machete is still used extensively in the north, though it is being very slowly replaced there, as it already has been to a great

¹ There has been in the past, in some parts of Africa, a regrettable tendency to draw upon the available man power of the tribal areas to a serious degree for Government road-making, and labor on Government buildings and farms. The necessity for leaving the

people free at the most important time of the year, farm-cutting time, to cut their own farms, has been ignored. It is a wise Liberian regulation that all road work shall stop for two months at this season.

extent in the southeast, by the imported one known throughout West Africa as the cutlass. In Loma the native machete is called *kpwiliya* (fig. 65, d). The men carry one or more of them, sharpened for use, in raffia bags as they go out to work in the morning. In Mano men whet them from time to time one on the other, edge to edge, or on a stone carried to the farm for the purpose, or even on a convenient stone by the wayside. Very often a gravestone is also a whetstone.

Crude gloves of raw antelope skins are worn on one hand by many men in the north while cutting bush, as a protection against thorny undergrowth. When these become hardened by drying in the sun after being wet, they are made pliable again by beating them against a tree and rubbing them with palm oil. In Loma

these gloves are called zewolo.

The native axe (gb2, Mano; dua, Gio; zo:va, Loma) is still in use everywhere (fig. 65, b). It has a narrow head, only an inch to an inch and a half wide at the cutting end and tapers to less than half an inch at the other. It is set in the knobbed end of a club-like wooden handle about 20 inches long, through which a hole has been burned with a red-hot pointed iron.

Hoes and rice-planting sticks belong to the women. A person of either sex may own a machete. When these are of native make, those of the women appear to be lighter than those of the men. Only in Sapa does the woman, as

well as the man, have her own axe.

Insuring the Fertility of the Soil. Before beginning farm cutting various precautions are taken to make certain that the soil will be fruitful. In Loma a diviner or a medicine man is generally consulted as to whether the place chosen will yield a bountiful crop. If the site is found favorable he will designate the sacrifices or medicines to be made and the taboos to be observed. In Palepo medicine is obtained from a person of either sex who has a reputation for knowing just what to do — a kind of Farmer's Almanac incarnate. This medicine is mixed with some grains of seed rice and the mixture is put in the ground where the new farm is to be cut. If the grains send up shoots it is a favorable sign and bush cutting will begin. In Mano before beginning his cutting a man often secretly plants a vine called belekala, a wild yam, covering it with dirt so no one will see it. No woman may do this. This is a big-crop medicine. More frequently, the head of the Sande cult 2 is called upon by a man who is about to begin cutting. He gives her a white fowl and some rice, and she accompanies him to a giant bombax on or near the farm-to-be. Here she kills the fowl in sacrifice, making supplications to the ancestral spirits for protection from accident during cutting and for fruitful fields. She next cooks the two offerings together. When the dish is done she tastes it and gives a taste to the man. Then they both seat themselves and consume every morsel, including the bones.

In Tie, if a man accidentally cuts himself while engaged in farm cutting, an investigation is held to learn whether his wife has had intercourse with another man. For no other reason, it is believed, could the accident happen at this time. If it is a woman who cuts herself it is the husband who is supposed to have been unfaithful. A confession is demanded, but not the name of the corespondent. When the man or woman, as the case may be, has acknowledged the trespass, husband and wife together pour water on the ground as a sign that the affair has "run away from them"; that is, has terminated so far as they are concerned, just as the poured-out water has run into the ground.

Cutting the Farm. The method of farm clearing is the same as in the Cameroun. The tangle of vines, undergrowth, and shrubs is first cut with machetes to the height of a man's head, leaving the overhead tangle untouched. This small slash is allowed to dry where it falls; then the trees are cut with axes. These are generally attacked as groups with a big tree at the center. The smaller ones are hacked something more than half way through, and then the big one is felled, bringing all the others down with it, since they are bound together by a network of dried vines. When a tree has large, buttress roots a crude platform of sticks is erected around the trunk above the roots, where the men stand while they hack. Forest giants are left standing, if their shade will not interfere too much with the crops. Where the shade will be detrimental a fire is built at the

² See p. 287.

base of the tree which will at least kill it, if not bring it down.

Farm cutting is done by the men with the help of older boys, who are very proud to be counted with the men. In Ti\(\tilde{\eps}\) women sometimes clear a small place that has lain fallow for a little farm of their own.

When cutting their farms along the ways, the Kpelle and Mano have the good sense not to cut the trees and brush bordering the paths. Thus a most welcome shade is provided for those who must travel when the sun is hot. Since weeds do not thrive in the shade the work of keeping the road clear is reduced to a minimum.

The Bush-Cutting Champion. In the southeast it is customary for every village to have a champion farm-cutter (fig. 79, e). In Gio where we first saw one the custom has been adopted from the tribes farther south. Such a man is much sought after by chiefs to set the pace for their workers. He and his immediate followers have a special dance that will be described later.8 As an emblem of his prowess the champion wears a crested helmet of native make and design (fig. 82, a and c). The one we saw in Gio had tail feathers of the touraco in its crest. In Tie and Sapa they were otherwise ornamented. When the champion dies or becomes too old to hold the title, the helmet passes on to his most capable son, provided he can defend the title in open contest and is acclaimed champion by the assembly. We cannot, however, imagine such a contest being entered into with the zeal of a Tunney seeking a Dempsey's honors. The family of the late incumbent views both title and helmet as heirlooms, and would-be champions are unlikely to forget the danger of poisoned food.

Another method employed in the north to keep a party of farm-cutters working steadily is to include an entertainer in the group. This man has a small drum made of a hollowed-out billet of wood not over 4 inches in diameter. This he holds in one hand, beating it at a lively tempo. To its accompaniment he sings an improvised commentary on trivial incidents, makes fun of a lazy man, or makes up a fable about the spider—and so on for hours.

Clearing the Slash. After the cutting, some time must be allowed for the sun to dry the brush and the tree limbs. Then the men light them with sacred fire. In Sapā and Tiē the women may assist. If, for any cause, the burning is too long delayed, until the stumps and weeds have grown again, these green things tend to hinder the fire's progress. As a result, the burning is poor, necessitating much extra labor in clearing. The same is true if clearing does not speedily follow the burning.

Farm burning is the signal for all the kites in the region to gather and pick up any small animals such as rats, mice, and squirrels that may be fleeing from the fire. One wonders that they do not perish as they dive down into the smoke and flames to seize their prey. From this habit they are called smoke-hawks.

Clearing away the unburned rubbish is mostly men's work, but in Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) both sexes work at it. Material good for firewood is saved, small stuff piled and burned, big pieces left where they lie.

Planting. When the burning and clearing are over, the planting begins (fig. 54, a). The time is opportune, for the ground has been loosened by the expansion of moist soil during the firing and it is covered with a layer of ashes, which are recognized to be good for the crop. Every effort is made to get the entire farm planted before the heavy rains begin and wash the ashes away. If necessary, planting may be done before the partly burned trunks and limbs are cleared. They are taken out later as needed for firewood.

There are two general methods of making a farm. One necessitates energetic measures and many laborers if the farm is a large one. The entire area is cut, burned, cleared, and planted in one big drive. Sometimes as many as twenty women will be working together on a chief's farm, hurrying to get everything planted before the weeds and shoots start up. The other method lends itself to the small farmer who has only one wife. He may cut a small patch at a time, burn it, clear it, and plant it bit by bit. It is not uncommon to see part of a farm undercut but not felled, another part ready to burn, while the man is clearing up a plot just

burned and his wife is planting as fast as he clears. In still another part the new rice is already up. This is particularly true in the Mano country where some people make drytime farm in the swamps. When the season is at its driest the swamp is cut and burned, then planted without waiting for the rains. There is enough moisture in the soil to mature a crop before the rains flood the area. As soon as this patch of swamp rice is up a small patch will be planted at the edge of the swamp in time to benefit by the first rains. Still higher land will be planted only when the real rains are expected. In this way the Mano man has a succession of crops and is seldom without rice to eat.

In Liberia rice is the staple crop. It is planted by the women and girls, as are most other food crops used by the natives. There are exceptions, however, to this rule. The men help plant rice in Gbunde; they set out bananas and plantains there and in Loma, and probably elsewhere; they plant peanuts in Sapā. In Sapā, too, both sexes plant yams (Dioscorea), eddoes (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), cassava (Manihot), sugar cane, corn (put in before the rice),

and set out bananas and plantains.

Before planting, most people take further precautions in the form of medicines.4 For this purpose, use is made of many varieties of trees and bushes which bear an exceptional quantity of fruit, whether edible or not. Sometimes only the fruit, sometimes other parts of the tree will be used, with or without the fruit adhering. This is as prescribed by the diviner or someone who is a specialist in farm medicines. These medicines are set up or buried in the farm clearing, preferably near the center. In Sapa the husband of the woman who is to do the planting attends to the securing of the necessary medicine. The usual fee is now an iron pot or a trade bucket. As soon as he has secured the medicine he must immediately set out for the farm and do there exactly what he has been told to do with it.

In Mano, after these precautions have been taken, the woman goes to her favorite doctor for medicine to insure the sprouting and growing of her seeds. After tying it up in a rag of homespun, she places it in the bottom of the

vessel containing the seed rice. Then sowing may begin. In Palepo medicine is also mixed with the seed rice as a safeguard against destructive animals.

Rice is sown broadcast in the north, then worked under with a hoe or a pointed stick (fig. 54, b). In Half-Grebo and Sapā tiny holes are dug with hoes; in Tië with cutlasses. In each hole a few grains of rice are dropped and covered.

In Sapa sometimes all the women of one or more villages may get together for a planting bee. While they are at work two men beat time on small drums called *tou*— one using his

hands; the other, two sticks.

As side crops, along with the rice, we find corn in Half-Grebo, planted sufficiently far apart so as not to shade the main crop (fig. 54, c); cassava in Tiẽ, after the rice is about half grown; in Gio, corn and some cassava; in Mano, corn first, then eddoes, cassava, greens, and now and then plantains or bananas; in Loma, first cassava, when it is to be planted in the rice farm, then the rice, and occasionally cotton, but never corn. This last they grow in separate plots. In Mano brown cotton is put in rice fields when rice is planted, as the rice ripens first. White cotton, which grows more rapidly, is planted by itself about the last of August.⁵

Other foods are planted much as elsewhere in West Africa. Pieces of yams, eddoes, cuttings from cassava stems and sweet potato vines are put on the ground, which sometimes has been slightly worked with hoes, then hilled over with earth. For bananas and plantain sets, holes must be dug. Greens are sown broadcast and, being practically weeds, they require no working in. Okra and beans are planted. Tobacco is sown in what might be called seed beds, then transplanted to rich ground. Seed pods are broken off from all plants that are not to be kept for seeds, to obtain larger leaves.

Not much was learned regarding specific taboos effective during the planting season. Doubtless there are such among all the tribes, notwithstanding our Sapa informant's insistent denial. In Loma, if there is any "bad palaver" (mostly adultery) on the farm, whether before or during the bush cutting or while the farm

See also p. 59.

is being planted, the seeds are spoiled so that the rice will not grow. In Mano and Tië the plants will rot before maturity. If these superstitions were valid, we fear these tribes would have perished of hunger generations ago — or quit trying to raise rice. In Tië the eating of snake and elephant flesh is also taboo during rice planting.

Aside from clearing out weeds and hilling up eddoes, yams, and cassava once or twice during their growth there is no cultivation. In the north and in Half-Grebo this work is done by the women; in Sapa and Tie, by both sexes. These last two tribes weed their rice fields with their hands only. In Half-Grebo a hookpointed cutlass, sharp on one edge, is used. In

the north hoes are widely used.

Special Medicines for Crop Growth and Fruiting. Besides the medicines already mentioned there are numerous special ones to help crops grow and to increase the yield. In a field in Loma, set upon a tri-forked stick, was a pot containing medicines for this purpose. The pot was at the same time a reminder to the ancestral spirits that the interior of this particular householder's cupboard was beginning to look like that of Old Mother Hubbard. Pots with medicines were also set in the Gio farms, and possibly in those of the other tribes in the north. The Gio were a bit more generous than the Loma, making an occasional offering of cooked rice to their ancestral spirits in these pots — "to the pots," as they put it. Sometimes the more stingy offer only the water in which their rice has been washed before boiling. If this water is always as dirty as some we have seen, an ancestral spirit gets at least his annual peck of dirt. But whether boiled rice or this dirty water or merely the medicines are put into the pots, the offering is considered to be equally potent in producing well-filled heads

Over the entrance path to a field in Tiã a gin bottle containing a heavy, dark fluid was suspended. Other common forms of medicine are pieces of bark, seeds, or fruits. In Mano farms a wild fruit like the orange, called *bieyali*, is often seen stuck on a pointed stick. These are only a few of many similar medicines.

In Mano cassava roots, which require a year or more to mature, are often planted with the rice. After the rice has been harvested the huge pods of the leguminous tree, *Pentaclethra macrophylla*, are often set up in the cassava field as a medicine to promote growth.

In Half-Grebo, if a death by accident or suicide occurs at the time the rice harvest is near, a cow or bullock is killed to free the community from the consequences of the bloodshed. Some of the dung from the intestines must be taken to all the rice fields and

scattered about.

Ceremony to Improve Crops. Early one morning at Busi (Mano) we heard a peculiar click-clock rhythm coming from somewhere near and darted out of the house to investigate but saw nothing. Inquiring of some people standing near, who was making music so early in the day, we were told that it was a "Greegree woman." Calling our interpreter, Nya Gege, we started to follow the sound, but were told that this woman was calling her lodge sisters together and men were not allowed to go to their meetings. Nya Gege's wife then became Mrs. Schwab's escort. Her description follows:

"Together we followed in the direction of the sound and came upon some twenty-four or more women standing on a side path. Most of them were elderly women wearing caps of blue country cloth. Some had painted their bodies with designs in black and had black or white cords tied around the forehead. The one who had called the group together was a woman of perhaps thirty. She was covered with white clay and carried a tortoise shell in her hand on which she beat with an iron rod, making the tinkling sound we had heard. A girl of eleven or twelve, well coated with white clay and carrying a white enameled pail, was in the group, as was also the chief of Busi, a man of perhaps fifty to fifty-five years. He was addressing the women as we approached. After he had finished one of the elderly women opened a small leaf packet containing three large white cola nuts, drew her tongue over them, then handed them to the chief, who handed them to one of the women in the group.

⁶ See also p. 252.

We asked permission to accompany the women, and he gave his consent. Admonishing them to 'show us good,' he left and went back to town. We continued with the women to Waipa, which was something over a mile farther on."

En route we learned the reason for the meeting of the lodge. The rice planted by the people of Waipa had not been bearing well for some time. Word had been sent by the town chief to the head of the Busi branch of the Sande cult requesting her to come and intercede for them.

When we all arrived at our destination we found a dance already in progress, preparatory to the medicine and sacrifice our party was to make. A fair number of the townspeople stood near, looking on. The women in our group took their places beside the local women, who were dancing in two rows facing each other. At the head was a young woman, carrying on her head a brass bucket. This contained something wrapped in cloth, which could be seen above the rim. The whole thing was topped by a red bandanna handkerchief. One of the dancers, an elderly woman, wore an old fishnet draped over her back, chest, and one shoulder. Her face was well marked with two-inch-long streaks of white clay. She danced furiously up and down the cleared space, around the near-by houses, then at last toward a grown girl, whose cloth she took from her body and wrapped around herself. Others of the dancers embraced lightly, then held each other at arm's length. One of the women held a small basin of water topped by a small plant called bala (Scoparia dulcis), and with a sprig of this same plant she sprinkled the ground. The music for the dance was played by three women, two of whom beat on tortoise shells, the third on a broken cow's horn. Above the din of the music and the patter-patter of many feet on the hard earth there could be heard, from time to time, a confused sound as of voices coming from the house before which the women were dancing.

We sat under the eaves of the house with some of the women who either had already given an exhibition of their skill in dancing or waited their turn. As the more important of the dancers took their seats near us under the eaves, people of the town came with gifts of cotton, cola nuts, bundles of unthreshed rice, hulled rice, and dried fish. These gifts were always handed to the dancer in a small, gourd dipper. At the conclusion of the dance the town chief came to the group, made a speech, and gave a leaf-packet of cola nuts to the head woman. We, as guests of the occasion, were not forgotten. One of the women, an intelligent-looking person of about thirty-five to forty, presented us with seven cola nuts (sacred number), all except one being white — the sign of good will. One of these she touched with her tongue to show they were without "witch" (poison).

When the dance ended and the women left to go into the forest we got up to follow them but were forbidden. The townspeople explained that if a stranger should see what the women were going to do their work might be

spoiled.

At first, entrance into the house from which the sounds came was also forbidden. After some discussion the permission of the head woman was secured, but while we had been talking everything worth seeing had been spirited away through the back door. Only women were left — some of them sitting on the beds, some dancing on the floor before the door, which so darkened the house that even the walls could scarcely be discerned.

At length the lodge members who had been out in the forest returned, and after further minor ceremonies the Busi "sisters" went back home, making their "music" as they went. They continued to dance for a time before the house of the local leader and keeper of the medicines; then dispersed to thresh and hull

rice for the evening meal.

Dealing with Plant and Crop Enemies. Of the many enemies of the food crops the spirit enemies are, of course, the worst, because one cannot get at them. Plenty of diligence, however, is required to oppose the numerous animal and human enemies as well.

One of the many haunting fears is the possibility of having one's crops bewitched. When this happens, "growing plants wilt, rot, or burn, even if there is no sun." Sometimes the witches assume animal shapes. To frighten them off before they do any harm, or kill them if they do attempt it, seed pods or pieces of bark of the sasswood tree (Erythrophloeum guineense) are set up in the farm or beside the entrance

path. We noticed these a number of times in Mano and Gio but do not recall seeing them elsewhere.

Among the animal enemies, there are a host of insect pests; there are monkeys, wild hogs, forest buffalo, antelope, and elephants; and there are also birds, particularly parrots, francolins, and weavers (Pleiositagra cucullatus cucul-

latus).

Of these, the weavers, called "rice birds" in Liberia, are probably the worst. They are on hand in flocks to eat both the newly sprouting and the maturing grains. To minimize the losses from their raids, all people who have adjoining farms usually put in their rice at the same time. By thus enlarging the area for the birds' unwelcome activities, their concentration upon one person's field is prevented. While we were at Pandamai, those who had early prepared their soil for planting were waiting for the more tardy to finish theirs, so all might

simultaneously begin the sowing.

It is the work of children, mostly of the boys, to stand in the farms to scare off these birds by shouting, beating small drums, and throwing clods. Native boys with a simple sling and a pocket full of pebbles become expert marksmen. When the rice is in the head the children yank an ingenious network of vines which has been tied to sticks stuck up at intervals over the field, so that one yank sets the whole thing to swaying. From the time the rice begins to mature there can be no let-up in this activity. Rude platforms are erected, sometimes with a bit of roof thatch to give shelter from sun and rain. On these the birdscarers must stand throughout the day, rain or shine, for bad weather seems not to trouble the birds. These happy-go-lucky urchins, faithfully keeping up their din even in pouring rain, with the water running from their naked and shining bodies yet cheerily shouting greetings to passers-by, are the real saviors of rice crops.

The only protection against monkeys and elephants is the presence of people making a noise at night or working in the daytime. To keep out hogs, antelope, and even forest buffalo, fences are often made around small farms, constructed mostly of the butt ends of oilpalm fronds and Musanga slabs. In the Gio and other countries these fences have openings at intervals, which seem to invite entrance, but each

opening cleverly conceals a pit. These are built by the men and boys. In Tie, the women also help. Among these latter people fresh dung of the forest buffalo is put near the farms and in all paths leading to them. It is said to be effective in preventing other animals from entering. Smelling the dung as they come along,

they turn aside.

In Gio special precautions are taken to keep hogs out of the farms. Before anything at all is planted, a doctor who "knows wild hog medicine" is consulted. He makes the medicine himself, buries it secretly on the farm, then proclaims the taboos that make it effective. So long as these are observed "no hog would even dare enter a farm," they say. It may be taboo, for example, to enter the farm carrying a ricefanner on the head, a mortar on the shoulder, or anything in both hands. For his services the doctor is paid a fee of five "things": mats, pots, buckets, bowls, fowls, or whatever one may happen to possess at the moment. They may all be alike or all different. If a taboo is unwittingly broken (of course, if hogs do enter, someone must have broken his taboo) the doctor may again be called to renew his medicine's strength. For this another fee must be paid to the doctor.

In this tribe two general taboos are also commonly observed. Raw cassava is never eaten by the people while in the farm. By sympathetic magic this would influence hogs to come in, uproot, and eat the growing cassava. It is also taboo to drag a stick of firewood out of the farm. To do this would invite the hogs to root under the fences and help themselves to the crops. The firewood must be cut into lengths and carried out. If the hogs enter a man's farm after he has taken all these precautions and scrupulously observed all the taboos it is said that "someone has sent them."

There is also the possibility of birds and animals being "sent" by ancestral spirits who are angry or jealous because of neglected or niggardly offerings and employ this means to remind their progeny of their shortcomings. Whenever, for instance, weaver birds come in larger flocks than usual it is a sure sign of ancestral displeasure. Everything possible is therefore done to set matters right between the living and the departed, whereupon the latter will naturally influence the pests to depart.

Now and then it happens that a town is able to square up accounts with monkeys that have been destroying rice crops in a serious way. When we reached the town of Kawia (Kelipo clan, Half-Grebo), about two o'clock one Saturday afternoon, it seemed deserted. Our carriers at once set down their loads and disappeared. We judged that they were planning to take us no farther that day, as it was evident from the smell that none-too-fresh elephant meat was being dried in most of the town's sixty-five huts. So when we heard much shouting at the other end of the place we thought our men were quarreling with the townspeople to get them to take us on. Advancing in the direction of the noise we saw a strange sight. The whole male population, not only of this village but also of two or three more which made up the clan, was frantically cutting bushes and trees while our carriers and the women and children wildly yelled encouragement. "Dem be monkey tree," our faithful interpreter informed us.

It seems that early in the morning someone had discovered a drove of monkeys up in a tree near a rice field where they had spent the night spoiling the rice. He had aroused the village and the men had surrounded the tree and proceeded to cut down all the near-by growth. Some monkeys are thrown into a panic and seem incapable of action or flight when surrounded by people and noise. This was true here, although there was at first every opportunity for them to jump into neighboring trees and bushes. After some time everything within a good distance of the "monkey tree" had been cut down and the felling of this last one began. Armed with machetes, everyone except the half-dozen who were hacking took his place where he thought the top of the tree would strike the ground. The monkeys, who most of the time had been collected on a bare limb among the topmost branches, began moving about uneasily, seeming to realize that something was about to happen to them. At last there came a groaning sound from the tree, and a crash. Everybody rushed in with yells and shouts and the slaughter began. The monkeys, running in all directions, were hacked down - many of them before they could free themselves from entangling limbs and leaves. Only two escaped, the old leader of the drove and another young male. The latter passed so close to us we might have caught him with our hands. One boy almost had him by the tail, but he escaped, his back bloody from wounds. The town chief remarked that old man monkey had brought all his monkey people to spoil the rice farms but now he had no more people and would have to live in the bush. Old man monkey's people slain included seven adult males and eight adult females, nine half-grown and seven small children, among which was an infant (fig. 57, c). Including the large, escaped male there were eight adults of each sex, which at least appears like monkey monogamy.

Of course we camped in that town! "Next to man meat, monkey meat is sweetest."

Harvesting, First Fruits, Offerings, and Storage. As soon as the rice has matured sufficiently to be hulled, some of it is cut for immediate consumption. This is called "new rice." Sometimes, drying and slightly parching over the fire, or even parboiling, is necessary to make the hulling easier. At this half-ripe stage only a day's supply is brought in at a time. The premature cutting is necessary, because most families have consumed the previous year's store. During all of our travels in the southeast we and our assistants were dependent upon this new rice for food, supplemented by some green corn and cassava roots where these were still procurable.

Among some of the tribes each household makes a first-fruits offering of part of the firstcut new rice. So far as we could learn, this was nowhere done with any of the other foods

grown.

In Loma the offering is made on the farm. The first-cut rice is parched and hulled and a portion of it sprinkled over the "growing medicine" in the pot to which we have already referred.⁷ The rest is taken up and scattered to the four corners of the field for the benefit of the ancestral spirits. The second lot cut is beaten fine after hulling, made into "country bread," ⁸ and given to those who helped in the farm cutting. The household is then free to eat any and all rice subsequently cut. In Mano the first-cut rice is hulled until white, then

⁷ See above, p. 59.

⁸ See also p. 100.

cooked and eaten by husband and head wife in

their house at night.

In Gio a hamper of rice is given to the chief after the household has been eating its new rice for some days or a week. It is possible that this is a survival of a time when the chief as priest was supposed to influence crop growth. There seems to be nothing in the nature of tribute about it. There appears to be no special ceremony at this time in connection with the new

At Watike, home of the paramount chief of the Tuobo clan, and at another place near there, we came upon the more elaborate form of firstfruits ceremony customary among the Half-Grebo. At the new moon just before harvest an offering of sacred mushroom (Lentimus tuber-regium)9 flour was sprinkled on the floor in a ribbon about two inches wide. This ribbon first encircled the hearth, then went around the medicine post at the base of which was the portable shrine. Then it continued out over the threshold into the small open space before the hut, where it ended in a circle 2 feet in diameter. Between the door and the outer circle were two cross ribbons 18 inches long. Inside the circle the main ribbon branched into three (fig. 37, c). This was a graphic representation, a sort of map, of all the paths between the hut and the farm — the paths over which the farmer had traveled and over which the medicines in his house must travel to be effective out there.

Each morning during the harvest moon the men of the village visited this hearth and made a slight offering before they took the trail to the farm to follow the daily round of their circumscribed lives. The offering was a little of the first new rice boiled and mixed with palm oil. Some was placed within the circle around the hearth, some around the medicine post, and some in the area outside representing the farm. In addition, the customary fowl was sacrificed and some of its blood sprinkled over the medicine at the base of the post, while blood and feathers were smeared on the post itself. The villagers said that when no fowl was available, dried meat was permissible. This would be cooked, and part of it then used as an offering, the rest eaten as is customary.

The Sapa give their first-harvested rice to the "town medicine" (fig. 36) and the kele mask, 10 if they have one, saying, as they make the offering, "Here is new rice. We are all eating new rice. Help us so we will not die. Help us to have good fortune." If there is a very important man's grave in town it also is "fed" with the new rice and his spirit petitioned for

assistance and protection.

The rice is harvested by nipping it off stalk by stalk with a knife of native forging, much like a paring-knife. Each stalk is cut 4 or 5 inches from the head, with the first leaf and part of its sheath adhering to it. As the plant is grasped, this leaf is cleverly laid at the right of the thumb, so that all the leaves with their sheaths may easily be stripped from the stalks when the "hand" has been cut. The stalk of the last head, left longer than the rest, is used to wrap around and tie the hand. Sometimes strips of rattan or other tying material are used for this purpose. Anywhere from ten to twenty hands are then tied together in order to form a bunch.

The patience required to harvest a sizable field in this manner is beyond the appreciation of people who are accustomed at least to a sickle. The native billhook, a sort of half sickle, could be used to good advantage. But no. "We faddah he do fo' dis fashun; how can we go do

oddah ting?"

In Loma and Gbunde, women cut the rice; in Sapā, Tiē, and Mano, men and women work together. Cutting is usually a family affair, but when villages are small, as in Sapa, it may become a village affair. The cutters line up when beginning the day's work. In the southeast, where both sexes engage in it, a man may alternate with a woman in the line; or all the men may work together on one side, the women on the other. There are also cutting bees in which two or more villages may unite. When this is done, the champion cutter of each town, fittingly clad for the occasion in a new cloth, leads and sets the pace for his people in a race to see who will be the first to finish his appointed area. In Sapa, at least, it is customary to tell folktales while harvesting. Anyone may join in. Sometimes, too, there are men to beat the small drums as they do during planting.

^o See p. 370.

When weather is favorable the hands or bunches of rice are hung on vines set up in the farms or are laid head down on stumps or logs or anywhere where they will dry. When there are continuing rains the drying must be done inside. In the north the dried bunches are put in the lofts of the farm shelters of the village rice kitchens or palaver houses. When there is insufficient room in these the hut loft is also used. This last is where all the rice is kept in the southeast, since there is neither rice kitchen nor farm storehouse in that section, and the palaver house has other uses. Since fires are needed to keep the rice dry in an ever-humid climate, storehouse walls are built higher than those of dwellings, to lessen the danger from sparks.

Rice intended for seed is kept separate from the other rice. The Gbunde and Loma store it in large hampers. The outside of the hamper is smeared and the cover sealed with clay to keep out insects and moisture. In Mano, Gio, and Sapa seed rice is kept in leaf-lined kinja's hung up in a dry, smoky place in the hut or palaver

house.

It is very probable that formerly in the north, when there was continual danger of raids, not much of the crop was stored out on the farms (fig. 54, d). At any rate, everything was speedily brought into town at the first rumor or suspicion of threatening danger, the old men told us.

All the tribes with the exception of the Tië and Sapa store also some cassava roots, first peeled, then dried over the fire; unhusked ears of dry corn; okra pods (cut in rings) and wild mushrooms, both sun-dried; the seeds of the squashlike *Cucumeropsis* of several varieties; millet seeds (seen in Mano and Gio); and sometimes a few beans and peanuts. Aside from cassava, few tubers are planted; mainly eddoes and sweet potatoes. These are dug and eaten as required.

The loft, being a household granary, "belongs" primarily to the women. In Loma men are not allowed to climb into it. Only the head woman of the house may do so, or some other woman whom she delegates. In Tiɛ, in the absence of the head woman of the house, her husband or children may enter if necessary. In Sapā both husband and wife are free to crawl into it, but any other person must obtain their

consent before entering.

The Size of Farms. The size of rice farms depends much upon the size of the household, the number of guests it may expect, the demands likely to be made upon it by the town's head when claims upon his hospitality must also be met. Also, the farmer may have to contribute to the monthly quota of some sixty hampers of hulled rice that each paramount chief must send to the district headquarters as rice tax. The average family farm is only one or two acres.

In Half-Grebo, where rice is grown for sale as well as for the requirements already enumerated, more households seem to have their fields adjoining. Near Reboka (Webo clan) was the largest area we saw anywhere, a com-

munity rice field of 25 to 30 acres.

Most paramount chiefs are now planting special farms to supply the Government's monthly requisition. These are usually large and are worked by all the people. Our hammock men, walking at the rather moderate pace of two miles an hour, were twenty-two minutes in passing from end to end of one such farm that was being cut at the side of the trail near Sakripie (Mano), making it about half a mile long.

Trees. The African's attitude toward the cultivation of trees is well illustrated by the experience of Bishop Oje, head of the Roman Catholic mission of Liberia. He told us that he was laughed at by chiefs of the Kru tribes when he proposed that they set out orchards of oilpalms. Who had ever heard of anyone's being so foolish as to plant trees! That was God's palaver. Had he not always done this? And were there not sufficient palms growing

everywhere to prove it?

Cola trees are almost the only exception. These (and an occasional lime or orange) are planted in the north, especially in Mano and Ge; scarcely ever in the southeast. There are two varieties of cola, one bearing red, the other white, nuts. The red are by far the more numerous. They also grow wild, scattered here and there throughout the forests. The Mano people plant trees singly or in small groups near old graves. While passing through the Ge country we saw along the route small orchards of from thirty to sixty trees. Everywhere they were too close together to allow proper development. Parasites grew on them everywhere. Vines threatened to choke or

break the limbs of many. Occasionally a magnificent specimen was seen growing in the open where it had a chance for full development. When we pointed this out to our carriers and asked them why they did not give all their trees room to grow and produce more nuts, they invariably answered, "You talk fo' true, Massa." The same reply to the same question was familiar to us in the Cameroun. We are certain that our suggestions will have the same negative result and that planting will continue in the same old way. It seems to be a firm conviction of natives with whom we have come in contact, not only in Liberia but elsewhere, that the more trees or plants one can set out in a given area, the greater will be the yield. Once planted they are left to grow as best they can. A meager yield is blamed on bewitching or on harmful medicines.

As cola nuts are one of the chief sources of income and pass for small currency among all

tribes except the Kru group, it is natural that the growing nut pods should be protected from theft by every means possible. "Keep away" emblems of the Poro cult,11 where this has influence, were often pointed out to us. There were many other protective medicines, one form usually predominating in a given locality. In Loma and Gbunde a favorite form was an old machete handle with a small stone tied to it to form a knob on the end where the blade had been. In Mano and GE small bundles of straw fastened to a forked stick were frequently seen leaning against a tree. "If you climb any tree here your house and all your clothes will burn," said our men. Attached to forked sticks leaning against trees were pieces of calabash with holes into which bombax "cotton" had been stuffed. This medicine would supposedly cause the hand of any thief to swell and burst in as many places as there were holes in the calabash fragment.

TIME RECKONING

For the Liberian tribesman there is no such concept as our solar year.12 His year begins with farm-cutting time and ends when this comes around again. As some Loma put it, the year ($k\varepsilon$, Mano; $s\tilde{s}$, Sapa) is from the clearing for planting to the end of harvest. (What became of the rest of the time they could not say.) This would make two years to our one among the tribes that plant two crops a year. Planting time varies for different parts of the country from mid-January to early February, as the seasons vary somewhat.

Classified according to weather the seasons are, roughly: December to early March, the long dry season; early March to mid-July, the short wet season; mid-July to early August, the short dry season; August to November, the long wet season.18

THE MOONS

In Mano the interpreters and informants refused to talk about the "moons" except once at Zuluyi when Paramount Chief Wuo was present. The information given us at that time is

given below with par	allel information receiv	ed
from the Reverend H	Ienry T. Miller.	
From the Old Men	From Mr. Miller	

at Zuluyi January - Big cold Dui dui (misty month), moon moon. of harmattan.

Zā bo lai, moon when one is February - Cold poisoned by a roadside plant.14 moon.

March - Sick moon; Bei kli yo, the cassava bark bad. (The idea is that it is not dry begin farm cutting. time now and it is bad to throw cassava rind about. People get

sores on their legs.) April - Sick moon; Diarrhea from first rains, washbegin to plant rice. ing filth into the watering places.

Rains really set in. May - Wet Moon. June - Wet Moon. Heavy rains.

July - Wet Moon. Locust bloom month. Middle dries.

jungle" and put himself at their disposal for as long and as often as they cared to palaver.

No native knows his age; he feels no necessity for taking the trouble to remember it.

18 See also p. 16.

"One of the Urticaceae.

11 See p. 267.

¹² Time has no significance for the African. How often have we given offense to natives because we have insisted that they hurry. The man who of all men we have known has stood highest in their estimation — and beld that esteem - is one who has "thrown time to the

August - Wet Moon. Bo Y2, constipation month. "Hungry time."

Bo Yo Di, Bo Yo's mother. September – First (It is the month when many rice-cutting moon. chickens starve.)

Yi to kai, no-water-in-the-house October - Big rice-cutting moon. month. (It rains much, and the people put off going for water until tomorrow.)

Wi pea to, animal-tracks-stay November - Small month. (Beginning of dry rice-cutting moon. time when there are no dashing rains to fill in or cover the tracks of animals.)

December -Wala-Wala. (Name imitates sound of big drops of rain, as Small cold moon. swiftly passing thunderstorms drop a few big drops.)

For Gio we learned only three moons.

Kla bo pa, "hoe-neck filled up" - the moon when there is so much rain that the earth is soft and sticks to the hoe, so that planting becomes impossible. This must be May.

Dedezo, the moon when the birds must be kept away from the ripening rice; the harvest moon. Probably October.

Plipo, the moon when rice cutting is finished, except for a small amount that is left for the women to cut. This moon follows Dedezo.

The Gbunde's and Loma's as given us are:

Loma

"A big cold January - Kolo wolo, "Big Vusine, cold." (Harmattans.) moon," the men's moon. (Harmattans.)

February - Kolo wolo, "Big (See above.) cold." (Harmattans.)

March - Bolowolo, when Zupu (meaning same as some begin to cut, clear, Gbunde). and burn farms.

April - Bolowolo, planting Zupu, planting moon. moon.

May - Kali wobu yosogi or Woboe, "everybody glieglie "hoe-neck filled." plants rice." Nightly rains.

June - Nami, drizzle days, (Same as Gbunde.) no sun, constant rains.

July - Latako, hungry time. Monawobuuli, hungry

August-Wooze, begin rice (Same as Gbunde.) cutting; heavy, sudden rains, passing quickly, then sunshine.

September-Woliyabu, har- Kpwolakpwala, rice harvest rice, dry it on mats in sun; no rains.

October - Wozi, light rains, Kulongi, heavy mists in showers come quickly and pass. Same in regard to cutting rice as in Loma.

vest.

morning, no rains; unharvested rice must be cut early in the morning, as it is overripe and the grains will fall out if cut when dry.

Latagoli, Latawoli, November 25 streams all full. Gbunde.

December-Kolo gwei, very Vusai, small cold moon cool weather. Cold small (women's moon).

We are less certain of the Tie calendar. There were only ten "times," also called moons, about which we could get information. We could learn little as to what months of our calendar might correspond to these. The second and third, the cold times, would be the harmattan months, between the end of December to some time in February. But from what we saw of their rice farms (although they were planted very late this year) this would not agree with the sequence given us.

November (?) 1. Jurotjo, cut swamp for the tideover rice patch. Sacrifice of fowl to govã (see below).

December 2. Tjiabwetjo, cold moon; plant rice in tide-over patch; cut big farm; sacrifice a fowl to ancestral spirits.

January 3. Voduo, cold moon; burn and clear the big farm; sacrifice fowl to govã.

February 4. Golotjo, plant the big farm; sacrifice fowl to govã.

March and 5. Gba ya tjo, nothing definite stated April for this time. May

6. Plegbala, rains begin; sacrifice to

June 7. Nyokpwadoba, rice growing well; sacrifice to govā.

> 8. Ditete or bwebe kalo, rains; harvest rice from patches first planted; sacrifice new rice at new moon.

> 9. Bewe or pe we, harvest begins; fowl sacrificed to ancestral spirits and also to govã.

10. Bobstjo, begin to look for a favorable place to cut the next farm; sacrifice to govã.

July and August

September

October

Govã is a heavy, knobbed, cast-brass ring, the most powerful medicine or object—next to a human being—or the southeastern Liberian tribes.¹⁵

The rice planted in the swamp during the second "time," according to their list, is ready for cutting during the eighth, while that planted during the fourth is harvested during the ninth.

While the sacrifice in the eighth "time" is being made to the new moon, the moon is petitioned, "You will find us here when you come again," i.e., keep us alive and well until you are again new.

The Sapā list 16 differs from that of the Tië in that there are only eight "times" of which we could learn. These are:

- Bobetjo, cold; begin to clear some underbrush for new farm.
- 2. Tjagbe, cut vines and underbrush.
- 3. Kiambwe or tjangbi, cut big trees and clear farms.
- 4. Foa tuo, plant rice.
- Wutjo, weed rice farms; pick green corn for eating.¹⁷
- 6. Kaile, cut rice from tide-over patch (middle dries).
- 7. Plegbala, harvest rice.
- 8. Powe, harvest rice.

A comparison of these native calendars with our calendar shows something of the seasonal variation for different parts of the country mentioned above.

Of more importance to the native farmer than the moons is the position of certain constellations. For the Gbunde, Mano, and Sapā the significant constellation is the Pleiades. The Gio watch for *yenegruzengru*, which appears to be a combination of the Pleiades and three stars in the constellation of Orion, near his belt.

Farm cutting must begin when the Pleiades are in the east at sunset. The distance they should be above the horizon varies somewhat in different regions. The Gio and Sapā begin cutting as soon as they are showing well in the east; the Gbunde, when they are about halfway between the horizon and the zenith. The Mano stated that all clearing, burning, and planting must be done before this constellation has passed the zenith. Otherwise the steady rains will be at hand, and it will be too late to plant.

Do (Gbunde and Loma), lo (Mano), mean "market," also "market day." ¹⁹ In some sections, markets were formerly held every four or five days, informants stated, but now it is once every seven days, owing to Government influence or instigation. Now, when any thought at all is given to the matter, the weekly unit is "the market," with four "markets" to the moon. (North.) As there have never been any markets in the southeast, this concept is naturally lacking there.

The days of the week are as follows:

$Gbund\varepsilon$	Loma	
tene	tene folo	Sunday
lala boko	glava folo	Monday
lala va	do boko folo	Tuesday
do boko	dowolo volo	Wednesday
zapolo	zapolo volo	Thursday
sibli	sibli	Friday
lali	lali	Saturday

The day begins with sunrise and ends with sunset. In speaking of affairs, days are counted. Distances are reckoned in nights. A place is so many nights away, not days. The time of day is determined by the position of the sun; also, by the hour when it is customary to do certain things. Thus we were informed in Tie that a certain person left "before palm wine had been drunk" - somewhere between seven and halfpast that morning. On another occasion, we were to meet certain persons "after palm wine had been drunk" - at about eight o'clock. In the afternoon, they might say, "when people begin coming in from the farm"—any time between three and four, depending upon the season and what was being done.

"Fo' soo(n), soo(n) moni(ng)"—early, early morning, is when the "pepper-bird" (Pycnonotus baratus) begins to "talk." This is about half-past five. We were told by several Europeans that this bird is "so regular in its call that one can set the clock by it." Doubtless true, as every man's time is his own and as good as another's! "Dawn" is na po pu (sky things white), Gio; and la pie titi sẽ sẽ, Mano. Sunrise is nya pele (sun breaking), Gio. "Noon" is nyme a nữ mia nyữ zēi (the sun comes over the

THE DAYS

¹⁸ See pp. 363 ff.

¹⁶ See also p. 364.

¹⁷ See p. 101. ¹⁸ See also p. 413.

¹⁹ See also p. 179.

middle of a person's head), Mano; nya a do lauli (sun he stand outside high), Gio. "Sunset" is volo a lozo (sun he falling), Loma; nyine le pia nyini: Mano; longana (sun gone), Gio. "Twilight" is bĩ a nũ (dark is coming).

"Night" is bīmia sē sē, Mano.

"Ko o dea nya," the Gio exclaimed as we stood looking at a wonderfully beautiful sky, colored by the afterglow of sunset, "that is what we say when the sky looks like that. It means the chimpanzees make fun of the sun when they see that fire. It is at this time they come out and are busy hunting for food and

making much noise," they explained. (Chimpanzees being sacred to the Gio, and therefore unmolested, multiplied and were bold in that region. They destroyed much of the food planted and annoyed younger children.)

Mano words for consecutive days are: yoda (yesterday); pene (today); to (tomorrow); di (day after tomorrow); di mãi (the next day after that). To can also mean tomorrow in the sense of any time in the near future. To denote more definite futurity, they say, "when eight days pass," or "when people eat new rice," or "when the next moon comes."

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

VARIETIES and Uses. The domestic animals of the tribes among which we traveled are cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, dogs, cats, and a few guinea fowl. In Mano we heard of pigs, but saw none. In Gio some guinea pigs, originally obtained from the French Ivory Coast, were being raised for food. Mandingo traders bring in a few horses, but they should not be counted among Liberian domestic animals. They are kept principally by chiefs, more for the sake of making

an impression than for riding.1

Cattle are kept by all the tribes and are most numerous toward the French Guinea frontier. They are practically all the property of chiefs or of family heads. Although none were seen in Sapa, they were spoken of in connection with payments and marriages. They are of the Mandingo breed, remarkable for the long forward and upward curve of their horns.2 Those in the southeast have smaller horns. In instances they are very good beef types. These may be descendants of stock brought in by early settlers on the coast, or hybrids produced by interbreeding that stock with the Mandingo cow. Some of the bulls, especially those dedicated to the town's welfare,3 are fine specimens. They are known as "Liberian breed." None of the humped Sudanese variety were seen (fig. 55, a).

The goats are the short-haired, short-limbed, short-horned, stocky, and well-nourished West African type (fig. 55, b). They are black and white, tan to bay and white, sometimes wholly black or brown-bay, or mottled and blotched in these colors. Occasionally, they are gray; gray and white; or gray, white, and black.

The sheep are short-haired, of two varieties,

one of which is maned.

Fowls are small and degenerate, laying eggs about half the size of those of the European breeds. Since eggs are not eaten by the people, the hens are allowed to lay in any place they choose and to set on the eggs when the spirit moves them. Usually eight or ten eggs are the limit of each setting. Their laying capacity of thirty or forty eggs a year, at most, represents a production about equal to that of the wild "bush hen."

Domestic ducks are not native. They are of the Muscovy variety introduced throughout West Africa by the Portuguese. The Mano word for duck is kwito, "American chicken," indicating that it was once unfamiliar. Though there are comparatively few of them they may be found among all tribes. In remotest Gio a chief whose town we could not "honor" by camping in it for the night, presented us with a duck as an appreciation of our having gone out of our road to visit him in the bush.

The dog, when not crossed with some European stock, is the usual yellowish-tan and white, standing-eared, curly-tailed, West African species (fig. 56, c). Most dogs are unfriendly, forever sniffing and snooping for the food they must steal, and being driven away. The small, silent, Mano dogs are well cared for. None of

them like strangers.

Dogs are for hunting and scavenging primarily. They are used by all the tribes to lick the excrement of infants from their bodies or from the ground. When an infant defecates, the dog is called to perform this service and save some person the effort. This custom probably originated through fear that some evilminded individual might obtain some of the excrement to work magic to the child's harm.⁴ This same custom is prevalent among some of the southern Cameroun tribes for the same reason.

Cats are kept as a curiosity, and to control

the rats, which are always a menace.

Besides the domestic animals we occasionally saw a tamed beast kept in town as a pet — a monkey, civet-cat, hog, or other bush meat; rarely, a parrot. Now and then a small chim-

See pp. 35 and 372.

According to an elderly Mano, the horse was first seen in the country near Ganta when his father was about fourteen years old. Some eight years later, one of their chiefs bought one, in what is now French Guinea, for twelve slaves.

^{*}See Johnston, 1906b, pp. 902 ff. for detailed description.

^{*}See below, p. 72, for legendary origin of this custom.

panzee is seen in captivity. The young ape, clinging as it does to its mother even when she has been killed, is easily captured. These wild animal pets seldom survive. Those that do are generally taken to the coast and given or sold to someone there. In Monrovia we saw several young chimpanzees which had been brought from the interior and subsequently sold to traders.

Domestic animals are not raised for everyday consumption. They are reserved for funeral and other feasts, and for sacrifices, and are a convenient form of wealth for payment of fines and dowries.

With the exception of cats, male animals destined to be the pièce de résistance at a feast or sacrifice are sometimes castrated to make them grow large and fat. This is done by the owner if he knows how and feels so inclined, or by someone skilled in performing the operation. The Gio rub home-leached potash into the wound as an astringent and healing agent. Cockerels are said to be caponized by the Mano.

Fowls are sold for 1 to 3 shillings each, ducks at 4 to 6 shillings, depending on the locality. In Mano the old men requested 10 shillings, the price of a sheep or goat, to "get over their hunger," after they had spent the morning giving us information. There, a cow was formerly bought for a slave or for 10 cloths (native weave), each of a fathom's length by 40 inches wide, and worth 4 to 8 shillings. Our interpreter asked us to advance him 4 pounds to buy a calf. He could not afford a cow, which would have cost him up to 7 pounds for a large "man cow." In Gbunde we heard the lament that coast prices prevailed throughout the land; a large beef steer, formerly to be had for from 2 to 3 pounds, now cost from 9 to 10 pounds. In Sapa they are valued at 6 pounds in dowries. (In Monrovia we were told several times that fair-sized cattle were worth 12 pounds each.)

Care and Feeding. Dogs and cats live in the house with their owners. Cats are not fed, because if fed they will not catch rats. Dogs get little more than the morsels which fall while people are eating, unless they are being fattened up for food. A long basket-hamper, suspended under the eaves, with a trellis ladder of raffia midribs leading up to it, often served as a chicken-coop in Gbunde, Loma, and Tiē. By the first two tribes, chickens and ducks are kept in a hollow, built under the clay seatbank outside the hut. The opening serving as a doorway is closed at night with a flat stone held in place by two sticks driven into the ground. In Mano and Gio "chicken coops" are nearly always clay affairs of various shapes, from 2 to 3 feet wide and about the same height, built against house walls (fig. 55, d). In Sapā the only "coop" seen was a boxlike affair of raffia-midrib lath tied together with rattan.

In Half-Grebo both ducks and fowls are kept in their owners' houses. Hens, with their newly hatched broods, are often protected from hawks during the day by being placed under a fisher's cast net suspended from the eaves. Stones are placed upon the edges of the net to keep them from getting out. In the north they are taken to the farms for the day in baskets (fig. 48, e), where the mother hens and their chicks get plenty of bugs and crickets

while their owners are at work.5

Where we saw goat and sheep "pens," they were small, usually built of Musanga sticks, somewhere near their owners' dwellings. In Sabo we saw goats tied up in the huts all day. (They eyed the rough forage thrown to them much in the manner of children eyeing the castor-oil bottle.) While we saw no sheep or goats in any of the other Sapa clans, we were informed that they are kept either in the house with their owner or in a miniature house outside (fig. 55. b). In Tie pens are built up against the hut wall on a sort of platform. Pens are usually round in Gio, resembling the small cylindrical medicine huts. The pole walls are often plastered with clay.

Cattle, so far as we could observe, were left to care for themselves. In two places, Mano and Kpelle, there were shelters for them. During the day, they browse along the ways near towns. The short, grazed-over grass is often one of the welcome advance notices of rest after a wearisome day's journey. In the towns they seek some open palaver house or abandoned hut as a refuge from the heat and the

⁸ See also p. 51.

flies. During the night they wander about. Their heavy breathing and blowing and rubbing up against posts or house walls have more than once caused us a sleepless night. When it rains they try to get some protection under the eaves or wherever a shelter may be found.

We learned nothing of medicines to influence growth, to insure numerous progeny, or to safeguard animals. A general custom for the protection of chicks against being caught by hawks, bushcats, or snakes is to run a skewer through the half-shells of the eggs from which they were hatched. This skewer is stuck into the roof thatch on the outside as a notice to enemies that they will catch a chicken at their risk. Yet even with this precaution we were witnesses, now and then, to a hawk's swooping down and making off with a "protected" chick!

Animal Names. Most dogs, and sometimes cows, sheep, and goats, are given names - the last three especially in Loma and Gbunds. We were shown a "woman cow" at Zorzor (Loma) named "Blackie."

Some dog names are:

Loma: Kwole, "white"

Boiku, "tan" (or yellowish)

Gleyu, "small dog"

Mano: Banuyai, "You come sit down in here"

Ge, "country devil"

Kawuli, "house mouth in" (door sill)

Kmã yi, "There's fish in it" (referring to food)

Wai, "monkey"

Gio: De ba zua, "What's in a woman's mind [belly]?"

Duo, "forest buffalo"

Gwa (name of a long, brown snake, not seen by

Sapã: Jaboduwe, "clay pot"

Jugu, "very fat"

Kpwane, "[Go,] find your own thing"

Hens raising a large brood are called "Begba" in Loma. Whether this is a pet or generic name we could not determine.

To call his dog, a Loma says: "U we! ai! ai! ai!"; a Mano, "Ai! ai! ai!" (rising inflection); a Gio, "E! e! e!"; a Sapã, "Jvo! jvo! jvo!"

Beliefs and Legends. In Half-Grebo it signifies ill-fortune if a cock crows in the evening or during the night. When such an untimely sound is heard all the women of the village run together to get hold of the offender and kill it immediately. At Nyaaka (Webo clan), a merchant had a cockerel that began to crow one evening about ten o'clock, whereupon there was a great commotion in all the village. The people ran to the owner, recounting all sorts of horrible things that had happened — mostly in other places — when such a fowl had not been killed at once. As all these tales left him unmoved, and the out-of-season crowing continued, they next approached him with offers to buy the cockerel. Finally, not wishing to antagonize the community too much, he disposed of his "man-chicken he no get sense fo' de tam [time] he fit fo' [should]

It is said that cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, and fowls were made "when God made people."

The Tie legend of the origin of domestic animals is as follows:

When Ku 6 sent Man down, Man and the animals lived together on earth. All the animals had plenty of food, each getting what he liked in his own way. To Man, the animals gave none. He and Wife became very hungry.

The animals came tormenting them by asking, "How are you going to catch anything to eat, since you have neither claws nor teeth for

catching game or chewing grass?"

Leopard came showing his claws and asking Man where his were. Elephant came showing how he could get food with his trunk, tusks, and feet. All the other animals came, each showing his means of securing food and his manner of fighting. All this made Man and Wife very sad.

They walked. Then they came upon Ku, who was at work fashioning weapons. They told him about their hunger and helplessness. Ku had a "good heart toward them," so he gave Man a machete, a spear, a gun and powder, and fish-hooks, and showed him how to use these new things to get food for himself and Wife. Ku also showed Man how to plant and grow foods. Then Ku told Man that the animals had been bad to him and that he must not do as they had done when anyone came to him for food or help. That day Man returned home with the new things given by Ku.

When the animals came again to torment

⁶ See pp. 317-18.

him as before, he told them, "All come tomorrow and I'll show you how Man gets food."

"Who told you, or who showed you?" they

"Tomorrow! Come and see," Man replied. So they all came the next day. When all had arrived, Man and Wife took their weapons and began shooting, spearing, and cutting them. They fled to the forest, Man and Wife after them, killing and killing.

They followed Cat, which stopped running and begged that its life might be spared. If they wished, it would come to their town and stay with them and rid their house and field of

rats. So they let it live.

Cow, when winded, bellowed, "If you do not kill me, I will stay in your town and you can use some of my children for feasts, dowries, or anything." Thus was Cow spared and came to live in town.

Sheep and Goat also begged to be spared. "You can kill one of us now and then for a feast or whatever you wish. We will live with you."

When Woman-Chicken was about to be cut down, she screeched, "Spare me! You can take me home and kill one of my children for your mother-in-law when she comes to see you."

Man-Fowl crowed, "Spare me and I will arise early and talk to every new day to tell

you when it is to begin."

Dog, when the spear was about to be thrown at him, whimpered, "Let me live! Call me whenever a child defecates. I'll come and lick it clean and eat up the droppings that fall."

So all these, too, were spared and came back to town with Man and Wife, where they have lived ever since. But all the others had not sense enough to ask to be spared. They kept on running in the forest and have been killed and killed by Man and Wife until today.

"American" is used here, as in the phrase "American palaver," to mean anything foreign to their old

Present Scarcity of Domestic Animals. Domestic animals no longer exist in such herds and flocks in the Liberian hinterland as they once did. Yearly they are getting scarcer. There are no more such feasts as the one we were told of in Gio - typical of feasts held by big chiefs in the north, but by no means the

largest we heard of:

When big Chief Tuasama's son was about to go to the men's Bush (become initiated in the men's cult), twelve cattle were slaughtered. A few months later when the boy came out of the Bush his father made another feast at which four cows were killed. Since the whole countryside is invited to participate in big feasts, and since guests must contribute rice, goats, sheep, fowls, or dried game-meat, the chief furnishing only the cattle, a formidable number of domestic animals must have been consumed on such occasions.

Today (1928), there are too few chiefs who could give sixteen of their own cattle and have any left. The depredations of wild animals, wars, the passing and repassing of Government officials and employees along the routes, the goings and comings of native soldiers and messengers (or friends to whom their uniforms have been loaned) — all these have contributed to the scarcity. So, too, have the numerous "fines" imposed in the course of administering "American" justice.7 In order to raise the sums, domestic animals are frequently sold. Again, they are given as gifts to higher resident officials to keep in good standing with them especially when a new one comes to take office. To these factors must be added the occasional sales to "traders" from the coast and the continual observance of old feasting and sacrificial customs. In parts of the southeast domestic animals have practically disappeared from the Liberian interior.

culture, including the Government.

FISHING, TRAPPING, AND HUNTING

Liberian natives are always meat hungry. The prospect of animal food awakens in them an enthusiasm that can hardly be aroused in any other way. Hunting and fishing are to them, therefore, a serious and important business. At the same time they are the most thrilling sport. The man who is a successful hunter is a man of solid position in the community, and he takes great pains to maintain his position and his reputation.

Many of the areas we visited are thickly populated, and game is far from abundant. One not familiar with the African "high bush" can scarcely realize the rarity of animal life in the deep forest. Even birds are so scarce that birds of wholly unrelated species come and stay together in small flocks to keep one another company. Hunting requires great patience, as well as skill, and the hunter too often comes home empty handed.

In uninhabited or practically depopulated areas, hunting in Liberia is still what may be called "good" for forest country — if one fancies crawling, creeping, dodging, and hurdling through the jungle. But even here certain game animals are threatened with extinction.

The elephant is one of these. The district commissioners, who hire the best hunters available in their districts, are responsible for killing off more of them than the entire native population otherwise kills.¹ One such official told us

that in the two years he had been a commissioner (1927 and 1928) he had been responsible for the shooting of more than two hundred elephants. Traders who knew something of him and his doings stated that he was either very modest or had neglected to keep a proper count, since the number of tusks he had sold would indicate more than three hundred. At this rate the elephant must become practically extinct in a few years' time.

Fishing is another story. The numerous streams and swampy meadows of Liberia teem with many kinds of fish and some eels. A Sapa man named for us twenty-two local varieties of fish. Swamp pools and parts of creeks reserved for the sacred fish ² are good hatcheries. Since none of the sacred fish have any distinguishing mark, they are safe only so long as they remain within the prescribed sacred limits.

Naturally, on account of different hydrographic conditions, there is considerable variation in the importance of fishing even within the area occupied by a single tribe. In Gbunde and Loma and northern Mano there are fewer and smaller waters than in the country occupied by the other tribes or in southern Mano.

The best time for fishing is after the cessation of the heavy rains when the streams have fallen. With the lowering of the waters the larger fish begin to go downstream and are then more readily caught.

FISHING

METHODS OF FISHING

Fish Nets. The most important method of fishing is with scoop nets. In the north both sexes have their nets, those of the women being smaller. In Mano fishing with nets is women's business, though the men sometimes help. The nets are round, and made of cord from oilpalm leaf fiber fastened at the circumference to a rigid hoop of vine (fig. 49, g). In the southeast nets are oval and made of raffia midrib splints and fiber cords interwoven. There is no

difference between the men's and the women's. Small drag nets and seines are also used. In Loma these are called $b\varepsilon l\varepsilon$.

When small streams are sufficiently low, dams of stones, mud, and any other suitable material at hand are built across them. Then, as the fish are driven downstream toward the dam the fishers use their nets.

If the water is very low two dams are built, one above and one below a pool or hole where

¹ See also below, p. 81.

fish are likely to be found in numbers. With the water from above shut off and escape made impossible, bailing begins, with anything that will serve the purpose. As the water becomes lower, scoop nets are used. Every side hole that may serve as a hiding place for the larger catfish and eels is explored with the hands, and anything within is brought out. Sometimes a snake bite is the reward of this effort. Not only are fish of all sizes taken, but every other living creature that can be classed as meat: frogs, tadpoles, crayfish, the larvae of water insects. In fact, whatever creeps, crawls, swims, walks, or flies is acceptable. Only witch things have general taboos. So far as we could learn, this kind of fishing is done only by women.

To make sure that nothing will escape, everything taken is killed as caught—the small "meat" mostly with the fingers. The baskets that hold the catch have cords by which they are tied to the belts of the women, at the back, when they fish in shallow water. If the water is deep the cord is tied around the head. The Palepo carry their fish baskets on the head

while fishing (frontis.).

In the southeast and in Mano (and probably in other tribes, too) night fishing is done by torchlight. In Mano the women use the largest scoop nets available, while the men hold the torches and keep them aflame. This fishing may be done by household parties or by a man and his wife. In the southeast machetes are used for night fishing. The fishers wade in the streams, hacking and gathering in the fish as they rise to the light. The Mano say they do not use the machete. The Gio say they do no night fishing at all—an assertion we much doubt.

We could not find any instance of the bow and arrow or the spear being used for fishing.

Fish Traps. Basket traps of various kinds and sizes are used everywhere, though we saw very few, and those, unfortunately, only when no interpreter was handy to help us get their names. The Sapā named ten kinds made and employed by them, but had none to show. The Tië had as many varieties. These are set along the sides at the bottom of streams, or in dams. Boiled or raw cassava root, oilpalm nuts, ant grubs, and other things are put in traps to attract fish, crayfish, and crabs. Fish weirs are also built.

In streams in Gbunde we noted bundles of tofai, possibly a species of Aframomum, which our carriers said were used everywhere as crab traps. The crabs work their way inside the bundles. After the bundles have lain several days in a stream they are taken out and opened. Anything edible found within is taken. It is common practice to cut the legs and claws from crabs to prevent their escape. The natives boil them alive just as we do.

Hook and Line. Fishing with hook and line is done by men and boys. The hooks made by native smiths are barbless. These are rapidly being replaced by imported hooks. Fishlines are made of various fibers. Worms and grubs of the red tree-ant are the bait used. In fishing with hooks, poles of small raffia frond midribs are used or the line is held in the hand. Whether floats are in use we did not learn. Night lines are set by stretching a cord across a stream or attaching it to two anchored floating billets. From the cord depend short lines with baited hooks.

Fish Poisons. Fish "poisons" are used everywhere. They are called dolwe or drie in Sapā, drie in Tiē. The procedure is practically always the same, though the poison substance may vary. Leaves, fruits, and barks of plants are crushed and beaten to a pulp. In Sapā the nuts of the raffia palm, the fleshy pericarp, which contains some oil, are collected and left lying on the ground for two days. They are then put into a hole in the ground and beaten together with sasswood bark and pods and the fruits of a vine called kodubu. Sometimes the leaves of drie (from which this method of fishing takes its name) and of barutu trees are taken. In Gio it is the bark of the gwa tree.

Whatever the material, the pulpy mess is thrown into some pool where it will mix with the water before the current carries it down. The fish come to the surface, where they are dispatched with cutlasses. The fishers slowly make their way downstream in the wake of the

"poison" until no more fish come up.

Some informants stated that the fish were killed by the drug. They are not killed but stupefied. We have taken part in a number of these fishing parties in the Cameroun where similar barks, pods, and leaves are used, and we have never seen or heard of a fish killed by them. It is probable that the multitude of mi-

nute particles caught in their gills causes irrita-

tion or makes breathing difficult.

It can readily be realized that much time and effort are required to collect and prepare the material for this kind of fishing. It is the work of a large number of men and boys; women do not take part in it. On each occasion in which we have taken part there have been more than a hundred and fifty men in the party, each with

a load of "poison."

In the dry season when the waters are fairly low it is customary for natives to go somewhere in the forest where there is a likelihood of good fishing and hunting and there remain for a time—a week or two in Loma, one to three weeks in Mano, one to four in the southeast. A camp of crude shelters is built. Here the fish and meat not immediately eaten are smoke-dried. This kind of camping is called gazie da bozu in Loma, klao in Sapā, balie in Tiē. Men and women, but not children, take part in Loma; men only in Mano; both sexes in Gio; men alone or accompanied by their households in the southeast.

Fishing Medicines. For all of the different methods of fishing there are medicines and sometimes ceremonies. About these we learned very little of any value. In Loma a person of either sex, desiring to know whether he is likely to be successful, often takes his particular medicine—usually kept in a small bag—places a cola nut on top, then petitions it: "Hepi me I go catch plenty fi' fo' today. Hepi me fo' all I go do." The nut is then taken up and split, the halves placed together and tossed into the air. Whichever side is up when they land determines the answer. Again, after splitting the nut, one half is eaten while the other may be chewed and blown onto the medicine or

broken in pieces with the fingers and the pieces laid on the medicine to strengthen it.

In Mano a person about to go fishing crushes the leaves of a tree (not shown us) while he holds them over the net, then drops them into it. He must keep his eyes closed during this operation. Sometimes he buys medicine from one who "knows fish medicines." The price is one cola nut. This medicine may be made in the net. A fisherman who has really good medicine and does not wish others to know how it is made or what it is, or to have it counteracted by influences others might bring to bear on it, starts out in the morning before people are astir, so that no one can see where he goes.

In Gio and Sapa leaves (called bolo tu by the latter) are often put inside nets as medicine. Their aromatic or other qualities may have an attraction for certain kinds of fish. The Gio split the tail of the first fish taken so that many of its brothers may be caught. The Sapa rub "plenty" cornmeal on the face to insure success

in fishing.

Tië women take a handful of fresh waste from making palm oil and rub it on the inside of the net. Here, too, before the fishers set out with torches and cutlasses, water is rubbed over one of the hearthstones and some of the dirty paste then smeared on the faces of the fishers. This is supposed to influence the fish to come toward the flaming torches. In both these tribes the men often suspend their nets, weighted with stones, between two mortars, and build a small, smudgy fire underneath. On the fire are thrown small ants called pelapeye (Tie). These represent the fish to be caught; the ascending smoke "containing them" is the fish entering into the nets.

TRAPPING

In the West African forest country trapping is commonly more practical than hunting. Like hunting, it is done exclusively by men and boys. The traps employed in Liberia are very similar to those elsewhere. The most common of these we shall divide into three groups: (1) pit traps (called gru in Mano); (2) traps that operate by the falling down of a log or weapon (usually heavily weighted) or by the falling of a crude door; (3) noose traps. Various forms

of these three main groups are employed by all of the tribes.

Pit Traps. Pit traps are dug everywhere for catching a variety of animals — but never the elephant in the north or the forest buffalo in Gio. In the southeast they are sometimes dug to catch the manatees. Members of the cat family never seem to be taken in pits, probably because they can scramble out. There was a discrepancy in the statements made by our

informants as to whether or not printed sticks are set in the bottom to impale luckless beasts. Some affirmed, some denied the practice. It may be a matter of individual choice.

Weighted Log Traps or Deadfalls. The weighted log trap for large game and the weighted billet for small game seem to be more frequently used in the north, at least at present, than in the southeast. The best example of this type is made especially for leopards. Like the suspension bridge,³ it is made by the men's society; the public does not see it until it is finished.

The leopard trap is essentially a weighted log suspended directly over a section of the path and rigged with a mechanism which will bring it down upon the animal as he passes under it (figs. 16, a-c and 56, a). Across the path at this point a coarse network of slender fibers is woven, to bar the animal's passage for an instant. As he reaches up to clear away the obstruction with one paw, his weight is thrown onto the other paw, which must now rest on a slab, or stiff mat panel, or grating set into the path. This panel forms the floor of the trap. When the leopard steps onto it he releases a peg-trigger attached to one end of a heavy cord. The other end of the cord is fastened to the long arms of two levers which are supported in notched or forked posts. The short end of each lever holds up a loop of the stout cable of vines by which the weighted log is suspended. When the peg-trigger is released by the weight of the animal on the panel, the levers fly up and the log and its weights fall upon and crush the animal below.

In these traps for leopards and other large game the log is suspended at both ends, one trigger releasing both ends simultaneously. One trap that we saw near Bapli (Gio) was made with a 16-foot log, suspended 5 feet from the ground and weighted with a dozen large stones.

To guide the game into the trap, or to discourage his attempting to detour around it, light fences are made, flanking the approaches to the trap on either side, and converging at the point where the trap has been set up. The one at Bapli, which we examined in detail, had a fence of raffia midrib pickets woven together

with vines and held upright by sapling stakes that extended back along the path for about 150 paces. Raffia palm fronds are also used to make a thick screen-like fence. These light fences would offer no real resistance if a large animal wanted to tear them down, but in making his way through the forest the leopard follows the path of least resistance and yields to the suggestion put before him by the phantom fence without trying its strength.

A roughly semicircular passage fenced with similar material leads around the main part of the trap and furnishes transit for people using the path. This passageway is closed off at night with some sort of barrier or gate, so at night the leopard sees no opening except that pre-

pared for him.

Smaller deadfalls for catching small animals are constructed on a similar plan, with a smaller log or a billet of suitable size. In these smaller traps the weight is usually suspended at one end only, the other end resting on the ground or on another billet. A miniature deadfall is sometimes set up upon an elevated runway to catch small arboreal animals, as described under Noose Traps.⁴

Spear or Harpoon Traps. The shaft of the spear trap is a heavy section of tree, 8 or more feet long, sometimes weighted with stones. It is suspended by a strong fiber rope or a vine from a stout limb overhanging an animal trail. The other end of the rope lies across the trail. The least touch releases the peg-trigger. Spear traps are employed by all the tribes except the Gio. In Gbunde and Loma they are set only for the pigmy hippopotamus, called gia ze (water elephant). In the southeast they are used also for the forest buffalo, wild hog, and large antelope. The Mano were accustomed to use this sort of trap for elephants, which are no longer found in the Mano country and are being rapidly exterminated in other areas.⁵

Cage and Fence Traps. In Loma we saw cage traps built near towns to catch leopards. This type of trap consists of an enclosure some 8 feet long and about 2 feet wide. Its walls are formed of stout stakes set firmly into the ground and securely bound together. Small logs are lashed together to form a roof. Inside,

See also pp. 52 and 271. See below, p. 78.

⁵ See above, p. 73.

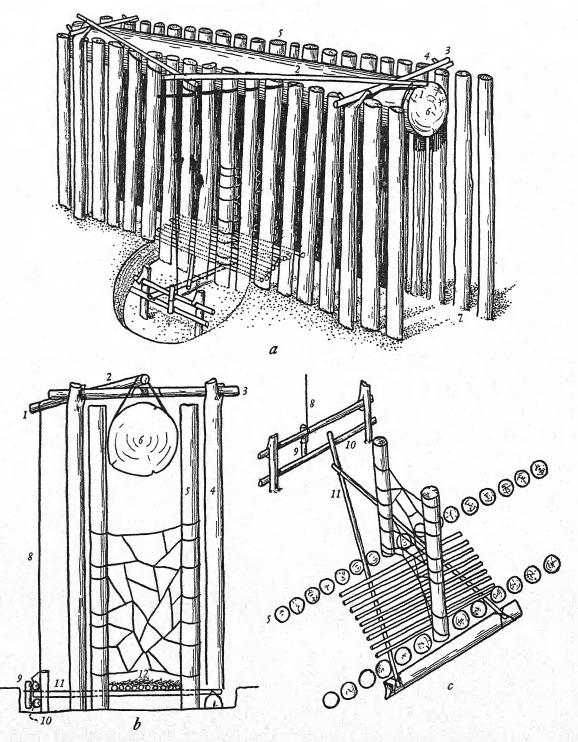


Fig. 16. Leopard trap, Mano. a, side view: 1, point of attachment of cord from trigger peg; 2, lever to the short end of which the log is looped; 3, strong cross bars, supporting the levers; 4, forked sticks, supporting the cross bars; 5, palisade of posts, forming sides of the trap; 6, log; 7, path with wing fences converging on the trap (leopard enters at either end). b, cross section of center: 8, trigger cord; 9, trigger peg; 10, cross rod, held in place only by the friction of the trigger peg; 11, rod on which platform rests; 12, platforms covered with leaves and earth. c, detail of mechanism by means of which the trap is sprung. Length: 15-18 feet.

a row of stakes divides the space into two compartments, each with a door to the outside. Live bait — a lusty-lunged sheep or goat — is put into the smaller compartment, and the door to the outside tightly fastened. The door to the larger compartment is held open by a cord attached to a trigger-network near the central barrier. Attracted by the cries of the captive goat, the leopard enters the larger compartment through the open door. When he attempts to pass the barrier and enter the enclosure where the goat is, he disturbs the network and springs the trigger, and the door descends behind him, imprisoning him. A bell may be fastened to the door to give the alarm to the townspeople, who run out and dispatch the trapped animal by means of spears, clubs, or guns.

In Gbunde we saw fence traps built in the forest away from town, for bush hogs. These are larger than the Loma cage traps, and roofless, since they are used for non-climbing game. Otherwise they are constructed in much the same way. Bait used for hogs is usually ripe

palm nuts and tubers.

Noose Traps or Snares. The simple noose trap is merely a cord with a noose, which may be set either across an animal trail or at an opening in a small, baited, circular enclosure of sticks set into the ground (fig. 17). The animal is caught around the neck and is strangled in its struggles to free itself. The baited enclosure is usually made to catch francolins. While we heard of this only in Sapa, it is probably widely

used, as is the noose trap set in trails.

With the possible exception of the Tie, who claim they do not build them, the natives also employ the simple noose trap extensively in a low, crude fence. This fence is made of anything conveniently abundant that will lend itself to close interweaving. At the side of the trail in Half-Grebo was a fence 315 paces long, built of sections of oil and raffia palm fronds. The nooses were set at small openings every 10 to 15 feet. Sometimes, also, a deadfall trap or a pit trap may be seen at such an opening. Small animals coming to the fence usually walk along it until they reach an opening of convenient size, through which they try to pass. Then they are caught.

Spring-noose traps, (bali, Loma; pole, Mano) are for catching game by the leg or by the neck. A strong, live sapling is chosen, its branches and top lopped off, and a noose firmly tied to its upper end, which is then bent toward the earth until it is low enough to set the trap. When this is sprung the released end

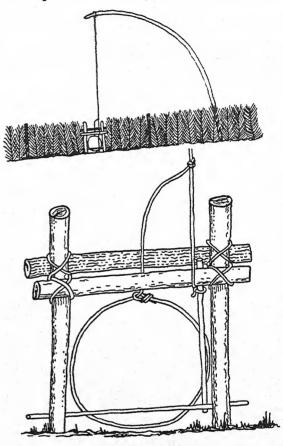


Fig. 17. The noose trap.

of the sapling bounds upward, tightening the noose and, if the animal is not too heavy, pulls it up and leaves it suspended in the air until the trapper (or a leopard) comes along and dispatches it.

A "monkey trap" (goso wolo, Loma; lai pele, Mano; glia, Gio) is a special form of springnose trap made in trees, or on sticks set up between two clumps of trees in such a way as to form a bridge between them. Along this, squirrels, lemurs (potto and galago), and some-

treple (trilled "r"; almost "thr") Sapa.

^{*}Kpwafage, Loma; leakpwe, Mano; kogbwa, Gio;

times the smaller monkeys, walk, to get from one tree to the other or from one side of the trail to the other. This is the most common form of trap and may be seen along the routes everywhere. The noose cord is attached to a sapling as described above. A barrier, usually of raffia midrib splints or of frond ends, is built across the sticks, with an opening in its center. The noose is spread around this opening and a few weak fibers are stretched across and fastened to its edges. When the trap is sprung and the sapling bounds up, the creature is strangled, but the trap is so arranged that the animal is not swung up into the air.

A modification of this might be described as a miniature, weighted leopard trap set up on a narrow bridge, with the trigger sprung by the network barrier rather than by a floor panel.

Bow Traps. Bow traps (so or s5, Gio) are usually set in the loft for mice and rats; sometimes in trees for birds. They consist of a stout, green rod of some species of tree whose wood has a good rebound even when kept bent for some time (fig. 18, a-c). The bow is bent to a "U" shape. At one end is fixed a hollow cone of leaves or basket work. Just inside the rim of the cone are two loops of cord, one from each end of the bow, interlocking like the links of a chain. In the simplest form the short loop actually forms the rim of the cone. The animal can reach the bait only by putting its head inside the cone. When the trap is set the tension is taken off the loops by a separate strand that leads to a peg-trigger or is tied to the bait in such a way that the rodent will gnaw through the strand while eating the bait. The animal is caught by both loops, one pulling each way. This device is popularly called a choker.

Birdlime. Birds are limed by spreading on tree branches a sticky substance obtained from the latex of vines, trees, or fruit. In Mano we met a birdlimer carrying a small pot of it which he called de:. A vine like the one from which the substance had been obtained happened to be growing near the trail. Our boy from the Cameroun recognized it as one that his people used for the same purpose. The Gio use a sticky, rubber-like substance washed out from the fruit of a magnificent forest giant which is called "rubber tree" by the Liberians.

Trap Medicines and Traditions. Regarding trap medicines and taboos we secured little information. In Gbunde we learned that it was the custom, when more than one animal was found in a fence or pit trap, always to allow the largest to escape to the forest. If this was not done the hunter would never again have the good fortune to find anything in his trap.

As an example of this practice the following incident was related to us by an educated Liberian who witnessed it.

At Pandamai a trapper had made a large fence trap and baited it with a number of oilpalm nuts. Four wild hogs entered, ate the nuts, and left, as the trap had failed to spring and close the door. When the trapper came and found what had happened he returned home and washed his private medicine to free it from evil influences. He then killed a fowl and daubed its blood over the medicine to "feed" and thus "strengthen" it. Not long after, he went back, rebaited, and reset the trap. Now his medicine worked well; for this time twelve hogs entered and were trapped! With the help of friends he caught the biggest one and set it free. Before allowing it to go he stretched out his arms towards it and said: "Go back to your people. Go tell them I am a good man. Go tell them all must come to my traps. I have all your brothers and children here."

HUNTING

If our informants may be believed, their people — with a few exceptions — do not make a very creditable showing as Nimrods. There is one clan or small tribe (whose name we failed to record) living to the north of the Tiã

near the Nipwe River who have a reputation as elephant hunters, like the pigmies of the southeastern Cameroun. While we were at Zwadhru (Tiɛ) a party of seven of these husky tribesmen, accompanied by wives and youths

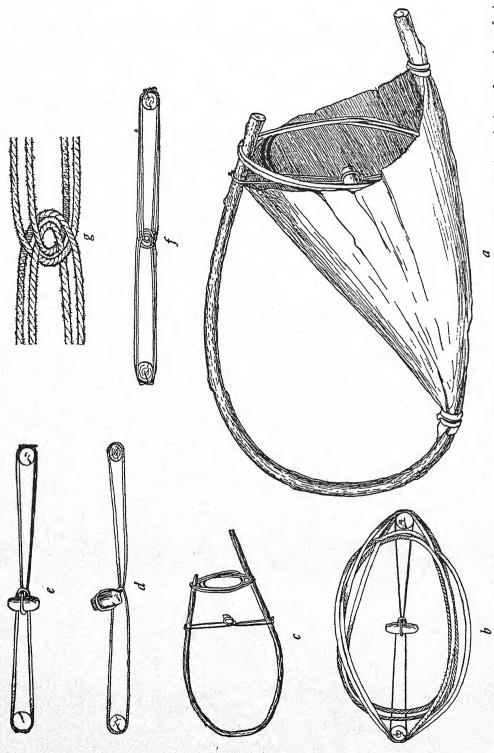


Fig. 18. The rat trap. a, side view; b, front view, showing construction; c, side view, showing construction; d, side view of trip; e, front view of throttle when sprung; g, detail of f.

as carriers, came in at the command of the district commissioner to kill elephants for him. These are the only people of whom we heard in our travels in Liberia who have a reputation as real hunters.

METHODS OF HUNTING

Hunting is done in three ways: driving the game into long nets, using weapons alone, or

weapons and dogs.

We did not learn much about hunting with baskets or small hand nets, but this method is said to be used for catching animals living in ground burrows, chiefly porcupines. Since there are two kinds of porcupines found in Liberia, much sought after because of their fat, it is possible that they are caught in this manner as well as in traps. (We have sometimes wondered whether the affection of the colored man of our own southern states for fat opossum is not a heritage of his ancestors' affection for fat porcupine.)

Most hunters worthy of the name imitate the sound of the male animal calling the female or of the antelope wounded or in distress. Their cleverness at imitation determines, of course, their success. As the animals cautiously approach the place from which the sound comes, a glimpse of the hunter or the least movement he may make frightens them and

sends them scampering off.

This calling up of animals is not without its dangers. To guard against these, hunters go in pairs, or one goes with a boy, and the two stand back to back, wary and alert, waiting for a victim to approach from any direction. The finest leopard and largest python we ever saw were both attracted to their death by what they mistook for the cry of a wounded antelope. In anticipation of an easily secured meal they had stolen up toward the hunter, who "saw them first."

In the southern Cameroun it is considered that to utter such a call in town will spoil a hunter's power to entice animals. So far as we could learn, this belief is not held in Liberia.

Hunting with Nets. Hunting with nets (mumo, Loma; di:, Mano) is confined to the north and central Kpelle. The Mano maintain that actually it has become impracticable to do much hunting in this way, since the

"Melika" (as the Government and its officials are called throughout the north) have come. "We no longer have time to make nets," they said. The method is used in Ge and in those sections of Gio bordering on Ge, but not, approach in the root of Gio.

parently, in the rest of Gio.

A party of men and youths go to some place agreed upon where game is likely to be found. Several nets, each 4 feet high and 30 or more feet long, are stretched out, tied together to form one, long, continuous net, and set up with sticks like a fence. While some of the men are doing this, others, sometimes accompanied by dogs, have stationed themselves a good distance from each wing of the net-wall. When everything is ready they begin to beat the bush, driving every animal before them as they walk slowly toward the net. In Loma, at least, it is the custom for those who set up the nets to stand at the flanks of the wall where they keep out of sight while gently waving branches. Animals coming up to the nets and seeing no one do not try to jump over them, but keep trying to find a way through. When the beaters are sufficiently close the game is attacked with spears and machetes. Few animals escape (fig. 57, a).

We obtained no information concerning medicines for this kind of hunting. The Loma

claimed they had none for it.

In dividing game taken in this manner it is customary in Loma for the owner of the net forming that part of the wall at which the animal is killed to be given the head, shoulders, and a hind leg. The rest of the animal is divided among the other members of the party. In Gio animals are divided equally among all participants or they are cooked and eaten by them in common.

The Chase. For the chase, bows and arrows and guns are used (figs. 56 and 57). Dogs usually accompany their masters. Bells are hung around the necks of hunting dogs, except in Tie. Each of these bells contains a small, round ball of iron instead of a clapper. Dry leaves or other material are stuffed inside to keep them from ringing until the hunter wishes them to "talk." The dogs themselves are absolutely silent.

Hunting with Spears. While all the tribes have spears, the Sapa, Mano, and Gio no longer use them for hunting.

The Sapā (and probably others in the southeast) also have a special, chisel-shaped spear with a strong shaft, the length of which depends upon the sort of game for which it is intended. On an animal trail the shaft is firmly implanted with the broad edge of the spearhead parallel to the trail. As the animal walks or runs along with head erect he either impales himself on it or has his belly ripped open by its razor edge.

Hunting with Bows and Arrows. All the tribes likewise have bows and arrows, but these have become only playthings for boys in Half-Grebo; and in Sapa they are used only for

killing monkeys.

The arrows of the southeast are rounded and pointed pieces of raffia midrib. In common with those of the north they sometimes have a feathered shaft. In the north there is also a very heavy, iron-tipped arrow for larger game,

called mã in Mano (fig. 65, s).

Arrows and spears, as well as harpoons and traps, are poisoned with a concoction the principal ingredient of which is strophanthus seed. We found this poisonous vine growing everywhere. Formerly unknown in the southeast, it has been introduced from the north and is now employed by all the tribes. That used for hunting in Loma is slower in its action than the kind formerly used in warfare.8 That which we saw in Mano had been boiled in a clay pot, together with the rubber-like latex of a vine called lono. With a rough spatula the hunter was smearing the preparation onto his arrowheads. He stated that anyone could make it. The conditions to insure its effectiveness were that the maker refrain from cohabiting with women for a day before he begins; and that he arise early, go to the forest before anyone can see him, and make the poison out there where it cannot be "spoiled" (by evil influences put upon it). Gio informants said the same thing. In Loma only a doctor is able to make the poison.

Hunting with Guns. The hunter with a gun goes alone, accompanied by a dog if he has one; or, sometimes, accompanied by another man armed with a spear. More rarely, two or more men with guns go out together. We saw

an instance of this in Gio, where two of them brought back a python over 20 feet long.

The guns are mostly the old flintlock type, numbers of which have been converted into percussion-cap guns by local smiths. Many chiefs have shotguns also. Before purchasing guns and ammunition the natives are supposed to obtain permits from a Government official. All guns are registered. Permits to take powder and caps into the interior for trade are almost impossible to secure. At two places where we camped we saw authorized Government agents examining carriers' loads to see whether any guns or ammunition were being taken home to the interior illegally. However, there is no scarcity of either powder or caps, as the Mandingo traders, especially those coming from French Guinea, smuggle quantities of both into the hinterland. Bootleg prices are, of course, demanded. One trader offered to furnish us with all we might care to buy, "even if it would be more than a ton!" We have no doubt whatever that he would have made good his words if we had been interested in his proposition.

With cartridges for the shotguns it is otherwise. In practically every community in which there was a shotgun the owner begged us to let him have a few of our shells at practically

any price, as he could get none.

With the exception of soldiers and ex-soldiers and those who have learned to imitate them, the native fires his gun from the elbow or held at arm's length. For shot he uses pieces of iron of any kind or lugs cut from brass bracelets. Bits of iron ore will do.⁹ To kill elephants and other large animals, a short-shafted, round- or square-pointed, chisel-shaped spear is shot from the gun. In the blade is a hole stuffed with poison. A sort of tow made from the dried fibers of various plants serves as wadding.

In Mano, Ge, and Gio we saw rawhide pouches of various animal skins which form part of a hunter's equipment and are carried only when he goes hunting. Those of the Mano were smaller than the others. In these pouches are kept the special hunting medicines, arrow poison, shot, wadding, a small knife, and any other things the owner fancies.

⁸ See p. 230. ⁹ See p. 231.

¹⁰ See also p. 234.

HUNTING MEDICINES AND PRACTICES

Giving a Youth his First Gun. The Loma and Gbunde say there is no special time for a father to give a gun to a son who has attained the proper age, nor is there any special ceremony connected with the event. A youth may buy or earn himself one, though this does not

often happen.

According to Paramount Chief Wuo, when a Mano youth receives his first gun, it is the custom for the father to fill his mouth with water, then blow it onto the gun. 11 By this act he puts his strength and blessing upon it. After this the gun is told how much it has cost and what is expected of it. If the youth soon after this kills any game, the gun "has heard well." If he misses, or the animal is wounded and escapes, the gun "has been deaf." In that event medicine must be made "to give it ears." In other regions of Mano it was said to be customary first to rub the gun with medicine, then sacrifice a fowl, using part of its blood to smear on the stock.

The Gio state that they have a ceremony only after the youth has killed an animal with

his gun (or bow).

In Sapā the youth is allowed to try his luck with a borrowed gun. If he kills game, the father calls a doctor skilled in making medicines for both hunter and gun. Some of this may be tied to the gun. In Tiẽ a white fowl is sacrificed before the first hunt. Its blood is poured over the stock, to which some of the feathers are then stuck, the coagulated blood acting as adhesive. The fowl is cooked and eaten with rice.

The First Animal Killed by a Youth. The Loma youth gives his father the first animal that he kills with his own gun, provided the father has given him the gun. The father eats the head, brisket, internal organs, and intestines, either alone or sharing it with his head wife. This sharing is allowable, because husband and wife are considered as constituting but a single individual. The rest of the meat is shared with whomever the father chooses, the youth also getting a bit. If the father is proud of his son's accomplishment he may give him a new native

cloth or some other thing that will please the boy, but more frequently he makes these gifts after the son has killed his second animal.

At Busi (Mano) we were told that when a son killed his first animal, it was the custom for the father to call all the important men of the town proudly to inform them, "See! I now have a son who can kill meat for me." The father eats the intestines, then the heart and its surrounding organs. In another part of Mano the father is said to retain such parts of the animal as he chooses, and he and his son eat them together. Neighbors and friends are

given the rest.

The Gio seem to have no uniform practice in regard to the first animal killed. Those of the southwest, near the Mano, state that the father first cuts out the brisket, which the son may not eat until the chief gives him permission. Then the animal is cut up, the father giving to his son only the back, from the neck to and including the fifth or the seventh rib. This portion the son eats, while the father has the heart and attached organs, the kidneys, spleen, and brisket cooked for himself. The rest of the meat is given to the household and to friends.

The Gio near Tapi Town state that the youth must do whatever the doctor tells him with the first animal he kills. The doctor always demands a good share of it for his fee. (Informants said they had never known a doctor to ask for the whole animal.) Then he gives instructions for dividing it. But before it may be hacked up the hunter himself eats the heart, which must be cooked in water without salt or other seasoning. The lungs are next taken by the hunter and hung up inside his house to be eaten a few days later. 12 Sometimes only a day, sometimes two or three, pass before the young hunter asks his townsmen, "Who wants to eat of this with me?" Any man (never a woman) so inclined brings some rice, thus announcing his intention of accepting the invitation. The lungs are then taken down and cooked with the rice, but without salt or condiments. If these were added to either the

¹² Our Mano interpreter said he had seen this done in Mano; on one occasion the heart was still attached.

heart or lungs the boy's future hunting would be "spoiled." If no one brings rice the hunter

gets some himself and eats alone.

The animal's skull is kept in the palaver house or in a small enclosure before the hunter's own house. This shows his prowess to all passers-by. It is not kept for medicine.

In Half-Grebo and Sapā the procedure depends upon the kind of animal killed. If the first game killed by the youth is "town meat" 13 he comes home and tells his father, who in turn tells the community. All the youths of the place go out and carry the animal in to the central space to be cut up. If it is an elephant the whole town goes. All the internal organs, together with the intestines, are cooked in palm oil and eaten by all belonging to the same section of the village as the boy's father.

In Half-Grebo and in Tiɛ, if the animal is not town meat, nor claimed by any special group, ¹⁴ the boy always gives it to his father, who divides it, giving his son the head and those parts that he must eat as medicine. If the son has a wife she gets the heart and other internal organs, except the liver and intestines, which the father keeps for himself. He does as he sees fit with what is left, after having given about half to the doctor who made the son's

medicine.

Parts of the Animal Eaten by the Hunter as Medicine. Certain parts of every animal killed are required eating for the hunter. These parts are not the same for all men. They might be, for example, the left ear and foot, or any other combination. The heart is nearly always one of these. In Loma the specific laws and taboos of the hunter's personal medicine must be taken into account.

In Gbunde the hunter cooks the heart and other internal organs and the intestines with water and palm oil; he then "feeds" his medicine with some of this brew (and also with the gall bladder) and eats the rest. He must cook it in the house where he sleeps. In Mano, Gio, and the southeast except Tië, the hunter eats heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and kidneys. In Tië he keeps for himself the heart and tongue only. The other internal organs and the intestines he may share with his wife or any friends he may feel inclined to ask. In the southeast the wife cooks these parts for her hunter-husband.

¹⁸ See below, p. 89.

14 See below, p. 89.

Talking to Hunting Implements. In some tribes hunting implements are customarily talked to, petitioned, and told what is expected of them, while medicine is put upon them. The Loma say they never do this; the Mano, that they would do so only before going to war, and then only to guns; formerly they did so also to spears.

Sex Taboos.¹⁵ The Loma hunter must abstain from sexual intercourse for a day before he goes out hunting. In Gio this applies only to elephant-hunters. For the rest of the tribes of the north no definite statements were obtainable. In the southeast we heard of no such prohibition, but it doubtless exists there, too.

In Half-Grebo, if a hunter's wife is pregnant and the time of her delivery is near, he dares not shoot at a leopard, lest it work harm to

the child.

Medicines for Hunting Dogs. Keenness of smell and fleetness of foot are the two qualities the Liberian natives recognize in their dogs. These they try to augment by the use of medicines. All the tribes make "smelling" medicine. This is forced up the poor, struggling creatures' nostrils amid howling and lachrymose protest. A Gio must obtain this sort of medicine from some big hunter. One ingredient is always the leaves of a certain tree (unknown to us) boiled with whatever else the individual prescription calls for.

In Loma and Gbunde it is customary to rub medicine on a dog's nose to give both keener scenting ability and greater speed and endurance. Great store is set by the first animal sighted after the application of this medicine. If this one can be caught others will be taken,

too

Collars are put on dogs for three purposes: for protection against any animal trying to get at the dog's throat; for attaching hunting bells and medicines; as medicine for fleetness, cunning, or any other quality characteristic of the beast from whose skin the collar has been fashioned. At Busi (Mano) we saw two men armed with bows and arrows and short spears, ready to set out upon a hunt. They were fastening a collar around their dog's neck to protect it against snakebite and to give it speed. In Tië a hunting dog's collar is fashioned from the hide of some animal killed or caught by the

¹⁵ See also p. 183.

dog himself. This is strong medicine against snakebites.

In Gio, when a dog accompanies his master a few times and catches nothing, or when it is eluded by several animals in succession, this is a sure sign that evil influences are "on the dog." To cleanse it of these its chest is washed with a concoction prescribed by the diviner.

Before a hunt sacrifices are also made "on the dog" when necessary. A fowl is killed, some of its blood smeared on the dog, and on its medicine collar and hunting bell, after which the fowl is cooked with rice and palm oil. A little of this dish is then smeared on the hunting implements, the rest eaten by the dog and by those whom he is to accompany. This is a unique instance of an animal participating in a sacrifice.

It is also customary (Tie excepted, according to informants) to give a dog a piece of the flesh of any animal he has killed or helped kill. The size of the piece depends upon the size of the game taken and upon the master's generosity.

Human "Hunting Dogs." Young, unmarried Half-Grebo men belonging to the warrior's novice class, called *Klaklabe*, ¹⁶ must frequently accompany hunters to track game as dogs do. This serves to develop in them the ability to locate, steal upon, and trail enemies, as well as animals. In Africa the hunter may often be also the hunted.

The Tië Hunter's Dance and Sacrifice. The Tië have a dance in which the hunter's chief wife participates. She does so because she has seen him make his medicine — even helped him make some of it; for example, the medicine to help him find an elephant quickly. Part of the ceremony in connection with this dance is the sacrifice of two white fowls. The hunter and his wife allow the blood of both birds to drop on the gun; then they take up some of this mingled blood and smear it on their faces.

Sapã Elephant-Hunter's Dance. In elephant hunting so much is at stake — personal safety, fame, the enormous amount of meat, the goods obtainable in exchange for ivory — that many medicines, ceremonies, and dances are necessary for protection and success.

In a Sapa village we came upon the medicine place of a successful elephant-hunter whom we had met in a Half-Grebo village. (The stench of decomposing meat being dried over slow fires advertised his most recent kill.) Here, in a miniature rectangular hut, 3½ feet wide by 4 feet long and 4 feet high, screened in front with a raffia fiber curtain, was a fine medicine collection. In it were a tin box and a trade trunk filled with various medicines; sections of raffia midrib; a coil of rattan; a piece of bark; a monkey's skull; a large "beefsteak" mushroom; the hind-leg bones of a pigmy hippo; a small wine glass; a wooden palm-wine dipper, with a long handle carved at the end to represent a bird's head (an object that caused us to forget the tenth commandment!); two, nicely ornamented, clay, palm-wine pots; two elephant's sole horns from the right forefoot.

We had a two days' enforced stay here, because our carriers refused to go farther, and no townsman would leave until all the meat had been dried and put away in a safe place. As a recompense for the violence done our nostrils during this time we witnessed the ceremony performed by this slayer of two-tusked pachyderms in preparation for his next hunt—on which he was to set out the following day.

The ceremony began in the space before his hut. Everyone not too busy with other affairs was present. As he came out of the hut he held an elephant's tail in his right hand and a calling horn in his left. Slowly and stealthily he stalked along, in imitation of a hunter stealing up on his quarry. Behind him in procession came one man carrying his gun, another drumming with a stick on a piece of raffia midrib, then a woman, and last an elderly man. These four chanted in unison while the hunter murmured in a low tone as if talking to himself. All five went on in this fashion, the spectators making way for them, until they reached the central medicine place. Here they were met by an old warrior with a brass medicine ring fastened to his forehead and a medicine necklace of small, wooden blocks studded with pieces of iron and aluminum. The hunter went up to the old warrior; they embraced and exchanged greetings.

After this the hunter handed his elephant's tail and his horn to the gun-bearer and took the gun from him. This he pointed in various directions until suddenly he sighted an imaginary beast. He then went through all the mo-

tions of taking careful aim and shooting, after which he handed his gun back to the bearer.

Next, with his arms bent outward to represent the ears of a listening elephant, he walked to a cassava bush growing near the medicine place, reached up his right arm, and pulled down a few of the leaves in imitation of an

elephant feeding.

Then he went up to the four followers and said something to them. They answered with a chant, begun by the woman, then taken up by the drummer and the elderly man, both of whom stood at her left. This alternate speaking and chanting was repeated three times, after which the hunter again took his gun and started back for his hut, "hunting" as he went. The chorus followed him, chanting the while. When they reached the hut they all went inside.

Remedies for Repeated Failure. If the hunter goes out several times and finds nothing, fires and misses, or merely wounds animals and they escape, something is wrong. Possibly his wife has committed adultery in the presence of his medicines (Gbunde and Mano). If, after investigation, a Gbunde woman confesses to this, she gives her husband a fowl. This he kills and smears some of its blood on his medicines to remove the effects of his wife's infidelity. The fowl itself he cooks, feeds a bit to his cleansed medicines to restore their strength, and eats the rest.

In the southeast the hunter attributes failure to a "bad" trail; the next time he goes by a different route.

Everywhere there is the possibility that one's medicine has been influenced and made powerless by some stronger medicine in the possession of an ill-wishing or jealous individual. In this event the doctor (southeast) or the diviner (north) is called to prescribe. A sacrifice, generally a fowl, may be found necessary to strengthen his own medicine or to appease the opposing spirits. Sometimes the hunter is informed that his old medicine is of no more value and that he must throw it away and have a new one made.

If bad influences are suspected of being at work on guns, bows, and spears, they must be washed off with medicine in water. In Gio certain leaves are put into the water. In the southeast the hunter puts his hunting medicine in some water with which he then washes both the weapon and his face.

The "Bush's Meat." In Gbunde it is customary for the hunter to cut out a small piece of each animal secured, put it on a leaf, and leave it at the place where the animal was killed. This is by way of a thank offering to the ancestral spirits for their supposed help, and an inducement to them to continue their patronage. Our informants from the Gizima section of the Loma - the region about Zolowo, Zorzor, and Zigida - claimed that their people did not have this custom. One of our interpreters, whose home is in French Guinea north of the Gizima clan, told us that in his section the hunter cut off any piece and buried it with a prayer to his parents, if they were dead. If they were still living, then the prayer was offered to the ancestors' spirits. We did not hear of this custom among the other tribes.

If a Mano hunter kills a wild hog he cuts off the tail on the spot, for fear it is a were-animal 17

that might otherwise disappear.

If a Half-Grebo hunter kills two large animals on the same day he leaves one of them in the forest to rot, because he fears that his good fortune may cause practitioners of black magic to become jealous and bewitch him.

Disposal of Dangerous Meat. Crocodile gall is considered poisonous and must be pub-

licly buried.

In Gio the pulp inside elephants' tusks must be cooked and eaten in the forest. If it were to be brought into town there would be misfortune in the community and no more elephants would be killed.

Antidote for Killing of a Totem or Taboo Animal. Taboo animals are known as "family people" in pidgin in the southeast. Should a hunter accidentally kill one of these animals he must bring to it a living sacrificial gift, usually a white fowl (Half-Grebo). In presenting this gift to the dead beast he says: "I beg you, fambly man, you no go vex fo' me. I no go look you ploppah fo' bus(h). He be gun, he no be me, go kill you." The living gift is then released and allowed to go about its business. The poor, slain "family man" is given to another family or clan to whom it is neither taboo nor totem. These gratefully receive and consume it.

¹⁷ See Familiars, pp. 355 ff.

Human nature being what it is, one can readily understand that there is a higher mortality among "family people" by "accidental" death than is strictly necessary. A fault of their own, of course, since they have chosen to be so lenient and easily placated. Where there are neighboring households or clans with other totem or taboo animals ready to reciprocate when one of their "family people" is killed—"accidentally" or otherwise—well, a hunter is a hunter and hates to miss a good shot. Anyhow, for once, the ancient lawmakers had an inspiration to help future generations out of a difficulty and at the same time make a concession to the stomach.

How Sapā and Tiē Hunters Announce their Success. When a Tiē or Sapā hunter has killed an elephant he gathers some leaves of a swamp plant called *bea*, sticks the bunch under his belt, and goes home. No need for him to tell the news; his bunch of *bea* leaves speaks for him.

If he has killed a hog, forest buffalo, pigmy hippo, or large antelope called ka (Cephalophus sylvicultrix?), he wears a soe on his wrist and hangs one on his gun. This soe is a bracelet made of the red heart of the camwood tree (Baphia nitida). For a leopard or an elephant he must, in addition, put a soe in his medicine bag. It remains in place four days for a "man" animal, three days for a "woman" animal. (Our Sapã informants expressed some doubt as to all the details in connection with this custom in their tribe.)

Trophies. Certain parts of animals may be kept as trophies. A Sapā Nimrod informed us that he retained the sole of the right foot of every elephant he killed. He showed us one he had just secured. A few days later we saw it in his medicine hut as we passed through his home town, to which he had sent it. Here and there we saw heaps of skulls before houses. In Konibo these were impaled on multi-forked poles planted in the ground at either side of entrance doors. These were rather to show the prowess of their possessors than to use as medicines.

Division of Meat. The Hunter's Problem. The division of the spoils is an important mat-

ter in all native communities. It will not be difficult to visualize the effect of bringing a dead animal into a village where the daily routine is so monotonous and meat hunger so prevalent. It is the signal for the gathering of all the quarter, if the town is large; or the entire village, if it is small. Everyone talks at the same time; no one bothers to listen to what another is saying. The hunter, his ability, the animal, everything pertaining to him and it, are vociferously commented upon. Those who have even a faint hope that they may influence the slayer to hand over to them ever so small a piece of meat, vie with his nearest friends in laudatory remarks — uttered, to be sure, where he can best hear them.

With watering mouths everyone crowds around to watch the hacking-up process. When a morsel falls, some urchin instantly seizes it, shooting his hand through the tangle of legs and arms much as a football player snatches a fumbled ball and runs. It is no wonder that the great hunger of the crowd sometimes leads to indiscretions, followed by hot words, and these in turn by blows.

We once witnessed the division of a wild hog. If the hunter had attempted to satisfy all the claims upon his friendship, as well as his obligations to his household and family, he would have required a dead elephant rather than this hundred-pound creature. The problem is always to satisfy the greatest number and give offense to the fewest possible.

Game That is the Inherent Right of Certain *People*. The right of certain people to particular animals or parts of animals is a subject on which our notes are all too meager. In some instances the matter is simple. For example, there is a large eagle called go by the Gbunde and bwila by the Gio. When one of these is killed it must be given to the chief who in turn must give it to his paramount chief. Formerly, since it was the "king of birds," its claws were given to a successful war leader who had subdued and "broken" towns. The feathers were worn by warriors with reputations. In Gio the bird was eaten by the kula, the town's war leader.18 Today the chief makes such disposition of it as he sees fit.

When a touraco is killed a Gio gives the tail and wing feathers to the medicine people of the town. In Tie these feathers are worn only by men who have killed enemies in battle.

The neck of the forest buffalo, go, is the portion of the zo or medicine people's section in Gio (fig. 56, e). If the town has no zo section, the neck is given to the smiths. If it is so unfortunate as to have neither zo section nor smith, a quarter of the animal, including the neck, is "dedicated" either to the zo section which should be but is not, or to that of another town, and then eaten by those who dedicated it. In Sapa the buffalo's head belongs to the warriors.

Elephants belong to the chief in Gbunde. 19 When an elephant is killed its tail is cut off and taken to him. He then sends representatives of his different towns to cut it up under the directions of a man whom he chooses and makes responsible for a proper division. The trunk and the internal organs, including stomach and intestines, go to the chief. He, in turn, gives to the hunter the parts he is to eat as medicine. (He may also give the hunter goods, or even a woman, if he sees fit.) Persons who are given a foot keep the sole horn for making bracelets. In Gio elephants are divided among the towns of the clan to which the hunter belongs. In Sapa the whole elephant belongs to the hunter. If he kills it with a borrowed gun, only the tusks belong to the owner of the gun.

As the elephant's tail, often ornamented with a handle of elaborate leather work, is one of the insignia of the chief's office, it must always be given to him in the north. In the southeast it is the property of the hunter, who gives it to

whomever he chooses.

Elephants' tusks seem to have had little value in the north until the advent of the Government. In the southeast, where early contact with traders has taught the people something of the value of ivory, tusks have long been sold

for cash or traded for goods.

In Gbunde the tusks, like the flesh of the elephant, are the property of the chief. A Mano chief gets the tusks of the first elephant killed by each hunter — and usually those of several succeeding elephants. Thereafter they belong to the hunter, but he continues to give one to the chief now and then "to show his good heart toward him." When a Gio hunter kills an elephant the tusk on the side lying uppermost is his; the other is the chief's. In Tië tusks are family property, and as such they are given to the head of the family. If he sells them for cash he keeps the sum for future family requirements. If he trades them for goods these are divided among the family of the members.

The brisket of the leopard may be eaten in Gio only by elders and chiefs. Skin and teeth belong to the clan chief all through the north,20 according to Gio informants. In Mano the chief may, in addition, command that certain bones required for medicine be reserved for him. A local chief has the same right, provided that he does not request the bones required by his overlord. In Half-Grebo they belong to

the trapper.

The value of both skin and teeth varies considerably in different regions. At Pandamai (Gbunde) a tooth is worth one to two native cloths. A "rich person" who wants some teeth very much will give six to eight bundles of "irons," 21 now valued at a shilling a bundle, for each tooth. In Half-Grebo the teeth have not much value. Soldiers and others buy them up at a nominal price and sell them in the north at a tremendous profit. The Sapa and Tie use them as medicine; the Half-Grebo, usually, as ornaments.

In Half-Grebo the male "bush goat" (Cephalophus niger) belongs to the Gofa or upper warriors' class. Any member of the clan who kills one must give it to the local organization. The Gofa is free to give to men of other social groups pieces of the right fore leg and the hind legs only. The females of this species may be eaten by anyone.

To the fourth social group of the men, the elders, who have taken the name of the bo antelope (Bongo boocereus eurycerus) as their group name, all of these animals belong. The Bo members, like the warriors, are free to give away pieces cut from the right fore leg and

the hind legs.

In Mano the entire bush hog belongs to the warriors. It is divided secretly in the bush ith elaborate ceremony and feasting.

Town Meat. Large animals frequently belong to the whole town.22 Such animals are called "town meat" in Half-Grebo, which is a convenient term to use here for all meat of this class.

In Mano town meat includes go (leopard), bis (elephant), crocodile, hippopotamus, and python. These are brought to the chief, whole if possible, for him to divide (fig. 56, b). In Tiế they are $g\varepsilon b\varepsilon$ (the bush cat, Nandinia binotata or Felis aurata), gidi (the eagle, Spitzaetus), badiye (otter of two species), bwili (python), and the leopard. When one of these is killed the hunter takes it to his father, who hands it to the head of the family. He, in turn, takes it to the clan's "big man," the paramount chief, who divides it - but how and among whom we were unable to learn. In Half-Grebo town meat includes the leopard,28 forest buffalo, hog, large antelopes not belonging to the social groups, and the pigmy hippopotamus. The town chief is responsible for a just division of it. These lists may be incomplete.

In Half-Grebo the town meat, and any other large animal to which no special group can lay claim, is taken to the town's medicine near the palaver house and there hacked up on a plank of buttress root, as already noted.24 The hunter takes his share and divides the rest. Smaller game he takes to his own hut and there cuts it up and divides it.

Other Customs Regarding the Division of Meat. The Half-Grebo hunter reserves for himself the chine with tail attached; the Sapa, the whole half of the back with the tail attached.25

In Gbunde the portion of the hunter's wife (or wives) is the loin, except that of the elephant. She may do as she pleases with it. In Half-Grebo, hers is the head; in Sapa, the ears and lower jaw. She is given the ears so she can hear her husband "when he s(h)oot fa' fo' bus(h) an' so she go hea' him de time he go need her" or "de time him chop be ready fo' chop." (Presumably she does not need the help of the jaw to "jaw" him, or anyone else for that matter, if all women have the ability of those we heard.)

The hunter's family, outside his own household, seems to have no claim upon what he brings in. The Loma say that the family must buy, like anybody else, unless the hunter is in a very generous mood.

If two Loma go together on a hunt and only one of them is successful he is entitled to everything he gets. The other can have no claim upon it. If several go out together, the killer of an animal is likewise entitled to it, but custom decrees that he must give the brisket and a hind leg to the senior hunter in the party.

In Mano, if one member of a party merely wounds an animal and another kills it, the latter gets only the belly, the chest, and the back to the fourth rib of one side. The first to wound the animal gets a larger share. In Gio, in these circumstances, the killer gets a front and a hind leg.

According to information given us at Pandamai (Gbunde), when a wounded animal is pursued into territory recognized as belonging to another clan and there taken, the paramount chief of that clan is entitled to a front and a hind quarter — also the neck if he insists.

If a hunter announces that an animal he has wounded has been lost track of, and the animal is found dead the same day, it belongs to the man who wounded it. If it is found on the following day, or later, it becomes the property of the man who finds it (north). "But if he is a true man he will divide it half-and-half with the one who wounded it." In Half-Grebo such an animal is divided equally between the hunter and the finder if found the same day it was wounded; if found later it belongs to the finder. In Sapa the hunter can claim it the first and second day, but he must give the finder a "ham." "If he is stingy he will try to give only the neck." In Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) it belongs to the finder unless the man who wounded it comes upon him before he has the animal cut up. In that event the animal must be cut transversely in the middle; the first hunter gets the front and the finder the hind quarters. In all tribes if a second party kills a wounded and escaped animal several days afterward, he has the right to the whole of it.

²² For exceptions, see above, p. 88. ²³ Actually, leopard is "country meat" in which the

whole clan shares, see below, p. 91.

²⁴ See pp. 39-40. 25 See also above, p. 88.

When a Mano man lends his gun to another for hunting, the owner is entitled to a fore and a hind "leg" (quarter). The hunter gets the head and some other pieces — also the neck if he has carried the meat home. The rest is di-

vided among friends of both parties.

To carriers bringing an animal in, it is customary in Mano to give the neck or chine; in Gio, the "neck" — which a greedy man may claim to extend halfway down the back. It is really surprising what giraffe-like proportions even the neck of a pig may assume when the carriers are left to cut off for themselves as they see fit!

All game killed by a serf (or, formerly, by a slave) belongs to his master, who rewards the dependent according to his inclination at the moment. A Gio chief told us that a slaveowner might give his slave the intestines or

skin, or the head or other bony piece.

Informants in all tribes, both in the north and the southeast, said that it was not necessary to give meat to the chief; though to a paramount chief, the Busi (Mano) townsmen said, it was customary to give the brisket and belly. He may also share occasionally in eating the heart. The village "big man" sometimes shares the liver with the hunter. The Gio insisted that a stranger who had permission to live among them, in the chief's section of town, was under no obligation to give anything to the chief. While there is, then, no compulsion, it is unlikely that a chief would not be "remembered" by his "children," in the expectation that he would "remember" them on occasions when his support would be most welcome.

In Sapa the war leader's rightful portion is the head of any animal except the first one

killed by a novice hunter.

THE LEOPARD: PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1

Celebration of the Death of a Leopard. The leopard is everywhere the foremost enemy, feared 26 and hated as is no other animal. It not only kills sheep and goats, but sometimes attacks man. A hunter seldom survives an en-

counter with a wounded leopard. Though the elephant is the destroyer of farms, there is no such animosity toward it. The killing of a leopard, therefore, is the occasion of great excitement and unique ceremonies. We cannot conceive that victorious warriors, leading noted captives upon whom the populace might "feed fat the ancient grudge," would be acclaimed with any greater enthusiasm than is the slayer of a leopard or those carrying in its lifeless body. We have witnessed this scene several times both in Liberia and in the Cameroun.

More leopards are killed in traps than by all other means. When one is killed in the north, word is brought to the chief, who selects a party of men to bring it in. In the days of slavery only freemen were eligible for this duty.

While we were camping in Paramount Chief Wuo's town (Zuluyi, Mano) a leopard that had been killed in a deadfall trap was brought in. It was carried on a frame of poles on the men's heads. The leopard's head had been covered with cloth lest a pregnant woman see its teeth and so come to disaster.27 The reception it received was typical of the whole region.

As the eight men neared the town, boys and girls ran to meet them. Their yelling attracted others, who rushed out to join the procession. Singing and hand-clapping began. The more enthusiastic and emotional danced in circles around the carriers. Louder and louder grew the rejoicing over the fallen foe, now two days dead. The procession poured into the chief's large compound, completely filling the court. There followed more singing, dancing, and what we interpreted as cursing and tonguelashing of the carcass. This was finally deposited before Chief Wuo's house, where he took charge of the proceedings (fig. 56, b).

He first lauded the man who had built the trap, in terms which, if the interpreter may be believed, would lead a modern advertising agency to seek his services. Then the carriers came in for their share of praise for having brought in the dead animal. Next, he told the carcass what a pestilential nuisance it had been, and laid more abuse on all its "tribe." At this

28 The leopard is so feared that a hunter finding an animal killed by a leopard dares not take it until he has first eaten a piece of the carcass raw, in imitation of a leopard. This ritual makes him for the moment a man

of the leopard's totem (pp. 351 ff.). The real leopard will say, "Oh, another leopard has taken my meat." Otherwise he will say, "A man has been here," and

point a person was chosen to remove the canine teeth and give them to Chief Wuo. The women were sent away. Then the hacking up and dividing began. As the carcass was in a state of decomposition and smelled like a very big, dead cat, we requested the chief, in whose compound we were staying, to have it taken behind the palaver house. This he did and we saw no more of the ceremonies.

The Gbunde have a somewhat different procedure after the triumphal procession has reached town. In the northern section of the tribe the carcass is set upon a tripod stool, with a cloth over its head. The lifeless creature is then tormented as a captive prisoner would be. The populace, gleefully chanting, dances in circles around the stool, heaping vile epithets and taunts upon it. It must make vicarious retribution for all its brother leopards' past, present, and future offenses, as well as for its own. When the poor, dead brute's season in purgatory is fulfilled, as indicated by the lessening enthusiasm of the mob, the chief motions for silence. He then designates a man to remove the canine teeth and another to skin it. After these operations have been performed the hunter's medicine portion is cut out and handed to him. The carcass is then laid where there is plenty of space around it. At a word from the chief, delivered through the towncrier, there is a rush by the men and boys toward it. Then begins a struggle to get at the meat, no matter how decomposed. Everyone tries to cut off as much as possible for himself and his household.

When a leopard is killed in Half-Grebo the news is signaled by drum to the surrounding towns; for leopard is "country meat." It is customary for all to come who can, especially those belonging to the same clan as the slayer. Each social class gathers in a group. The slayer of the leopard is presented with small gifts of anything convenient. If the leopard has killed a person, or is suspected of having done so, the carcass is immediately attacked with machetes and hacked to pieces. Otherwise it is allowed to lie until some time after noon, when the celebration begins.

Any wrestler from another town of the clan may challenge any person of the town where the slayer lives. If the challenger throws the one who has come forward to "defend his town's leopard," he earns for his town the right to carry the dead animal home and have the "play" there. (This play is much the same as in the north.) If the defender wins, the carcass remains where it is.

Whichever town the celebration takes place in, the leopard must be divided at the medicine place of the slayer's town. The skin is removed, the four prized teeth taken out, and the hacking up begins. Young and old of both sexes, if they have no taboo against it, may eat the flesh.

There is an interesting variation of this routine when no challenger appears for the wrestling match. Two small boys are detailed to sit on the carcass and defend it against the small boys from another town. Men of the hometown warrior class may help the small boys defend the carcass, in which event the invading men may help the invading boys. At the end of the sham battle everyone present follows the victorious band. There is a big dance and parade, with the carcass, after which it is returned to the place where it first lay.

There is also a pipe-smoking ceremony, which we heard of in Wulebo (Sapã). Entering a hut there we saw a pipe, the like of which we had never seen before (fig. 63, e), and we tried to buy it. The people in the hut refused to sell, saying it was a "leopard pipe." Only when a dead leopard was brought to town, we were informed, was this pipe taken down from where it hung against the wall. On such an occasion it was "loaded" with tobacco, put into the mouth of the dead beast, and afterward smoked in turn by all the town's "big men" 28

The first night we camped at Nyaaka (Webo clan) we were awakened by the sound of shooting. In the morning we learned that Mr. Allersmeier ²⁹ had been aroused and called to shoot a leopard caught in a light steel trap. A native soldier had fired half a dozen cartridges at very close range without even grazing the animal's skin! Since Mr. Allersmeier had killed it, it was his property according to local law; but the townspeople came saying, "We beg fo' you, you give we dis meat fo' we make big

²⁸ See also p. 105.

²⁹ See also p. x.

play." Their request was granted. With great shouting and singing it was carried to the paramount chief's town about two miles distant, where they held their "play." A large crowd brought it back. After Mr. Allersmeier had removed the skin he gave them the carcass to eat.

Rewards for Killing a Leopard. In the old days slaves were usually well rewarded for killing leopards, though the Gio said that none were ever given their freedom for it. (If a chief wished to free a slave girl he would do so by giving her a leopard's tooth to wear.)

A custom generally followed in the north is to give a present of some value for a hunter's first leopard. For the second leopard, in Gbunde, a woman may be given. The chief at Sanokwele (Mano) said that a woman was usually, though not necessarily, given to a hunter for every leopard he killed. The gift might be postponed in the hope that the hunter would eventually kill another. Then one gift would suffice for both killings!

Medicines to Protect against Leopards. Individual medicines are rarely needed for protection against leopards, as it is only rarely that a leopard in some locality becomes a manslayer. The leopard is the common enemy, so medicine is made for the community, through its council of chief and elders, designed to frustrate his designs upon helpless flocks and herds.

At the entrance to the town of Zupui (G ϵ) we crossed a barrier on the ground. While a hut was being made ready for us we examined it more closely. We also found similar barriers at other entrances. We guessed that they were protection against either leopards or witches. Making inquiry of the people we learned that there had been a pest of leopards. They had repeatedly killed goats, sheep, and fowls. Neither traps nor other methods of catching them had availed. So the town fathers, after consultation, sent for the chief doctors of the country round about. They came and set up these barriers as part of the medicine. These consisted of two hardwood posts, about 3 inches in diameter, set 12 feet apart, one on each side of the path. Wedged in between them and fastened down to the ground by a hooked peg at each end, was a stout pole. A vine was wound around this, near its center. Buried underneath, at the center of the path, were other medicines. This simple device had, if the chief spoke truly, sufficed to scare off the beasts! Did the medicine man know how to entice the leopards into other territory, or were the leopards "human leopards?" 30 We wonder.

Responsibility for Injuries or Death Caused by Leopards. If a person in Half-Grebo wounds a leopard, returns to town and asks for help in killing it, he is held responsible for any injuries it may inflict upon any of the helpers. In the event of the death of one of them he must pay the family of the deceased a bullock or a cow. For injuries the recompense is determined by the chief and the heads of the families involved.

There was a case pending before the District Commissioner's court at Nyakka, which had been taken there for final settlement just before we left to return to the coast. A leopard had been killing a man's goats, which were housed outside the hut under the eaves. Another man asked and secured permission to set a steel trap. One night, while the owner of the hut was absent and his wife with an infant child was alone in it, the leopard came and was caught. Frightened by the roaring of the tortured beast and his frantic efforts to tear his paw out of the spiked trap, the woman lost her head completely. The man who had set the trap, and others who came running, heard her screams and saw by the shaking of the door before which the leopard was raging that she was trying to unfasten it. Despite shouted warnings to keep inside or to go out by another way, she kept tugging at the door and finally opened it. Holding the infant in her arms she appeared in the doorway. With a blow of its paw the leopard crushed the infant's skull; then he bit the woman in the small of her back, breaking her spine and killing her, too. The setter of the trap was held responsible and was sentenced by native law to pay for the two persons he had "killed." He had appealed to the District Commissioner's court in the hope of a pardon, or at least of a reduction of the fines imposed.

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

FOOD

FOOD is the chief daily concern of the Liberian hinterlander. The food he enjoys most is meat. From insect to man there is scarcely anything that he has not eaten at some time.

Meat. Cannibalism. Before Government control became effective, cannibalism was openly practiced by most of the tribes in the north.1 The Gbunde and Loma were loud in disclaiming that they had ever practiced it, even ceremonially, except when it was "found necessary" that part of a human being be eaten as medicine. According to them the Belle, a small tribe belonging to the Kru group, wedged in between the Gbunde, Loma, and Gola, were the horrible example. "They were like the Mano! They even ate their own dead! Yes, and if there was one among them who made too much humbug [persisted in stealing, working black magic, or making a general nuisance of himself | he was taken to the high bush [deep forest], killed, and eaten there." Thus the Gbunds and Loma informants cleared their tribal skirts of any suspicion that their people were ever eaters of human flesh.

The Mano and Gio mutually accused each other of being the worst offenders. When we were in Gio, and our Mano interpreter would have it that his own people were the least guilty, there was a chorus of protest. One of the older men present came back at him vig-

orously:

"It was not long ago that your people, when they heard that one of ours was sick or dying, came to arrange with his family to buy the corpse, so they could eat it! And did not the sons of your tribe come to the sons of our tribe, while their mothers were yet living, to make arrangements for exchanging their mothers' corpses so that they might eat them! Listen to him! The Mano did not eat people!"

From what we later learned here and there it would seem that the old man was telling the

truth.

¹For detailed description of cannibalistic customs among the Loma, see Volz, 1910, pp. 213-16.

All the tribes of the north were agreed, however, that the Gio were formerly the most ruthless in the killing and eating of human beings.² One Gio chief boasted of the many he had killed and caused to be killed for eating.

"Ten years ago I was in this town," our interpreter said, "when men had come for a feast at the invitation of this chief. I have seen as many as three slaves brought in, after they had been given a good meal. The chief would say to his guests, 'Here are the cows for your feast.' Then he or someone appointed by him beforehand would turn upon the slaves. Before they could move, a spear would be run through them and they would fall dead. They would then be taken, cut up, and cooked."

Whenever a leopard caught one of this chief's goats, we were told, the diviner was directed to name the man "who was the leopard." The person named was forthwith taken, killed, and eaten. When a leopard killed a man, perhaps as many as ten men would be incriminated as being "leopards," caught, killed, and

eaten.

Enemies fallen in battle were eaten if the corpses could be carried off. The Mano, perhaps others, sometimes took revenge for such deeds. The brother of a Mano man eaten by the enemy might organize a party to go to the enemy town and there try to capture a man. If the attempt was successful the captive was

eaten before the party reached home.

In contrast with the Gio, no Mano would eat anyone belonging to his own town. This tribe had no scruples, however, about polite exchanges between neighboring towns. When a Mano person died from a witchcraft ordeal or was sentenced to death as a result of it, his townsmen might invite the people of a near-by town to carry off the corpse and eat it. Sometime later, when a witch was found in that town, the compliment would be returned. In Gio the victims of ordeals were given to unrelated persons in their own towns. No one

² See p. 252.

⁸ See p. 299.

anywhere would eat a member of his own

family.

In Mano both men and women might eat human flesh. One chief said that formerly only grey-haired persons were allowed to do so. In Gio, men and boys, also women past the child-bearing age, might eat it.

the skin, even of the buffalo, hippo, and elephant. One must see a toothless person's efforts to chew a piece of the hide of any one of these for a real appreciation of its toughness. We have known old women to munch for hours before they were finally able to swallow such morsels. The next day they would ask us for

Loma			Mano		Gio		Sapã		English
τ.	STLO	(suei) ngi	(wi)	พนี	(wı)	go	de	dru	head
2.	"	kogi	"	kbε (or kpε)	"	bo	"	pudru	neck
	"	kıkıgezu		zodu or zola	"	du (short)	"	kineli	brisket
3.	"	kpakizozuve	"	pofia	**	gbieso			chine (between shoulders)
4.	"	kpakigi	46	gba (low tone)	**	gbala	"	bo	shoulder
5.	"		44	po	**	gbie	44	bo	foreleg
6.	144	ze	44	zei	44	ko	44	bola	loin
7.	**	puluve	"		"	kpo	"		rump
8.		punogi	46	gbo	66	_		DOM	flank
9.	"	kakai		sãi -		saī or se			
IQ.	44	kogi	"	gida		gula			belly
II.	44	kubuve		goi	66	ve			hypogastrium
12.	44	kbalai	""	gbã (high tone)	66	gba (short)	44	bo	hindleg
13.	"	ploi	"	kma	"	kma			scrotum
14.	"	towi	**	kpılı		kuwi			penis
15.			"	wo		wo			tail

Wi suo (or suei) and de are generic terms for meat or animal, and are prefixed to all the names for specific cuts.

In Mano, zo means "heart"; zo du, "breast bone" (du really means "cartilage"); sai wele, "ribs next to flank" (short ribs); (wele, bones).

In the southeast cannibalism seems to have been limited to the eating of slain enemies and of parts of human beings when prescribed by doctors as medicine. In Sapa only the men might eat human meat — and the boys if they were brave enough.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the northeastern Liberian tribes differed little from the rest of Africa with respect to cannibalism. There was, however, this difference between them and the central Congo tribes: they seem not to have been man-hunters for the sole purpose of obtaining meat. Slaves, serfs, war prisoners, witch people, and those who had no one to protect them were the chief victims. It was never safe to go walking alone after dark or in the forest.

Animal Meat. The chief source of meat was and is animals, domestic and wild: domestic, when feasts and sacrifices are made; wild, whenever hunters and trappers are fortunate enough to secure them. Practically everything is eaten but the bones. Edible portions include

medicine "to kill the worms walking in and biting their bellies."

The pulp inside elephants' tusks is cast away by the Gbunde, who find its softness disgusting. On the other hand, it must be eaten in Gio.⁴ It is also eaten by the Sapã.

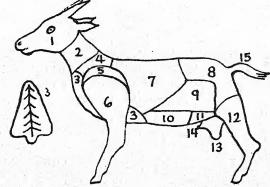


Fig. 19. Cuts of a butchered or hacked-up animal.

The different cuts of a butchered or hackedup animal are numbered above and may be identified by reference to figure 19. The Loma eat all but the head of the horse. This part is given burial like a person. The reason for this we did not ascertain, nor did we learn whether the head is eaten by any of the other tribes. Only the nobility in that tribe

may eat dogs.

The toad and the chameleon are not eaten by any of the tribes. It is everywhere considered a misfortune even to meet a chameleon. A Mano believes that he would die if he were to eat either of these two creatures. The Gio say that toads cause their eater to have craw-craw.⁵ In this tribe, only men and boys eat the owl. Other foods not eaten will be discussed under taboos.⁶

Rats of all kinds are said to be eaten in the north, even by paramount chiefs. In the southeast they are eaten at least by children.

Snakes are eaten by all the tribes, but not all tribes eat every kind. The thick puff-adders, sometimes 4 feet long (Bitis of two species), are much sought after. Pythons must be given to and divided by the town's "big king" in Gio and Mano. A small, green snake called gepa is eaten by the Gio but not by the Mano. The Sapā refuse the long, black snake but eat a small one of that color.

Lizards are eaten in the north. In the southeast, among the Sapa, these are prescribed by doctors for women during pregnancy as medicine to "make dem pikins he go bo'n fas' dem tam she go fo' bo'n him" (in other words, to help her have a quick and easy delivery), because lizards are fast-moving creatures. Mano and Gio children trap and snare them and eat all kinds; the men and women eat any they feel inclined to. Doubtless the choice depends upon the degree of meat-hunger they feel at the moment. A small, brownish skink, which the Mano call gai; a larger, multicolored one, zo (Rispa fernandi); the large monitor lizard, zola (Varanus niloticus) are among the species used for food.

The tortoise of the genus *Cinyxis* is found and eaten everywhere. It is usually killed by being dropped into the fire and pushed back in when it attempts to crawl out.

Invertebrates. Among the invertebrates, land and freshwater crabs and crayfish are eaten by all, but "fresh-water oysters" (Aethe-

ria) are rejected in the north as an article of diet. The Mano say that they are too slippery. In the southeast, in Sapā at least, they are eaten by children.

The large snail (Achatina), the shell of which sometimes attains a length of 6 inches and a breadth of more than 4 inches, is eaten by old and young. These snails are plentiful. We found a small heap of their shells beside the route at almost every clearing we passed. Either they had been found during the clearing and the snails removed from their "houses" and cooked on the spot, or they had been roasted during the farm burning and collected and eaten by the workers as they rested beside the trail. Smaller varieties are collected and eaten by children. Whether or not slugs, too, are an article of diet, we did not learn. There seem to be few of the forest-dwelling tribes of West Africa that eat them.

Large, green grasshoppers are eaten by the Gbunde, Loma, Mano, Ge, and some of the Gio clans; for example, the Nikwe clan.

The fat larvae of the palm-boring beetle (Rhynchophorus phoenicis) and of the rhinoceros beetle (Angosoma centaurus) are enjoyed in both the north and the southeast.

Termites, since they are very fat, are a delicacy. By the time the first heavy rains have fallen at the close of the long dry season, these have reached the swarming stage and are ready to come out of the ground in countless numbers. Then people say, "The termites will fly tonight," and they prepare to collect them (men only in Man). Each person makes an opening in a termite hill and in front of it digs a pit 15 to 18 inches deep. Then, before daylight, he takes a bundle of dry raffia splits, lights them, and holds the flaming torch near the opening he has made. The insects, attracted by the light, come out, fall down into the pits, and are scooped up in handfuls and put into a net lined with broad leaves. When enough have been gathered or the swarming ceases, they are taken to town, put in pots of hot water, and boiled for about two minutes. After this they are spread out in the sun on a reed mat and dried. Later they are placed on rice fanners and "winnowed" to get rid of as many wings as possible (fig. 58, a and b). They may

⁵ See p. 396.

⁶ See pp. 345 ff.

be eaten as they are, or toasted on potsherds, or used as soup stock with smoke-dried fish.

Our arrival at Tapi Town happened to coincide with swarming time. One morning we awakened early to find all the women busy "winging" bucketfuls of these "toasties." Everyone was munching them in a manner startlingly reminiscent of peanut-eaters at a circus. This continued for several days.

Several varieties of caterpillars (zokolo) are eaten by all the tribes - except the Gio, if the statements of informants were correct. The best-liked varieties feed on the leaves of the bai (Terminalia superba). Mandingo traders first brought them to the Loma markets, we were told, and taught the people how to eat them. This is very likely true. Most of the Loma, however, found that "dey make we seek [sick] fo' belly," so the demand dropped. Those whose digestive organs find them not too objectionable gather them from trees and bushes where they are feeding. From what we heard it appears that the Sapa and Tie have always eaten caterpillars. The hairy varieties of these crawlers are singed by putting them into drying trays and holding them over the fire. We did not see anyone deftly and quickly turn the caterpillars inside out by means of a small skewer "to clean them," as is often done in the southern Cameroun, where they are also eaten.

Millepedes, centipedes, scorpions, and earthworms are eaten only as ingredients in medicines

Children seem to eat almost any small creature that comes to hand. They dig the large cricket (*Gryllotalpa*) out of its hole in the earth, make it defenseless, and roast and eat it. Loma and Gbunda children eat various spiders. Gio children roast the house spider and eat it. The children of all the northern tribes eat roaches.

The invertebrates are usually cooked in water, sometimes with okra or some other vegetable, seasoned with salt and pepper, and eaten with rice, tubers, or cooked cassava beaten in a mortar.

Vegetables, Greens, and Fruits. Rice, millet, corn, plantains, and cassava are staple foods. Eddoes (Xanthosoma sagittifolium) are not much liked, but everybody cultivates a few. Three kinds of sweet potatoes—the reddish skinned, the yellow skinned, and the white skinned, are planted near the coast; in the in-

terior they grow more or less wild. Yams (Dioscorea sp.), peanuts, and sugar cane are planted in Gio. Several varieties of wild yams constitute a not inconsiderable part of the diet in sections not overpopulated. Beans were seen at the Loma and Gbunde markets and were growing luxuriantly in Sapa gardens. Small tomatoes are eaten by all the tribes in the north, as are several local varieties of eggplant called "bitter ball" in Liberia. Small quantities of other vegetables may be raised in one locality or another: such as a certain long squash and the edible Luffa.

Pini guo, as it is called in Mano (Cucumeropsis edulis) we found cultivated all through the Kpelle country, and here and there in other northern localities. Only its squash-like seed kernels are eaten. At a market in Loma the kernels had been toasted. They keep well raw and are good substitutes for peanuts.

The leaves of a number of cultivated plants are used as greens. These include: the tender leaves of cassava (maida, Loma; beila, Mano; bedebedi, Gio; solo, Sapã); those of the okra plant (kpwasada, Loma; zāla, Mano; zāda [high tone], Gio); the new and still-folded, central leaves of the taro, and sometimes the leaf stems also; leaves of the sweet potato vine; sometimes those of a variety of eggplant (ko:la, Loma); and of one or more species of the Amarantaceae. The Loma eat the tender ends of the shoots of squash vines.

Wild mushrooms, of which there are many varieties, play quite a part in the household economy of all hinterland people. It is seldom that toadstools are mistaken for them. If a woman finds more mushrooms than she can use conveniently at the time, she dries them in the sun or over the fire and stores them for future use.

Leaves, shoots, and roots of many uncultivated plants are eaten, of which we can list only a few.

"Palm cabbage," the tender heart-bud of the oil and raffia palm, is eaten by all the tribes, especially when other food is scarce, as it was in some of the regions we traveled through. As this can be eaten raw, people who find themselves without food when far from home or in hiding, also make use of it. Sometimes the tribes of the north eat the tender shoots of Ancistrophyllum secundiflorum. This is very bitter; at least, it was so to us.

The Loma eat the leaves of the plant, pelevili (not seen by us) and the tender leaves of young bombax trees. These latter, called kwalowolo, boiled together with palm oil, peppers, and native "salt," make a truly slimy mess of greens. The Gio gather and dry the young red leaves of the forest tree, sagli, and later add some of them to soup as it is being cooked, "to make it slip down easily." The Mano dig the root of the forest vine, ze. This is boiled and the juice squeezed out. It forms a glutinous mass, much like okra, and is eaten with beaten cassava (dumboy).

Very few fruits are cultivated besides plantains and bananas. The plantain is the most widespread and the oldest of the native fruits. Bananas, limes, and oranges were introduced by the first European explorers. The orange has not spread far from the coast. Limes are semi-wild but are often planted near town. Several fruits introduced at a fairly recent date have become widely distributed on the outskirts of towns, where they have grown, undoubtedly, from seeds thrown out upon the rubbish heaps. These include bread-nut, papaya, and pineapple.

All other fruits and nuts eaten in the hinterland grow wild. Few of them constitute an important article of diet. The fruits, as a rule, are eaten only where one happens to find them; few are palatable to the white man.

One of the most pleasing to us was the large, green, apple-like fruit of the Mimusops djave, one of the Sapotaceae (kpo, Mano; me, Gio; tjulu, Sapã). It is, unfortunately, difficult to chew. Under the skin is a white latex that quickly coagulates and sticks to lips, teeth, and gums. Embedded in the pulp are from two to five oil-yielding seeds, the oil from which is occasionally extracted for cooking.

The wild mango (Irvingia barteri) one of the Simarubaceae is of considerable importance in the southeast. Its fruit, which resembles small, green apples, contains one flat seed. This is toasted, beaten in mortars, and boiled with water and salt, to make a thick, slimy gravy eaten with rice, cassava, or tubers. The Sapa, after beating the toasted kernels, mix them with charcoal of a tree called *toloe*, reheat them, beat them again, then mix them with water and boil. The fruit juice has a pleasing odor and taste. In fact, every time we passed one of these trees when the ground was strewn with decomposing fruit the odor recalled the cider mills of New England.

Another edible nut is that of the Coula edulis (se, Mano), a species of Olacinaceae.8 The round kernel, when boiled, tastes much like boiled chestnuts.

A nut used by the Gio is called ma. This is said to be so bitter that it is boiled in five different waters, after which it reportedly tastes like rice.

The Loma gather, wash, and dry the nuts of the zedui. The kernels are toasted before eating.

The Sapa roast and eat the seeds of two hard-wood locusts called *tjagbo* and *ma* (not the *ma* of the Gio, noted above). The pods contain from six to ten seeds. These drop out as the pods split, and are then collected. Those of the *ma* are green in color, and the size of large lima beans.

Among the fruits, we may mention Amaralia Sherbourniae, the pulp of which is refreshing. Mano warriors on a raid often used to snatch it as they passed along; eating it "gave them strength." We liked the small, yellow, plumlike fruit of Burseraceae sp. (?) (davagi, Loma; kwei, Mano; to, Gio). A similar but smaller fruit is Spondias mombin (balovia, Loma; buna, Mano). The red, velvety skinned fruit of Trichoscypha arborea, which grows in large clusters from the trunk of the tree, is the size of a large plum. Another fruit, resembling red cherries, which also grows in clusters from the tree trunk (donyagi(?), Loma; kei, Mano; ngu, Gio; bo bo tai tu, Sapa), is probably Maesobotrya edulis. It makes excellent jam and jelly. Some of this fruit we ate stewed at Ganta. Another fruit we liked was that of the tree, Pentadesma butyracea. The fruits of several varieties of Landolphia vines also have a pleasing, tart taste. In Mano we ate an orange-colored fruit the size of a lime, which has a sickly, sweetish

⁷ See below, p. 98.

⁸The three foregoing trees are among the hardest of the West African forest woods. We found them in all parts of the country through which we passed. The se, especially, is extensively used for house posts

by the people of the southern Cameroun because of its great resistance to termites. "It spoils their teeth," is a saying there. We were surprised to find so little use being made of it by the Liberian natives. The Americo-Liberians value it highly.

taste. This also grows on a vine. It is called bofia (Carpodinus sp.).

Spices. The native woman uses a number of spices to season her food. Chief among these are salt and the "cayenne" peppers (capsicum of several varieties). If space is available these peppers are planted near the hut; otherwise, somewhere near town. Bushes may be found wherever the seeds have fallen from some woman's basket or kinja. They are also distributed by means of bird droppings. Peppers are used either when the pods are still green or when they are red ripe. In general, a few days' supply is picked as needed, though the ripe pods may be dried, stored, and used at any time. They are usually ground on a board before being put into cooking pots. Some of the varieties follow:

Shape of Pod	Loma
pepper (generic)	bolo
small, red, elongated	bolobolo
larger, red, elongated	gizesasagi
large, red, elongated	kpwanagize
small, red, round	ghobogizegi
large, green	gizekpwaiza

There is also a pepper-like berry growing on a wild forest vine, which is much used: This is called zã wele in Mano (Piper guineense).

Two plants are cultivated for the leaves, which are used to flavor food. One (ze, Mano and Gio) tastes like anise; the other, Ocimum viride (gozu, Mano; mekwea, Gio) belongs to the mint family.

It is strange that melegueta pepper, formerly so much sought after by Europeans,⁹ is not used more extensively for food by the natives. This is Afromomum melegueta, sometimes miscalled "cardamom." So far as we could learn, its capsule is eaten only by children.¹⁰ Perhaps this is because it is considered "medicine."

Salt-making by evaporating sea water was formerly an important occupation of the coastal tribes. Only a limited quantity of this salt ever found its way into the interior. It has now fallen into disuse even near the coast,

except occasionally when no imported salt is available. Imported salt is now used whenever possible, but in the north its price is almost prohibitive because of transportation difficulties. In Mano and Gio its use is prohibited to lepers. Inland, we found people still making the old, native variety $(t\tilde{o}, \text{Sapã})$. This, the Mano stated, had been introduced into their country from what is now French Guinea.

Most of this native "salt," a concentrated potash, is obtained from swamp grasses and plants. Most important of these plants are those belonging to the Marantaceae, such as Halopegia acurea, and to the Araceae, such as Cytosperma senegalense. Dried oilpalm buds, the nuts of the raffia palm, leaves and stalks of cannas, plantains, and the wood of a tree (ba, Mano; ma, Gio) are also used.¹¹

Mano	Gio	Sapã
5110	kie	pabε
nyasuo	kie	pabenini
konsuo	konkie	yıdı floflopabe
grobesuo	gosonkie	_
	gbieso	debepabe
voli	vui	-

The men go to the swamps and meadows, cut the plants, or collect the other materials, carry them to higher ground, and there let them lie until they are dry enough to burn. They are then gathered into a heap and set on fire. The ashes are taken home, where they are put into a cone-shaped framework of rattan, suspended from the eaves of the house (fig. 52, b). This framework is lined with broad leaves, the lower one folded and bent to fit snugly into the apex of the cone. Water is poured over the ashes until they are completely leached out. The drippings are caught in a pot placed beneath. The water is then boiled until it has all evaporated. This is nearly always done inside the house. The dark and dirtylooking potash is removed and stored in a dry place until it is needed.

This "salt" is never used if the imported type is obtainable. Its effects on the human

The grains were called "grains of Paradise," and so brisk was the trade in them that this part of Guinea became known as the Grain Coast.

The seed capsules of several of the Afromomum

varieties contain a more or less edible pulp with a sourish taste. Chimpanzees (and gorillas, also, in the Cameroun) feed extensively on these.

¹¹ This list is incomplete.

stomach were well stated by one of our interpreters: "He no goo(d). He make we get plenty seek [sick] fo' belly de tam we chop him." In this he is in agreement with the southern Cameroun people, who have often told us that after using it they "heard many worms walking in their bellies."

Tessman,¹² who had samples of it analyzed, states that a solution of it had a very strong alkaline reaction. Its chemical content was as

follows:

43.33% KCL 27.50% K₂SO₄ 16.26% K₂CO₃ .85% NaCL 8.72% H₂O (Lost in being heated at 180° Centigrade) 3.34% insoluble

In the insoluble portion were traces of calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphate, silicon, carbon, and .7% SiO₂.

Oils. Another important item of the native housewife's culinary department is oil.¹³ Palm oil is in general use for cooking. For some purposes, especially for medicine, palm-kernel oil is used. In some sections oil is extracted from the seeds of *Mimusops djave*.¹⁴

Palm oil is made by boiling the ripe nuts in water, beating them in a mortar (fig. 58, d) or, sometimes, in a wood-lined hole in the ground near the house (seen in Loma) or out on the farm (seen in Mano) to loosen the fleshy pericarp that contains the oil. The seeds are separated by hand and discarded. Then the fibrous mass is washed and rewashed and the floating, yellow, butterlike emulsion skimmed off. This is gently heated and skimmed until the water in it is entirely evaporated. The oil is then slowly poured out of the pot into a storage receptacle, so that the impurities and sediment precipitated during the heating process will not be mixed with the pure oil.

In only one place did we see a native press. This had been constructed by a Kru man who was staying temporarily in an area through which we passed. The pulp was placed in a narrow, cylindrical container formed from some coarse fibers. The whole thing was suspended in a vertical position from a framework.

The fiber cylinder with its load of oily pulp was twisted and wrung by a pole lever revolved by two men, and the oil caught as it ran out.

Palm-kernel oil is made by cracking the nuts and trying out the kernels in a pot. It is made in small quantities, because it soon gets rancid and acquires an evil odor. Since the housewife is eager to get as much oil as possible from each lot, the pot is often left too long on the fire, which produces a dark oil with an unpleasant, burnt taste. In Mano it is used to anoint the body. In some regions it is also eaten with boiled rice.

Since both kinds of oil are highly inflammable when hot, the work must be done out in the open. In spite of this precaution houses are sometimes set on fire by careless people.

The seed-nuts of Mimusops djave are left in racks over the fire or out in the sun until they are thoroughly dried. They are then shelled, and the kernels are broken up in a mortar, heated in a pot (Gio), and pounded to a pulp in a mortar while hot. The pulp is then replaced in the pot, and boiling water poured over it. The floating oil is taken up with cotton and squeezed out. In Sapa the broken nuts are heated until they are almost black-brown. They are then beaten until oil appears. This is squeezed out by hand.

Edible oils are also procured from a few other wild nuts, but in such small quantities that they do not play an important part in the

household economy.

In Sapa the men help their wives make palm oil. In the other tribes it is entirely women's work.

Some Liberian Dishes. The West African native woman is known for her great industry, her skill in cooking, and her generosity in sharing with others what she has cooked. An especially gracious individual may even be locally immortalized in a proverb. Her great desire is to please her husband and to keep his favor. To this end she uses all the skill she has in devising palatable dishes and expends her energy in supplying the materials with which to make them. Some of these she finds in the forest or in old clearings. Some of her knowledge she has acquired from her mother while

¹² Tessman, 1913, vol. 1, p. 148.

¹⁸ For use of oil for hair dressing, see p. 117.

¹⁴ See above, p. 97.

still very young. She has also received special instruction in the Sande. This knowledge of edible wild roots, fruits, nuts, leaves, spices, and herbs not only serves to give variety and piquancy to her dishes, but is also most useful in times of food shortage — or even famine, which is by no means rare among these tribes.

It is to be regretted that we had not sufficient time to collect a good number of recipes, for the subject is well worth the efforts of an investigator. The white man living in West Africa, where the ingredients are easily obtainable, could use many of them with profit both to his health and his finances. Certain rare delicacies he will seldom be able to buy, because the natives prize them too highly to carry them to market.

Rice. Rice is the staple food of the native Liberians (fig. 54, g). According to a Loma legend, it was a special personal gift of God to man. It may be substituted for meat in sacrifices. Rice is cooked so that the grains are distinct, as approved in the best cookbooks of our own schools. The brown crust that sometimes forms and adheres to the sides of the iron pot is very well liked. So far as we could learn, rice is not used to thicken soup.

The native way of eating rice is to scoop a handful from the dish, press it into a ball, and slide it into the mouth. The ball may first be dipped into greens, gravy, palm oil, or whatever "soup" is available, unless these have been poured over the rice before the eating began.

Without actually witnessing the feat, it is difficult to believe the amount of boiled rice a native can consume. One morning before we left town, our Mano escort-interpreter, named Monrovia, his wife, and his boy ate a three-quart hand basin full, together with the side dish of dried monkey-meat "soup." After an hour and forty minutes' walking, we arrived at another town, where the chief had ready for us another large basin of cooked rice and a pot of smoked-fish soup. All of this was eaten by the three. Our Cameroun boy reluctantly refused to join them; "his belly was still reaching to his neck."

"Country bread" 15 is made of new rice beaten to a meal. It may be left in this state or mixed with mashed peanuts and worked into a

small cake. In the meal form our carriers often took it along in their rice bags and munched a handful or two every time we stopped. It is sweet to the taste and, to us, most palatable. It is never cooked. Since the Sapa do not make it, we conclude that it is probably unknown to the other members of the Kru group of the southeast.

Cassava. There are two kinds of manioc or cassava — the sweet (Manihot palmata) and the bitter (Manihot utilissima). The former is the kind planted in Liberia; it can be eaten raw or cooked without soaking. The bitter kind, used in other parts of Africa, must first be peeled, then left in water for several days to get rid of the prussic acid it contains. In America we know cassava as the source of tapioca.

The favorite way of using cassava in Liberia is to boil the fresh or the dried tuberous roots. When they are tender, any fibers are pulled out with the teeth and thrown aside; the rest is pounded, a small quantity at a time, to a heavy dough. This is called "dumboy" by the Liberians (from dumboi, Vai). When there is as much of this dough as can be easily pounded in the bottom of a mortar, it is removed. The lumps are stuck together and kneaded a little until there is a sufficient quantity for the meal.

The Sapa method is first to boil, then dry and beat the roots, mixing in a little water as they are pounded, to form a thick paste. This they call *mpowe*.

To eat it, a small piece of this "dumboy" is cut or squeezed off and pressed into a ball the size of an egg, and a deep impression is made with the thumb on one side. This ball is dipped into the side dish to fill the depression with gravy. Then it is popped into the mouth. The gravy adhering to the dripping fingers is sucked off and the ball swallowed without much chewing. We must disagree with Johnston,16 however, when he states that "it is impossible to chew this form of manioc, as it would stick the jaws together." We have seen it chewed. Furthermore, no human throat could hope to swallow most of the chunks we saw engorged. The question is much like the old one frequently raised about chewing raw

¹⁵ See also p. 62.

¹⁶ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 990.

Palm-oil Soup Stock. Palm nuts are steamed until tender. The fibrous pericarp is pounded off the nuts as in palm-oil making, and the pulp put into cold water. In this the oil is worked and washed out by hand, the nuts and fibers removed, and the residue strained into a pot through a basket sieve to remove the grosser inpurities. The pot is then set on the fire and its contents boiled until it is of the consistency of a very thick gravy. This is put into a small, closely woven basket and worked, to free it of as much of the remaining water as possible. It is then removed, spread out on a reed mat, and dried in the sun, after which it is stored for future use in a tight basket suspended from the loft. Chicken may be added as the gravy is cooked down. This is called "palm butter," and is really delicious. It is generously seasoned with pepper and served on rice.

"Palm Cabbage." The tender heart of a palm tree may be cut in pieces and cooked with palm nuts in a little water. The nuts are removed and the "cabbage" mashed. It may also be eaten raw as a salad.

Plantains. Green plantains are roasted or boiled. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, mixed with palm oil, and eaten with the fingers. Ripe plantains are also eaten uncooked or roasted in the skin. To peel plantains, one first cuts off both ends, slits the skin the entire length, and then peels it off in one piece with the forefingers.

Corn. Green ears of corn are sometimes roasted. Dry corn is parched and pounded into meal. In some places (not in Mano and Gio) the meal is eaten dry.

Greens. In Loma the tender leaves and shoots of squash vines, cut up and boiled, alone or mixed with other greens, are sometimes dressed with palm oil. These are eaten with rice.

In Mano cassava or other edible leaves are pounded in a mortar, the stems discarded, and the remainder cooked. When the greens are tender, palm oil is added. A small quantity of this is served on top of a bowl or basin of cooked rice.

¹⁷ See p. 46.

Peanuts. Newly dug peanuts, before they are dried, are often boiled in well-salted water and then eaten. Otherwise they are eaten only after being roasted.

Seasoning. In all her cooking the hinterland housewife uses such quantities of peppers as would make her dishes impossible for the tender throat of the American. Whereas a single small pod (1.5 cm. long) of capsicum in our soup has often caused a shedding of tears as we ate, these cooks put in the equivalent of a heaping teaspoonful or more of ground pods. With salt they are more sparing, as it is hard to get.

Meal Times. There is no fixed time for eating. One eats when food is ready or available, and this depends upon a man's position the number of wives he has and the amount of food they have stored. The Loma state that it has always been their custom to eat, if possible, about mid-forenoon, whether in town or out on the farm, and again in the evening as soon as food can be cooked. This seems to be the general custom. In Mano, if a man has only one wife he is likely to eat nearer noon, especially when working on the farm. If he has several wives, eating is done either before going to the farm or as soon as it can be made ready after arriving there. We witnessed, and sometimes participated in, meals eaten at all these different times, both in town and on the farms. Our carriers always rested at about nine or ten in the morning to eat a little something, and they expected us to have cooking done for them during the noon halt.

Cooking and Cooking Utensils. Cooking is usually done inside the huts; occasionally in the rice kitchen (north); seldom in the open.

The hearth has already been described.¹⁷ Pots, even the imported, three-legged iron ones, are always set upon three clay pot-stands (kılıgba, Sapã).

For the fire, small pieces of wood sufficient for the day's needs are brought in by the women and children (mostly girls) as they return home from the farms. Heavier billets for storing are cut and carried to town by men.¹⁸

land, was evidence that these people preferred getting their firewood while the sun shone to waiting till "tomorrow" when the rains would make going to the forest unpleasant. The Gbunde and Loma had less wood on hand than did the southeastern tribes.

¹⁸ Nowhere else in West Africa have we ever seen more firewood on hand than would suffice for the immediate needs of the household. The sight of half a cord or more stacked outside a house or stored inside, as we saw it almost everywhere in the Liberian hinter-

Water Pots. Water is still carried and kept in clay pots (fig. 61, a), though these are being replaced rapidly by trade buckets. Large gourds (calabashes) are also used to some extent. To prevent the water from swishing and spilling over the heads and bodies of the carriers, broad leaves or ferns are usually floated on top. The Sapa use a floating cover made of the halves of locust pods, called kuloi. These are partly shaved down on the flat sides and loosely tied together with raffia fiber so they can be rolled up. One we saw was formed of seventeen of these half-pods. In the southeast, water pots are protected while standing in the huts by a cover of raffia midrib pith, cut into square strips and held together by raffia midrib skewers in place of nails.

Mortars and Pestles. Nowhere in all our travels did we see a grinding stone. In the southeast only we found the women with pieces of bark or hewn buttress-root "boards" on which they were grinding their peppers and spices with large snail shells. Ordinarily, everything that needs grinding is beaten fine with a pestle in a wooden mortar ¹⁹ (fig. 61, d). Some we saw were merely crudely hewn, spool-shaped sections of trees. The best and most carefully worked were those in Half-Grebo. Some of these were really fine specimens of the wood worker's art.²⁰ The pestles were round and unornamented but well-smoothed sticks.

Not every wife has her own mortar; mortars are more of a household affair. If the husband of a number of wives is considerate, he may buy several. Sometimes a woman buys her own. In Mano mortars are the property of the head wife, who may have several, or of the chief woman of a section of the compound if a man has many wives. As this matter was being discussed we happened to be sitting where seven huts were facing one rice kitchen. There was one mortar for the women of the seven huts. It belonged to the chief woman but was used by all. Women from one compound frequently go to a friend in another and use her mortar. In the southeast there was usually one for every hut.

A modern bacteria hunter would consider these mortars a real find. There is no effort to keep them clean or to store them in any particular place. They lie or stand about anywhere and everywhere. Goats, sheep, dogs, come along and lick, or fowls pick whatever food particles have been left in them. Children play with them, sometimes filling them with dirt and rubbish. The first person requiring the mortar picks it up from wherever it happens to be, takes it to some convenient place, puts in her food, and begins operations. There is no attempt to remove particles of food left from a previous use, though gross dirt or trash is taken out. (We shed many tears in the north because some woman had mashed her capsicum pods in a mortar just before our food got its turn.) The natives must also get a good supply of wood particles mixed with their food, for the small hollow in the top of the mortar is gradually worn deeper and deeper until finally it extends all the way through.

Pots.²¹ After having been accustomed for years to the few crude and little-ornamented pots of the southern Cameroun tribes, we were agreeably surprised at the number and variety of clay pots seen everywhere in Liberia (fig. 63). To the hinterland cook these are more important than her mortar. She has a soup and a rice pot, one for carrying water, a fine big one for cooling water in the hut, one for oil or other things, another for heating bath water, and a water bottle (Gbunde and Loma). Some of the cooking pots have clay covers which, when inverted, are used as bowls or dishes to eat out of. The small pots in which spices and other small things are kept have flat clay covers.

The relative importance of rice and "soup" in a region is shown by the relative size of the soup pot. (Anything is called "soup" that may be eaten with rice or other starchy foods forming the "filler" of a meal.) In the north the rice pot is much larger than the soup pot, while in Sapã and Tiế the reverse is true.

In some parts of Mano the women were using the inner fibers of the "washrag" gourd, sakala (Luffa) to wipe the insides of pots and buckets. This was an encouraging sight, for

¹⁹ Igli, Gio; wein, Mano; to and toa, Half-Grebo; dudo and tobo, Sapa; tobo and mpowe, Tie.

²⁰ See p. 130.

²¹ See also pp. 131 ff.

we had been accustomed to seeing the women in the Cameroun (those still removed from contact with civilizing influences) set their pots and eating bowls on the earthen floor for dogs to lick, fowls to pick, or children to scrape with their fingers.

Ladles and Spoons. The women also have sticks, spatulas, ladles, and large spoons, all of wood, for stirring food and dishing it out (fig. 71). (Sometimes half of a small gourd serves this purpose.) These spoons have longer handles and shallower bowls in Gbunde and Loma than in Mano. In Gio some were red, stained with coloring obtained from camwood. There, too, we saw huge ladles used only on state occasions, with elaborately carved handles, ending, as did many of the ladles and spatulas, with the figure of a human head (fig. 70). The finest ones were not of Gio make, but had been bought from Krā wood workers 22 who live to the southeast of Gio. In the southeast smaller spoons made of wood or large snail shells were used in cooking.

In Loma the women used twirling sticks with two to four prongs, like those used in European households and called "quirl" by the Germans. In Mano some of these twirlers, or "swizzle sticks," are elaborately made of a stick split three ways with short sticks tied in at right angles.28

Other Kitchen Utensils. Other important utensils are: the rice-fanner, which frequently serves as a platter (fig. 47, n); baskets of various sizes and shapes that serve many purposes (fig. 47); wooden and clay bowls (fig. 74, b); paring and cutting knives.

One fact we noticed was that paring and cutting of tubers or other vegetables was always done as we do it; that is, the knife was drawn toward the person. The Cameroun women do just the reverse of this - always pushing the knife away from the body.

DRINK

Water is the usual drink. When the hinterlander is at home he usually drinks it from a gourd dipper kept near the water jar or pot, or from an imported enameled cup, when there is one available. A Sapa may use the ke: or ladle. While en route or in the forest our carriers drank from streams by putting the mouth into the water, or scooping the water up with both hands, or bending a little and tossing it into the mouth with one hand.

No banana, corn, or other beer is made. Juice expressed from sugar cane is drunk unfermented (Sapa), and "wine" is made from the Elaeis guineensis and Raphia vinifera palms. When fresh, the former tastes much like sweet cider; the latter is less palatable and rather

To obtain palm wine from the Raphia vinifera, the young fruit-cluster stem is tapped. To get it from the oilpalm, only the Half-Grebo tap the fruit stem. The other tribes cut the tree down, then cut away the fronds and other material around the crown until the tender central heart is exposed. The sap oozes out and drips into a gourd through a funnel fashioned from a leaf. The process of tapping the young fruit clusters is much more laborious, as it involves climbing and trimming away all fronds and frond stubs to just below the fruiting-structure buds. These must then be supported by a forked stick; because without this support the tender clusters would fall forward and break off too low. After the clusters have been cut off properly the stick is removed and the remaining part of the bud-stem is fitted with funnel and gourd to catch the dripping sap. As an oilpalm may have from five to eight bud stems tapped at one time, the hanging receptacles give it something of the aspect of an African Christmas tree with gourds instead of stockings.

With both methods, it is necessary to keep out the bees, flies, and other insects which gather in swarms to have a drink. This is done by covering the exposed heart of the palm (or the bud-stem and its spout), the funnel, and the neck of the gourd, with broad leaves or the sheaths from the base of the palm fronds.

A felled oilpalm may continue dripping for two weeks. From a bud-stem, the sap runs for

²⁸ See also p. 129. 22 See p. 129.

three or four days only, after which it must be allowed to rest half a year or more before it can be tapped again. The wine palm is some-

times killed by tapping.

Native connoisseurs claim that wine coming from young palms is much inferior in taste to that obtained from an older tree with a trunk 10 to 20 feet high. Also, gourds that have already been in use for some time are preferred to new ones, which are said to give the wine an unpleasant taste.

To cause almost immediate fermentation and to make the wine "strong," it is customary to put into the vessel in which the sap is caught, small pieces of the bark of a tree called *do* in

Gio; tokpwai in Sapa

Imported alcoholic beverages are drunk in the hinterland wherever they are obtainable. Of these, gin is the most common. Almost everywhere we camped, one of the first things the town worthies questioned our interpreters about was whether we had any gin and whether we were liberal with it. Bottles of gin much surpass their money value as local currency. In fact, we feel certain that most of the trouble we had in securing carriers could have been avoided had we been able to promise the chief a quantity of gin to be sent back by his men rather than English shillings.

Some of the rum made along the coast also finds its way to the interior. Being unrefined, it contains, of course, the fusel oil and other undesirable elements and is therefore more of

a poison than a drink.

At Nyaaka (Webo) we saw posted in the most conspicuous place for the benefit of chiefs and others coming from the interior, as well as the local population, the notice shown below.

After gin, beer seems to be the most important of the imported beverages, with rum and others following.

NOTICE!! NOTICE!! NOTICE!!

This is to inform the Public in General that I have from this date again commence [sic.] my Distillery of Cane Rum in my farm.

COME ONE COME ALL
The weather is very cold this season . . .

NOTHING BETTER but a good DRINK of CANE - RUM

which you may have: Best Quality - Moderate Prices at.....

A Mano paramount chief in whose compound we camped for several days stated that palm wine was only fit for "small [unimportant] people," but that for one of his rank gin was fitting. Incidentally, he had but recently returned from a visit to the coast bringing back in his caravan twenty-four cases of this liquor. During our visits to his palaver house — built on the floor plan of a Liberian "coast" house — he retired to one of the side rooms at intervals "to consult someone." This consultant proved to be one of the gin cases, we later learned.

While this is the attitude of some, the people are, on the whole, rather temperate. In fact, we found a number of chiefs of smaller towns who voluntarily stated that they themselves did not drink even palm wine. They furthermore declared that no palm wine would be found in their quarters, were it not for the continually passing Government messengers and soldiers to whom they were obliged to give this drink or suffer a mishandling. This last statement we can well credit, having been witness to some of these incidents. But Liberia has no monopoly of this evil; we have been familiar with it for many years in other parts of West Africa.

NARCOTICS

Tobacco. Tobacco, in small quantities, is grown everywhere. There seem to be several varieties. When the leaves are considered to be sufficiently mature, they are stripped from the plants, which have been topped some time before, placed on mats in the sun, and dried for two days in Mano and Gio, and for three in Loma. At evening they are taken inside.

While the leaves are drying, the Loma turn them frequently. The Mano walk on them the first day to keep them lying flat. When dry, the leaves are smoothed out, tied in small bundles, and either stored or sold.

Tobacco is one of the most important articles of trade in the north and as important as any in the southeast. With it we could often obtain supplies when cash was refused. Most of the natives prefer the very strong, imported, black, Virginia leaf, if procurable.

Tobacco is used in four ways: smoked, chewed, snuffed, or the juice extracted and water held in the mouth for an indefinite time,

and sometimes gradually swallowed.

Smoking is indulged in by both sexes. The Half-Grebo smoke most; the Mano, moderately; the Sapa and Tie, least. Many of the older men measured in Half-Grebo had so worn the surface of their upper and lower teeth by continually holding the stems of their clay pipes in one place that a hole the size of the stem had been formed.

There are pipes of two kinds, for ordinary and for ceremonial use. From the son of a paramount chief we secured one of the latter that had been handed down for several generations. We found part of another hidden in an old kitchen, much to the consternation of the boys, who feared even to look at it.24

For ordinary smoking, clay pipes of various designs were formerly made everywhere (fig. 63, a). The imported "T.D." has now practically replaced these. Such as are still made are mostly crude, exaggerated imitations of the

"T.D." 24*

Pipes are usually lighted from live coals taken from the fire with the fingers and placed on top of the tobacco in the bowl. After a few whiffs the pipe is passed on to a companion if he has none of his own at hand or is out of tobacco.

Chewing is practiced by the Loma, but not by the Gbunde, Mano, Sapa, or Tie. For the

other tribes information is lacking.

We found people everywhere using snuff. For making it the men had special, small mortars,25 6 or more inches long (fig. 61, c). Most of these were of wood, though we secured one of ivory (rescued from the tool box of a smith).

The pestles were short sticks.

As we witnessed the operation of snuff making we concluded that the hinterlander wants not only his food, but also his snuff "hot." The tobacco leaves are first dried thoroughly over the fire, broken up, and ground fine in the mortar. Ashes or native salt, or both, and sometimes also a bit of capsicum are added during the grinding process. The Loma mix in a bit

of palm oil.

At Ganta and Sanokwele Mandingo women from French Guinea were making snuff in quantity. As we watched them it was apparent that tobacco was not the major constituent of the compound they were beating in the large food mortars. A few capsicum pods, as well as ashes, native salt, and some other substances unknown to us were added from time to time. Since Mandingo snuff is one of the most important articles these women sell in the northern markets, the mixture must be very popular.

Snuff is carried in receptacles made from the small ends of cattle horns, cast-brass imitations of these, sections of Indian bamboo, small gourds, or (mostly in the southeast) large

Achatina snail shells.

Except in Palepo, we did not see much snuffing of snuff. The compound was usually "eaten." A large pinch of it was put into the mouth, formed into a lump, and pushed into the favorite corner of the "eater's" mouth with the aid of his tongue. The resulting saliva was retained in the mouth until it overflowed; then it was spit out. When at last the snuff had become tasteless, it was discarded and another pinch "eaten."

The Sapa, Tie, and Konibo use most of their tobacco in liquid form. The Gio sometimes do this, the Mano seldom. A piece of the leaf is pressed in the hand and put into a container, generally a large Achatina snail shell, together with some ashes or native salt. Water is then dropped in until the contents is soaked; then the cover is put on. When tobacco is wanted, the cover is pulled off, a finger is stuck into the container, and juice pressed out of the tobacco. Some of the liquid is then poured into the cupped palm of the hand and put into the mouth, or the head is tilted back and it is run up one or both nostrils. Sometimes this is done from the container direct.

There are those who prefer to let the mixture soak, then press out all the juice and carry it about in the container to save the trouble of squeezing it out each time they feel like indulging in either a taste or a noseful. One of

²⁴ For an account of the "leopard pipe," see p. 91. ^{24a} A clay pipe made in Scotland.

²⁵ See also p. 130.

the finest pieces of brass casting we saw in Liberia was such an extract holder, which the owner wore suspended from a cord around his neck. He refused to part with it.

As most of our carriers in the southeast frequently "refreshed" themselves with nosefuls of this juice we noted that half an hour was not unusual for one of them to hold his "taste" in the mouth. Frequently more than an hour passed before the nose was blown free of this stuff preparatory to another "drink."

The use of hemp for smoking seems to be unknown in Liberia.

Cola Nuts. Scarcely to be classed as a food, cola nuts are an important seed crop, and have

many uses. Cola trees are one of the few trees that a native will take the trouble to plant,28 and they are one of the few growing things of which there is continued ownership by the individual who planted them.27 The nuts are commonly chewed by all the natives for their pleasant taste and their mild stimulating properties. The gift of a cola nut, or even a portion of one, is regarded as a minor courtesy or social gesture.28 Similarly, these nuts are used as suitable offerings to ancestors and medicines.29 They also serve as oracles,30 and they pass as small currency.31 Cola nuts are sold in the native markets and are collected for export by traders.32

²⁶ See p. 64.

²⁷ See p. 418.

²⁸ See p. 175.

²⁹ See p. 369.

³⁰ See p. 407.

³¹ See p. 65.

⁸² See p. 178.

DRESS, ADORNMENT, AND HYGIENE

DRESS

WHEREAS civilized man strives for a monotonous uniformity in dress—unpretentious patterns and neutral colors—the Liberian native follows his own tastes and inclinations. Between the civilized Liberian, perspiring in his heavy European clothing, and the almost naked Kru or Gio, there are all gradations of male attire.

The khaki uniform, consisting of a shirt and shorts and a red fez, which the Government permits only its soldiers and messengers to wear, is quite in keeping with the tropics.

Old-Time Dress. Not once did we see men or women nude (as is still the custom in parts of the central Cameroun), except as we happened upon them while bathing. There are at present no tribes within the limits of Liberia that go about absolutely nude after maturity. Nowhere would any of the hinterlanders admit that either they or their ancestors had ever gone "so-so he get no clo' fo' him." If their word is to be believed, nothing but the "proper" style of dress has been worn within the memory of anyone we interviewed - and some of these were old people. There is evidence, however, that before European influences came to bear upon the coast peoples, or the influence of the Mandingos upon the peoples of the interior, nudity was customary among tribes of the Kru stock, the Mano, GE, and Gio, and possibly the Kpelle and others.1 Early historians record absolute nudity among the men, but of which stock they do not state.

Although the Tië denied it, their neighbors said that when they first saw cloth they did not know what to do with it, so they merely rolled pieces lengthwise and wore them around the waist like a belt; otherwise they were nude. An official we met told us that he had "put clothes on the Tië and made them clean up," as they had been "not only naked but filthy too."

It is practically certain that up to the time of their marriage Liberian girls and young women formerly went naked. Captain D'Ollone 2 makes reference to the nudity of women in those parts of Liberia in which he traveled. It is possible that he meant only the unmarried ones; for them it is a common practice in many regions of West Africa. He pictures a Kopo village 3 (north of the Tie), showing a nude man.

The cast-brass or bronze images made by some of the tribes, of nude figures engaged in various occupations, may portray the people as they went about a generation ago. However this may be, the farther inland we went in the southeast, the scantier became the attire.

Information regarding dress before outside influences affected the interior peoples is meager. Gio men of all ages sometimes wore an apron of colobus monkey skin (*Colobus polycomus* or *C. ursinus?*) with a belt of raw cowhide.

Cloth, or rather a sort of felt, was made by the Gio, Sapa, Tie, and probably the Mano, from the bark of a wild fig tree called po (high tone) in Gio and bugbwe in Sapa. In the southeast, at least, fine raffia fiber was woven with a colored pattern running through it, much resembling the raffia fiber bags still made throughout the country for holding rice and various other things. These bark or fiber stuffs were worn as aprons by the men. The women wore them between the legs, passing the ends under and over a raffia or other fiber belt and allowing them to hang down in front and behind. The belts, of either woven or braided fiber strands, were also worn by the Gio women. Many of the Sapa still wear them.

Another former dress of the Gio women—probably of Mano and Ge too—was a raffia-fiber, horse-tail bustle, much like that worn by the women of the Fang group of the southern Cameroun. They were solid color—black, yellow, brown, or red—or a combination of two colors tied-and-dyed like batik work.4

¹ See below, p. 108. ² D'Ollone, 1901, p. 93-

⁸D'Ollone, 1901, p. 151.

brown dyes were made from chips of the dolo tree, the camwood (Baphia nitida), boiled in water. To produce an intense red, lime juice was added. The yellow dye came from the bark of the sene tree. See also pp. 126-27.

Black dye was made by boiling and steeping for four or five days the bark, leaves, or seeds of the tree, flāla, mixed with black swamp muck. The red and

Sometimes they were ornamented with cowrie shells. In combination with this bustle a fringe apron of raffia fibers reaching almost to the knees was worn. Both garments were held in place by the fiber belt described above. This bustle-apron combination sometimes took the form of a short, fringed skirt, into the upper part of which were woven strings of raffia fiber to make a heading. The ends of the strings were left sufficiently long to tie, thus

securing the skirt to the loins.

Bunches of leaves or leafy twigs plucked from bushes on the path or near the farm and tucked under the belt in place of the usual dress formed the clothing of most Gio women while working out in the fields. While we never saw them so clad, there is no doubt that this attire is still used, as it is in the Cameroun, by women at work when they are certain they will not be seen by strangers. We often saw women of the southeast coming in from their rice farms during rains wearing only bunches of leaves, grasses, or ferns, while their cloths were kept dry in their baskets or kinja's.

Current Dress. Cloth. Cloth worn nowadays is of two kinds: that of native make, naturally used more by the weaving tribes (fig. 44, c, g); and that imported, mostly cheap cotton prints (fig. 44, a and d; figs. 43, a–d; 106, c, d, f). In the southeast we saw native cloth only once, at Zwadhru (Tie), where a few itinerant Mandingo traders from the Ivory Coast had but recently established themselves. The cottons worn by the Ge and Gio formerly came to them mostly through Bassa traders; those worn in the north and northwest, either through Sierra Leone or, more recently, French Guinea; those in the southeast, through the Grebo and other traders at the coast or at Nyaaka. Since the large rubber plantations are being put in, the thousands employed on them are more and more getting their cloth from traders which are at or near the work

The native cloth made by the Loma is said to be superior to that of any other of the Liberian tribes, but inferior to the best Man-

dingo (fig. 43, b).

The favorite native cloth among the women is dark blue (almost black) with white stripes.⁵

The men prefer all white or striped material for their robes (fig. 43, c).

An ancient Sapā myth says that cloth originally came from a hole in the ground. When it first appeared the tribe of the white man was the first to arrive at the hole and therefore got nearly all of it. So to this day the other tribes must go to the white people for their cloth. Ku, the ruler of the Sapā spirit world, disapproving of this, forbade the Sapā to wear clothes. (Whether this command was intended as a prohibition against wearing any clothing at all, or was aimed at imported cloth and clothing, we could not learn. If the former, then the myth goes to prove that the Sapā at

Children's Dress. Children of both sexes go nude until they are six to eight years old (figs. 31, h; 55, d; 97, a), at which time they don some sort of covering for the sex organs (fig. 42, a; fig. 45). This is doubtless an earlier age than was customary before native ideas were modified by contacts with the coast.

least once went about nude.)

Girls usually wear amulets and beads or other adornments in the form of necklaces, girdles, anklets, bracelets, and hair ornaments. These last are braided into the hair. For bead girdles and ornaments, white and blue, used singly or together, are preferred colors. On a glistening black-brown body, the effect is most pleasant.

Boys wear the bele, a narrow strip of cloth passed between the legs and brought up over the waist girdle before and behind, with half a foot or more of it left hanging down in the front.

As they grow older, the boys of the north generally wear a short shirt of native weave (figs. 36, l; 42, a); the girls, a small cloth.

Children go bareheaded, as well as barefooted—except in Gbunde, especially in the region of Pandamai, where it is customary to put cloth caps on newly born babies (fig. 45, b).

Adult Dress. All attempted descriptions of native clothing are, it should be remembered, merely general. There is as much individual variation from the conventional type as there is individual fancy.

There is essentially no distinction between the everyday dress of men and women. Every-

⁵ See p. 128.

one has a cloth that serves as a garment — a kind of sarong — by day and as a mat or blanket by night. Beneath it is worn a scant undergarment or loin cloth of some kind, to which the women invariably add a bead girdle. When any additional clothing is worn, it is purely for "bluff"; that is, to dress up.

The loin cloth in its most elementary form is a strip of cloth passed between the legs and brought up in front and back over the waist girdle in the manner of the children's bele (figs. 44, e; 83, a, c). Sometimes two or three strips of native weave or a piece of trade cloth is made into a sort of bag to conceal the genitalia—much like the jockey-strap supports worn by athletes (fig. 56, c). Sometimes these are more elaborate, somewhat resembling a pair of very short pants (fig. 108, f). The simple jockey-strap form constitutes the working dress of the men in the north. Many of our Mano carriers wore nothing else.

Mano women, and sometimes the Gio, wear strips of homespun fashioned like the $b\epsilon l\epsilon$, with the front strip falling a foot or more below the belt or belt line (figs. 100, c; 104, c). In Gbunde and Loma they wear a pair of tight-fitting, very short drawers, also made of home-

The cloth or sarong, 2 yards long and approximately a yard wide, is usually wrapped around the body at or below the waist, the ends deftly hitched by rolling the entire upper edge of the cloth outward. If a girdle is worn the cloth is sometimes tucked under that instead of being rolled. The upper part of the body is naked (figs. 31, b; 35, c; 103). In the southeast (Ge and Gio) a cloth may be worn over the left shoulder in Roman-toga style for the purpose of keeping warm or keeping off flies. The younger men like to drape it this way for the swagger effect (figs. 78, a; 105, b; 107, e).

Women, like the men, often wear the cloth low about the hips (figs. 44, a; 54, f; 95, d). At other times they wrap it above the breasts, tucking in the ends usually under the left armpit (figs. 44, a; 110, e, f). Babies are carried on the back by wrapping mother and baby inside one cloth worn in this fashion (figs. 42, d; 59, e).

Cloths are worn by the women to and from the farms, at least when these are near town.

⁶ See below, p. 110.

Once only, in Mano, did we see a woman on the road without one, but a number of times we came upon Mano women who had removed theirs while working. They were naked except for the $b\varepsilon l\varepsilon$. Occasionally we met two or more women, or a woman with children, coming along a forest trail carrying their cloths. As soon as they saw us they turned and put them on.

Instead of the sarong over the loin cloth many men and older boys in the north wear a shirt of homespun reaching to the knees (figs. 32, a, c; 37, b; 38, e; 41, b). It is made from strips,7 a span in length, sewed together to make a piece of the needed width. This is folded crosswise and the sides stitched up like a sack, leaving openings for the arms. A head hole is then cut in the middle, and this and the bottom of the shirt are finished with a hem. Sometimes the neck opening is reinforced by sewing a piece of cloth around it. Sometimes two short sleeves are sewed on in imitation of European garments (figs. 48, b; 78, e), and a bib-like vest containing a pocket may be added. Shirts are worn to work by most old men (fig. 43, d).

If there has been an evolution or a degeneration of the shirt in Liberia, then we saw it in its different stages on the older men of GE. The smallest was a homespun "bib," sometimes no more than 6 by 9 inches, suspended over the chest by a cord worn around the neck. The smaller ones seemed to serve only as medicine holders, the medicine having been sewed inside. Several such had been smeared very recently with white clay, blood, and feathers, and what appeared to be pulverized camwood. This was to "feed" the medicines. One, to which chimpanzee's teeth had been fastened, had only the clay "food" on it. The larger bibs had, in addition to medicines, a pocket for small personal possessions — a knife, tobacco, and the like. Another and still larger type had a half-circle cut out to fit the front of the neck. The next step in this evolution was a longer piece of cloth with a hole in the center so it could be slipped over the head (fig. 85, a). The most elaborate garment was a rough, very abbreviated, sleeveless jacket. All of these seemed to serve essentially the same purpose as the simple bib.

⁷ See p. 128.

Besides the shirt of native stuff, trade singlets and shirts are worn by most men in the southeast and by some in Gio (fig. 96, d). In Half-Grebo a black coat and vest was seen here and there. Our interpreter wore both at all times to show his superior status. Some of our Half-Grebo carriers had on short trousers, usually black or some nondescript color.

In the north, and occasionally in the southeast, most chiefs and important men, for formal dress at least, wear a garment patterned after the huge Mandingo bubu or the tobe of the western Sudan (gbāwi, Mano) (figs. 59, b; 60, c and f; 96, c; 102, c). This is a striped homespun blanket with a head hole in the center. It is always made up with the stripes running lengthwise. Its extreme width gives the effect of kimono sleeves as broad as they are long. Bits of embroidery in red and white are often added for decoration. The head hole may be cut low if it is desired to show the shirt. There is often a large pocket extending from neck to waist; the stripes on this piece run diagonally (fig. 43, d).

Nowadays the robes are occasionally of imported stuff. Paramount Chief Towe's best was of wine-red velvet. His parting request to us was that we find and send him some material such as no other chief had ever even seen, so that he might have a new robe that would

make everyone envious of him.

We have seen only one example of a type of chief's robe quite distinct from that now worn: of a reddish color with embroidered decorations of men, horses, lizards, and birds (fig. 77). It was the property of an old Mano chief, obviously an heirloom, but we were unable to learn its history.

There are all gradations between the short, scant, sleeveless shirt and the very long, very

full, chief's gown.

Belts. In the north the men of the shirtwearing tribes do not wear a belt over that garment. They may wear one beneath if the

undergarment requires one.

Women of every tribe wear a bead girdle (fig. 69, a and n), sometimes more than 3 inches wide, about the body under the loin cloth. These girdles consist of many strands of beads threaded on raffia or other fiber or fiber-string.

⁸ For the bush-cutter's helmet, see p. 57; for the warrior's headdress, p. 231; for the hats worn by boys

The beads may be large or small, but large ones are preferred. Beads are obtained from itinerant Mandingo traders at markets in the north, or from the coast in the southeast. A few of the girdles observed — one at Sakripie especially — were woven in pleasing patterns. This art was probably brought in from the outside. It is highly developed among the Vai people.

The Sapa women's belt is a cord of twisted raffia fiber. That of the Sapa men, and of the Tië and Gio, is preferably a strip of rawhide of bullock's skin, but if this is not available a cord of fiber answers the purpose. These old-style belts are being replaced by imported ones,

especially in the southeast.

The old spiral-metal-decorated belts seen in GE and Gio, about half an inch in diameter, are made of long strips of iron, copper, or brass about three-eighths of an inch wide, twisted around a fiber or leather base. These, too, are becoming things of the past.

Head Covering.⁸ Young men, unless they possess a trade hat or cap, wear no head covering — probably because their heads are shaved in fancy patterns that must receive their due of admiration.

In the north the favorite head covering of the older men of some standing in the community is a cylindrical cap of homespun. The opening at one end is closed by sewing on a circular piece of cloth, thus forming an elongated, soft fez (figs. 43, b; 44, h). The sewing is done with cotton yarn. In Tie an abbreviated cap of this type, and also a skullcap, both of finely woven fiber, were seen on many of the men. Occasionally a very old man (or woman) will wear a flat, rectangular cloth pad laid on top of the head.

A close-fitting hat fashioned from the skin of a long-haired colobus monkey was seen several times in Gio. This conceals the hair of the wearer completely, giving the appearance of straight black hair much in need of trimming.

Several times an "umbrella" hat, called balagi, similar to that worn by East Indian coolies, was seen in Gbunde. These rain hats are of raffia leaves or of close-woven strips of rattan with leather trimmings. The idea doubtless came from the Mandingos, among whom this kind of hat is extremely common.

and girls coming from the initiation schools, p. 294.

A minstrel's hat is made from the mane of a sheep (fig. 78, b and f) or of leopard skin. The former is fastened about the head. It rather

resembles a duncecap.

Second-hand felt trade hats (figs. 37, b; 51, c) and caps are worn by many of the Mano and Half-Grebo men, some of the Tie, and a few of the Sapa. The Sapa might be seen wearing them without other dress than the narrow strip of loin cloth.

But the hat of hats in West Africa, whether on the coast or in the interior, is the imported "stovepipe." The degree of a man's importance, as well as his vanity, is to be measured by the number of tall hats he possesses. Age, discoloration, or state of decrepitude, makes no difference. We once gave a collapsible silk opera hat — these are doubly valuable — to bind an important transaction. Such a one, too, was Chief Towe's (fig. 107, a), and a demonstration of its collapsibility was the climax to an exhibition of his possessions. We did not learn how many tall hats he owned, but so highly did he esteem two of his wives that he allowed them each to wear one during our stay at his place (fig. 43, b). Worn with a cloth, shirt, or bubu, these chapeaux de haute forme are, of course, utterly incongruous.

In the southeast and in Gio, it was formerly considered an unpardonable insult to a chief for anyone else to own, let alone wear, a topper. For this temerity, the offender was bewitched "so he go die one time [quickly]."

In Gbunde, Loma, and Mano women past the prime of life who have some standing in the community wear a turban of native cloth. To make this, a short strip of cloth is sewed to the middle of a long strip at right angles. The long strip is wound around the head, the short one brought over the top and tucked under the long strip at the back.

Younger women are often seen wearing squares of homespun or, more recently, large bright trade handkerchiefs. The square is folded to form a triangle and wound around the head, the fold in front, the ends tucked in out of sight, concealing the hair entirely (figs. 42, d; 44, d; 107, c). These were most numerous in Half-Grebo; but were seldom seen in Sapā and Tiē.

Many women go bareheaded, noticeably those with elaborate coiffures.

Footwear. Generally speaking, the people go barefooted. Chiefs of the north, however, often wear rawhide sandals made in imitation of those worn by the Mandingos. Wooden clogs are worn in the rainy season by the fastidious to protect the feet from mud and water.

It is not uncommon to see a child or a grown person hobbling along on one wooden sandal. This has thongs of fiber that pass over the instep and inside the big toe. Such footgear is worn to protect sore feet. We watched with considerable interest a mother fashioning one for her small son out of a piece of the light Musanga smithii wood. The thongs—strips she had wrenched from a plantain stalk—she very carefully fitted so as to irritate the child's foot as little as possible. Similar wooden sandals are frequently worn by lepers to protect their crippled feet.

ADORNMENT

The desire for self-adornment, especially when designed to make one attractive in the eyes of the opposite sex, is expressed with more candor and less finesse, with more simplicity and less artifice, in Liberia than in more civilized areas. Men's heads are shaved in bizarre patterns, except where Mandingo or white influence has brought about a change. Women's hair is decorated with beads. Elaborate coiffures are built up with the aid of fibers dyed black. Beards are uncommon, but the fortunate possessor of a fine one will braid it and string beads into it. Belts, necklaces, bracelets, arm-

lets, and anklets of beads, leather, iron, brass, or silver are worn everywhere (fig. 67). The body is scarified or tattooed. It is oiled until it has the appearance brownish-black satin with a violet bloom. On such a body, ornaments of shining brass or brightly polished iron, glittering and gleaming on waist, neck, ears, arms, fingers, legs and ankles, even toes, make a picture to stir the artist's soul.

Ornamental objects are not always worn solely for decorative purposes. Some are worn as medicines, some to signify authority or rank. Others advertise the fact that the wearer is a

brave warrior and has killed many people or that he is a mighty hunter. Still others serve to indicate a man's standing in his guild or secret society.

Native Jewelry. Women, in accordance with our custom, wear much more jewelry than men. The Gbunds and Loma wear least: usually, no more than cultured persons of our own land; frequently, none at all. Loma ornaments are usually of coin silver, occasionally of polished iron. Other tribes differ widely from this conservative taste.

If we may judge by the amount of "brass" that the Mano brought out from dark recesses in their huts to sell to us when we began buying, and by what some Mano from the French side were wearing, we would say that this people formerly must have worn as much as their eastern tribal neighbors, the Ge and Gio, wear today.

The Gio are aglitter from head to foot (fig. 44). Theirs seems to be an exuberant spirit,9 bursting forth in tinkling bells and clanging brass. With neck, arms, legs, fingers, toes, so loaded with massive brass and iron ornaments that they can hardly walk with the weight of them, a grand head woman in Gio presents a

dazzling spectacle (fig. 44, c).

None of the tribes of the southeast at present overburden themselves with ornaments. The few seen on the Half-Grebo were largely imported. We are of the opinion that this was not formerly true, especially of the tribes bordering on the Gio; for the Konibo still wear much brass, especially cast anklets. This general region was, and still is, the home of Liberia's best metal work.

In the southern Cameroun the amount of admiration and esteem a man has for his wife may be gauged by the amount of brass jewelry he buys for her. We felt this was equally true for many of the Liberian tribes, especially the Ge and Gio.

Neckwear. We noted a few neck-rings of slender, twisted silver wire, kobaganu. A large, linked, silver necklace with rather heavy silver pendants was worn by a woman at the Zorzor market. These were doubtless of Mandingo origin.

⁹ See also p. 232, William C. Orchard, 1929, p. 81.

Plain iron and brass neck-rings are worn by both sexes in GE, Gio, and the southeast. Neckrings are sometimes fashioned from the wiry hairs of elephants' tails.

Bead necklaces and belts, of one or more strings and all colors, are worn by women of all the tribes. They evidence a well-developed and sometimes subtle color sense. Some of the beads are old trade beads going back hundreds

of years (fig. 69).

One sees an occasional "Agri" bead, the most valuable of all. Our collection includes several types. First in importance and value is the star or chevron bead described and pictured by Orchard 10 and also by Sir Harry Johnston. 11 This type goes back to Roman times and has been imitated in several gradations. Some of the older types, as well as more recent reproductions, are shown in figure 69, c, d, h, k, l, m. Other types of inlaid and polychrome beads of great age are more common than the chevron type. Occasional large handmade beads of opaque, colored glass or enamel closely rival the chevrons in value and interest.

These, together with the chevron beads, are called kolon wele in Mano. Until quite recently they were sacred heirlooms no one would think of selling. We talked to people who had bought one or two at the price of "a cow or a person for one." Only a chimpanzee's tooth could equal one of these beads as a good-luck piece in a necklace or bracelet. They were undoubtedly introduced in early slave-trading days,

perhaps hundreds of years ago.

Whether or not styles in beads change in Liberia as they do in the Cameroun (a fact that many a trader has had to learn at considerable cost), we were unable to ascertain. We did find that the large achat corals 12 introduced over half a century ago are still favorites with Mano, GE, and Gio women and girls. Such beads were formerly sold at a great price. They are of various shapes, markings, and colors. Some women wear whole strings of them, some a single bead in the center of a string of smaller ones. Long, forged-iron or cast-brass beads are also favorites in this region. These are often strung alternating with five to seven others of glass.

¹¹ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 1, p. 23. 18 Büttikofer, 1890, vol. 2, p. 225.

Necklaces on which the canine teeth of leopards or chimpanzees are strung are worn by men and women of rank (fig. 67, j). We noted in Gio strings of brass beads alternating with pendants of brass, cast to resemble leopards' teeth.

Around the neck are worn, too, fiber cords strung with snuff horns, big seeds, amulets, or other objects. Among these, iron nuts and washers taken as medicine from the Firestone Plantation workshops by former employees, are much in evidence in some regions.

Except in Gbunds and Loma, men often have one or more forged-iron or trade-brass wire chains slung over the shoulder. The ends of the chain are always fastened to the two ends of a ram's horn containing medicines (fig. 67, w). We suspect that these are worn more for medicine than for ornament.

Ear Ornaments. Ear-rings are not especially favored except by the Mano. They are clearly a Mandingo contribution. The Gio insist that formerly they wore none at all. Of all the Gio women we saw, only a few had pierced ear lobes. The Loma wear small hoops of aluminum, copper, or silver — mostly of wire — and loops of beads. These last, as well as trade earrings, are also worn by the Ge and Gio and the tribes of the southeast. Sometimes a large porcelain button is held against the ear lobe by a string passing through the button, through the hole in the lobe, and through a bright bead on the under side.

In Mano both sexes wear ear-rings. Usually, only the left lobe is pierced, but occasionally the right one as well. In such instances, one ring only is worn on the right side; on the left, a group of lighter ones. Many lobes are much distended and the holes drawn large, occasionally torn, by the weight of the rings. Those most in evidence are about the size of a fingerring, made of plain copper (sen), brass, iron, or aluminum wire. We counted as many as twenty-two of these in the ear of one woman. We noted that those men and women who wear the greatest number are town elders and members of the midwives' cult. We were unable to ascertain whether or not this had any special significance.

¹² "Bracelet" is bela, Loma; fili, Mano. The "broad bracelet" is fili genkili, Mano; kwaze, Gio. "Anklet"

Finger-Rings. Finger-rings range from the heavy, elaborate, twisted silver, plain silver, and copper-wire rings of the Gbunde and Loma to the plain aluminum, brass, copper, and iron rings of the other tribes. They are worn on any or all fingers, and thumbs and toes, too. Pieces of iron are sometimes attached to an iron ring as powerful medicine. Smiths' rings may be in the form of conventionalized tools, as, for example, those of the head smith at Zuluyi (Mano). Since these were so large as to hinder his work, he carried a ring in his hand as he went about. He also wore an immense copper ring on his thumb as medicine.

Bracelets and Anklets. Bracelets 13 are made of metal, often coin silver, in Gbunde and Loma, but elsewhere usually of brass. Favorites in the north are those fashioned from the sole of an elephant's foot or from cow horn, inlaid with round, square, or diamond-shaped pegs of aluminum, which has almost replaced the silver formerly used for this purpose. Then there are those of ebony with the same sort of inlays, and occasionally one of ivory or leopards' canines strung on a fiber cord. In Ge and Gio we often noted raffia bracelets, especially on children. Those of silver are often flat, narrow bands engraved in the center, which is wider than the ends. They are also made of finely drawn and twisted wire. They are worn by both men and women, though more particularly by the latter. In Mano we counted thirteen bracelets on one woman's arm - three of aluminum and ten of elephant's sole. A man was seen with seven. However, these are exceptional numbers. In Gio many of the women had one arm, sometimes both, covered with bracelets from wrist to elbow. When worn in a series like this, of whatever material they may be made, they are always graduated in size and matched so as to give the appearance of having been cast in a single piece.

Knee-rings are worn on the legs above the calves. From one to four of these may be worn on a leg (fig. 44, b).

Whether made of cast or wrought metal, knee-rings and bracelets are nearly always covered with engraved spiral lines, cross hatching, series of squares, triangles, or diamonds.

is kvadaworu, Loma; gama fılı "ankle bracelet," Mano; gaze, Gio.

Anklets seem to be a more characteristic ornament of the women and girls than of the men (fig. 66). They are of metal (brass predominating), wood (Ge and Gio) or, rarely, of fiber cord on which are strung leopards' teeth or small horns of antelope. We once saw a lion's tooth on each anklet, and once a carved ivory imitation of a lion's tooth. Anklets of iron or silver in Gbunde and Loma were nearly all oval in shape and bowed downward at the sides to fit the foot below the ankle bone. We were told that this type was very comfortable.

The hinged anklets of the northeast, some of which weigh over eight pounds, are striking, especially those with a cast beaded effect on the outer edge. Another type, sometimes also hinged, has four or more bells, enclosing small round iron balls cast in a piece with the anklet (fig. 44, b). The size of these "cockleshell" bells depends upon the number to the anklet. It was in Gioland that we saw the most and the heaviest being worn. In one Gio town in which we camped, the local women's cult was holding sessions preliminary to taking the girls to the initiation school. These sessions consisted mostly of all-night dances in which all members of standing participated. The jingling of their belled anklets sounded like an endless procession of sleighing parties passing our hut. There was no sleep for us that night.

In the north special bracelets decorated around the entire circumference with circular depressions are used to make beaded orna-

mentation on pots.14

In the southeast anklets might be seen on men, as well as on women and children, but in general men's anklets were merely undecorated rings of forged iron or cast brass. They were inconspicuous, being neither large nor heavy.

Children's anklets, like their bracelets, were

of raffia, wood, or beads.

Hairpins and Combs. Hairpins 15 are the favorite hair ornaments (fig. 67, q). Materials employed to make them are wood, aluminum, and bone; rarely, ivory. The bone used is generally that of the "red deer," one of the Cephalophines. In Gbunde and Loma bones of the cow, horse, or sheep may also be used. Goats' bones, they say, are too soft; dog's, too

porous. Bone hairpins are usually flat and rather broad at one end, tapering to a point at the other. A fine example of the wooden pin, 8 inches long, was ornamented with fourteen aluminum and ten copper-wire rings. A strong hairpin serves the average woman as a comb.

The simplest combs are made of smooth, pointed pieces of raffia-frond lath, laid parallel and held together with fiber cord woven and tied back and forth across the upper ends. In the southeast, a more elaborate comb, resembling the Spanish, is carved from a single piece of hard wood.

Hair. Hair of Face and Body. Body hair is distasteful to the native African. He gets rid of it by pulling it out or, less often, by cutting it off. Pubic hair is cut or shaved off for sanitary reasons by both men and women. Nearly every individual owns a razor (nia, Mano) made by the local smith. Its shape differs in different sections of the country.

The facial hair of Negroes is well known to be late in making its appearance; perhaps for this reason young bucks are never seen with either mustache or beard. Beards are worn only by men who are well past middle age (fig. 107,

b and e).

Apparently older men give more attention to the dressing of the beard than to the head hair. Beards are braided in one or several plaits, occasionally as many as twenty (fig. 108, c and f). They are also made up into "sausage rolls." An elderly man in Tiế had a sort of mustachebeard combination hanging down in a 14-inch braid from the corners of the mouth. The center of the upper lip and the center of the chin had only a short, stubble growth. Sometimes beads are strung in the beard. Sometimes the chin is shaved, leaving only a small fringe at each side or below it. We never saw a full beard with side whiskers.

Everywhere, mustaches are worn by some of the men of forty years or more. These are of various styles. Sometimes we saw the long "walrus" mustache; for example, that of Chief Tapi. In other instances mustaches were left growing on only one side! Or, again, just a wisp was left at each side, and the rest of the upper lip shaved clean.

pin) or wala fwa gwɛ̃ (aluminum pin), Mano; glia (when of bone), Gio; tuwe, Sapã.

[&]quot;See p. 132.
"Hairpin" is saki, Loma; yıdı yu wele (wooden

The Head Hair. There is no uniform style of hair dressing to be found anywhere among the Liberian tribes. On the contrary, there are numberless styles in all sections, even in any given town. This is because the Liberian hinterlander, like other African Negroes, likes to give full reign to individual fancy in this matter of personal adornment. Formerly most men, especially the younger ones, spent as much time on having their hair dressed as did the women.

The high mid-ridge (with a lower ridge on each side) was the style most favored in western Liberia by both sexes (fig. 99, b). In making up the hair in this style it is divided into three parallel sections running backward from the forehead. The side ridges are made by bringing a fringe of hair up from each side of each side section and braiding it over the underlying hair. A fine braid generally outlines the outer edge of each side ridge. Sometimes a short braid hangs down over each ear; this was seen most often in the Kpelle country. The central and larger section is outlined at the forehead by a fine braid; then the rest of this hair is parted in the middle and stuffed with fiber from oilpalm midribs dyed black, sometimes with a piece of black rag. Some false hair is then added, and this, together with the head hair from each side of the central part, is brought up over the stuffing or "rat" and braided. The ridge thus formed, from the forehead to the nape of the neck, ends in a short tail-braid that may be entirely of false hair.

As some of the Mandingo men, and all of the Mandingo women, we saw had their hair done in this way, we suspect that the other tribes have adopted it from them.

Where it is still being worn in the north there is rarely any deviation from the standard style described above. Occasionally, however, one sees a variation with four ridges; and once we saw a single-ridged coiffure resembling a Roman helmet. The wearer appeared to be an ultra-conservative, clinging to the things of the past.

Making such a coiffure is the work of more than one day, but since it needs to be done only at long intervals, the time is well employed. Redressing takes place when the hair has grown too long, so that the ridge becomes loose and wobbly, or when the hair becomes too uncomfortably inhabited by inaccessible vermin. To appreciate the amount of dirt that such a head can accumulate between dressings, one must see the tonsorial artist combing out the hair preparatory to rearranging it.

However, this art, for art it was, has bowed to necessity, and the ridge has practically been abandoned by the men and by many of the women since the Government has begun seriously to occupy the interior. The wearer, when obliged to carry a load, finds the ridge an inconvenience. Today it is most frequently seen among the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano on aristocratic women. These elaborate coiffures are reproduced in carved wooden figures (fig. 72).

The women of Gio and the southeast, when they dress their hair at all, do it almost without exception in the manner of the coast. No false hair or other bolstering-up material is used. Different styles are achieved by varying the number of braids and the directions they take on the head. The hair may be divided into three, five, or more sections; the lines of parting may follow the ear or run transversely or both. Each section is then braided as closely as possible to the scalp, sometimes with a fringe of fine braids around a spiral pattern, or sometimes with braids in parallel ridges (figs. 44, c; 103; 106, c).

In Mano a woman was seen dressing her husband's hair. The head had been shaved clean with the exception of an elliptical patch of rather long hair on the top of his head and a narrow fringe of shorter hair following the line of the base of the skull over the ears. She was outlining the patch in a fine braid following the line of the forehead. When this task was completed, the rest of the hair of the patch was braided with six strands hanging down over the left ear.

Another hair style for men and boys seen in all parts is the shaved or partly shaved head (figs. 44, f; 46, c; 100, c; 105, c). ¹⁶ Sometimes a single ridge is left at the center, running from the forehead to the nape of the neck. This is especially favored by small boys. In other instances the head is shaved so as to form tri-

¹⁶ For shaving of the head by mourners, see p. 244.

angles, crescents, or circles, or whatever geometrical figure may be desired by the individual or fancied by his barber. The circle

may have a tuft in the center.

Pompadours only a few inches wide are common. Sometimes only a tuft is left above the forehead, with another over each ear. These are so braided that the top braid hangs down in front over the forehead, while those at the sides stick out straight from the center of the tufts. There may be a number of tiny braids seemingly issuing from one only of the side tufts. Now and then, a single tuft is left growing on the top of the head.

When taking anthropological measurements, it was often difficult to determine the height of the forehead, because so many persons, both men and women, had their heads shaved clean for as much as two inches above the hairline.

Through the Kpelle country, in Mano, and sometimes in Loma, we saw children up to seven years old with long, matted, filthy hair hanging down over the face, the ears, and the back. Upon inquiry we learned that when the hair of an infant shows a tendency toward the separate "peppercorns" that are such a marked characteristic of Hottentots and Bushmen, they are thought to be Water People 17 and are given special treatment as future members of that cult. According to our interpreter, when one of these children cries too much its hair is smeared with beeswax as a sacrifice to tormenting spirits. When the hair is long enough cowrie shells and other small ornaments are tied into it, giving the head a most grotesque appearance (fig. 45, d). These children get their first haircut when they are about seven years old.

PERSONAL HYGIENE

Care of the Body. As we observed them, the northern Liberians were a rather cleanly people, washing the body at least once, often twice daily with warm water.18 In some regions of the southeast, especially where villages did not have a conveniently located water supply, there appeared to be more laxity. The Tië are said not to have bathed formerly. This would be in agreement with the statement made to us by an official who had known them a long time that they were "the filthiest tribe in Liberia." In Sapa a guest considers it an insult if he is not offered hot water for his bath in the morning and again in the evening. The ladies of the mission station at Panoke were told by their boy pupils of a white man known to them who did not take a daily bath. They considered him the filthiest person of their acquaintance. In some sections, men refuse to eat food cooked by an unbathed woman.

While we saw a few really dirty people, who gave the impression that the only real wash they ever got was when they were caught in a rain, we were led to believe that they were no more in favor in their communities than are such people in our own country.

Sick people are often dirty, from our point of view, for two reasons. No Liberian native ever bathes another, so if a sick person cannot bathe himself he must go unwashed until he gets stronger. Meanwhile, he is likely to be well smeared with medicines that do not exactly conform to our ideas of hygiene.

Infants are bathed at least once daily, sometimes in warm, sometimes in cold water. Cold baths are thought to make the child grow big and strong. They are sometimes given in a muddy hole of a swampy stream.

The skin diseases so prevalent among native children and youths, in which the head, limbs, or other parts of the body are covered with itch or other scabs, do not have their origin in uncleanliness.

Native soap seems to have been in use a long time in the north. It is less used in Gio than farther west. We saw a few of the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano women making soap. It is more commonly made by the Mandingos. They were selling it everywhere in the north, where its manufacture and use were probably introduced by them. In the southeast we noted soap in Sapā only. Soap is made by mixing palm-nut or palm-kernel oil with watery lye leached from ashes of canna, swamp grass, oilpalm branches and fruit stems, plantain skins and stems, and other plants. (Plantain ash is

¹⁷ See pp. 306 ff.

¹⁸ See also p. 402.

considered very good for making soap; it undoubtedly contains a high percentage of potash.) The resultant compound, a dirty, sticky black mass, is molded by hand into balls.

A substitute for soap is the bark of a tree called sangela in Mano. When this is used, pieces are first wrapped inside the objects to be washed, which are then soaked in boiling water before being taken to a stream, the wash-

ing place of the African.

"Wash day" is whenever the native feels his raiment is in need of a cleaning and is able to muster enough energy to get at it (fig. 42, c). Washing is done by both sexes, though it is considered woman's work in Gbunde and Loma. A man may do his own wash; or his wife, if he has one, may do it for him. The method is to soak the pieces, rub soap into them if one has any, and beat them on a stone. Women washing their menstrual rags must look carefully to see that no "witch" (medicine) is in the water, on the stone, or in the drying place. They believe that they can be bewitched (poisoned) through this medium.

To dry the wash the pieces are most frequently spread out on the ground—"dirt" would be a more fitting word—near the hut. After seeing the results we were often led to wonder why anyone would take the trouble

to do his washing.

Lice, the Liberian hinterlander rarely has. There are several ways to get rid of them: the head or skin is washed with water as hot as the individual can stand it (Gio); leaves of a certain forest tree are burned, mixed with palm oil, and rubbed on the parts infested (Gbunde, Loma); a soap and palm-oil mixture is applied (Mano). Wearing apparel is boiled and spread in the sun, and the insects are picked off. Fleas, when there are any on a human being, come from the native dogs.

Jiggers are found in some towns, while being quite unknown in others, the natives said. Their presence is considered something of a disgrace, as they flourish only in dusty, unrubbed house floors and are spread by individuals too careless to remove from their feet

the burrowing, fecund females.

Bedbugs (gbwiligbwili, Loma) are present in certain localities near the coast. They infest

¹⁹ For the oil-making process, see p. 99.

the sleeping mats and the cracks in the clay sleeping place or hut walls. Mats are soaked in pools or streams to rid them of the bugs. The hut walls and floors are given a fresh coating of clay or cow dung.

Perfumes are much liked. A number of them, not always agreeable to the white man, are prepared in all sections of the land. One kind pleasing to us we encountered in Loma. It was made from the bark of the vine, pungugi. In Mano another agreeable sort is made from the bark of the blegieyidi tree. The Gio make perfume from the bark of the tupo tree, the leaf of the blayungli, and the seed pod of the suwa. The material is beaten in a mortar, then mixed with white clay, which is molded in the hands to form small balls. These are rubbed on the person.

Of far more importance to the tribesman are his oils—especially palm-kernel and Mimusops djave. 19 Oils used for anointing the person are usually kept in special gourds or in pottery or other vessels. 20 In the north, at least, it was formerly the fashion to pour a small quanity of the palm oil on top of the coiffure, whence it slowly seeped through the hair and ran down over the face, neck, and shoulders. The spatula-shaped hairpin was then pulled out and employed to scrape it off and put it back on the coiffure. Since more coast people, with their different customs, have been coming in, this practice has been gener-

ally abandoned.

Unscented white clay is much used as a cosmetic in all the Liberian tribes, especially by the women. Sometimes it is just smeared on the head, face, or body. Again, it may be carefully put on in ornamental designs (fig. 103, b). A girl we saw in Gio appeared from a distance to be wearing a pair of huge white spectacles (fig. 79, a). The region about the eyes and both upper and lower eyelids are often heavily crusted with this clay. Decorative designs in black are also painted on the face and body with the juice of a fruit called poda in Loma (fig. 44, d), or with other substances. In Mano fruits of go gbondo (Randia malleifera) are dried like figs and used for this purpose.

²⁰ See p. 133.

Care of the Teeth. The native Liberian takes very good care of his teeth, brushing them every day, not as a hygienic measure, but because he considers his teeth ornamental.

For toothbrushes, pieces of rattan vine are used in Gbunde, Loma, and the southeast; portions of a very bitter root gbese ko (Paullinia pinnata), "to make the mouth sweet," in Mano; pieces from the limbs of the small tree, robotu, in Sapā. If these are not available anything else suitable and convenient is employed. These "brushes" are frayed at one end to form fiber "bristles" about half an inch long. People take

them along when they travel. Fine sand is sometimes used as tooth powder.

Teeth are usually brushed in the morning. Mano children begin the practice after the second set of teeth has come. Old people are

likely to neglect it entirely.

The teeth of adults are far less well preserved than one would expect them to be, considering the frequent brushing. It is a curious fact that teeth mutilated for ornamental purposes are usually much better preserved than molars. This may be owing to the much more thorough brushing they get.

ORNAMENTATION OF THE BODY

Festooning the body with various ornaments and bedaubing it with clay or other material reflect only the urge toward adornment and may express a momentary mood or fancy. Permanent changes effected upon the person, such as scarification and tattooing, involve religious motives as well. In earlier times this doubtless was true as regards the chipping or extraction of teeth. Gradually, the ancient connection with religion has been almost, if not entirely, forgotten, while the idea of ornamentation has superceded it.

Tattooing. Tattooing in Gio is called ze glo, from ze, "burn," and glo, "plantain." ²¹ Men only are tattooed in the north. Mano women may be neither tattooed nor scarified. In the old days they would have been killed, had they been so ornamented, by Poro cult members for whom these practices were exclusively reserved. The Ge and Gio formerly did not practice tattooing but have recently taken it over from the Bassa (Kru stock). In the southeast we saw it everywhere.

The designs are usually traced first, then cut with a very sharp, narrow-bladed knife or instrument. Blood is rubbed off if it interferes with the work. Coloring matter, obtained by burning one of several substances, is rubbed into the incisions, which are so close together that they later give the appearance of being unbroken lines. When the design has been completed the skin is given a superficial washing, after which there is usually a second rub-

bing in of the coloring matter. While there is soreness for a few days, it is remarkable how soon the skin is completely healed in nearly all instances.

In Sapa this operation is done gratis, preferably behind a hut. Only a few people may look on. It is believed that if too many do so, they will cause ulcerating sores to form. If an individual runs away because of pain before the completion of the operation to which he has consented, he must pay the operator a white fowl and some tobacco.

Favorite designs in Palepo are one to five narrow lines in the center of the forehead between the eyebrows. In Sapa and Tie the commonest design is the tribal mark of two to four lines extending from the top of the center of the forehead to the tip of the nose. In Ge the design is often a "herringbone" in short, transverse lines; in Gio, three straight lines down the middle of the forehead. In both Ge and Gio another design resembling a clay pipe is sometimes done on the cheeks, with the bowl at the corners of the eyes and the stem extending backward to the ears. This is seen in both sexes. It has probably been adopted from the Bassa tribe.

Scarification. Scarification ²² in the north is of two kinds: one is purely ornamental, the other is for religious purposes in connection with the cults. In Mano, as already noted, only members of the Poro have the latter type. Ornamental scarification is we ya gi (Gbunde);

²¹ For use of plantain ash in treatment of wounds, see below, p. 119, also 400.

²² See also pp. 284 ff.

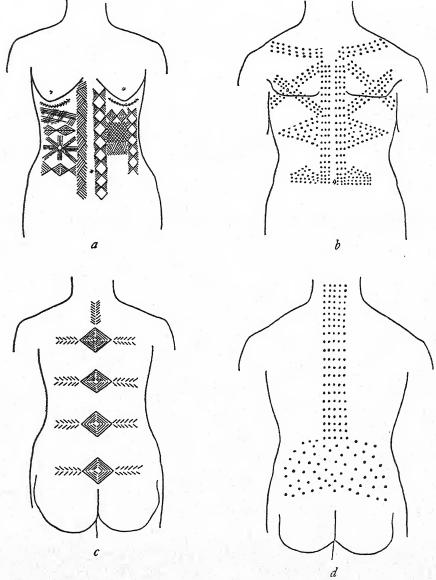


Fig. 20. Scarification of body. a, c, scarification on Loma woman; b, d, scarification on Loma man.

we gi (Loma). That done in the Poro Bush is polo or pale (Loma). Formerly it was not practiced by the Ge or Gio. There is comparatively little of it in the southeast. Most was seen in Gbunde, Loma, and Kpelle. Since only young men or those of early middle age have the Poro marks in Gbunde, the cult cannot have been long in favor (figs. 103 and 104).

Scarification, like tattooing, can be performed by any man who has learned how, but it is usually a highly religious function of the

zo of the Poro. In performing this operation, a small hook is used to raise the skin, which is then cut behind the hook with a razor. There are as many hooks fastened to one handle as there are rows of scars to be produced—usually from two to six. These are all inserted into the skin at the same time, to hasten the work. Loma informants stated that it was customary to rub ashes of burned plantain skins into the wounds, which then heal with small raised scars.

In Loma it is customary for an apprentice to pay his teacher the fee he gets from the first person he ornaments after his apprenticeship has been completed. This fee from a woman beauty-seeker is two French silver five-franc pieces (the equivalent of four shillings) for doing her chest and abdomen, and three shillings for the back. When cash is lacking the equivalent in goods is accepted — perhaps, in part payment, a live fowl and a pot of cooked rice with "plenty" palm oil poured over it and "plenty" meat on top.

Another method employed to produce ornamental scars, especially by children in Loma, is to take small pieces of cotton, soak them in palm oil, lay them on the skin where scars are desired, set them afire and allow them to burn the flesh. Sometimes small pieces of burning raffia-frond lath may be used to do this sort

of burning.

Mutilation of the Teeth. Mutilation of the teeth is practiced by all the tribes. Whatever the original idea may have been, it is now done to make the men more attractive in the eyes of the women. The different forms of mutilation

also serve to indicate the region from which an individual comes.

Only the Mano and Gio point the teeth—the Mano, the four upper; the Gio, the two central upper incisors—by chipping off both corners. Sometimes the Mano, and also a few of the Palepo, chip off only the median corner of the two central teeth to leave a rounded triangle. Most of the Palepo men, like the Sapã, Tiẽ, Gbunde, and Loma, affect this triangle on the upper teeth only. In Gbunde (rarely in Loma and Mano), it is seen also on the corresponding two lower incisors.

The mutilation is done by means of a small chisel and a native hammer, or some implement

that can be used as such.

Many of the Gio, Sapa, and Tie, and some Palepo extract the two lower central incisors. The Gio say that it is "to make we talk pass fine" (to make their speech sound nice).

The Mano consider it unfortunate for an infant if an upper tooth comes first. They say, "Dis pikin no be pusson, he be meat [animal]." Such teeth are knocked out as soon as possible to avoid the threatening misfortune.

HANDICRAFTS AND UTENSILS

THE CRAFT GUILDS

THERE are many articles of common use in Liberia that any native can make if he is willing to try. At the other extreme are those sacred things the making of which is kept secret — so secret that no one would ever think of speaking of them as the work of men's hands. Such things were consecrated by human sacrifice in the old days. Naturally, they are no longer made except at rare intervals.

Between these extremes of the sacred and the common there are many crafts limited to certain families and to definitely organized guilds. The guilds perpetuate the skills, but the family is the essential unit, transmitting the skill to a son or daughter or an actual blood nephew or niece. Apprenticeship can be arranged for someone outside the family, but at a cost calculated to protect the craft from the abuses attending too short a learning period. When an outsider is accepted, the fees can be adjusted to the ability of his family to pay. The usual arrangement is for payments to continue until the apprentice's skill is unquestioned and his family begins to protest. There is, however, a distinct tendency toward standardization of fees. For example, a blacksmith's apprentice will serve several years and pay a total roughly equal to the amount he would pay to get married and set up a household, besides occasional presents to show his appreciation and to pacify the smith when anything is spoiled.

It was interesting to us to find guild fellowship everywhere in Liberia among those practicing the same handicrafts, regardless of clan or tribal affiliations. The weaver, the leather worker, or smith will always go to the home of a fellow craftsman, if there is one in the community, when visiting or passing through a place where he has neither friend nor relative. "Even if we were to go as far as the coast we would always look for a weaver and stay with him," said one of that craft.

This guild fellowship applies to foreigners also. At Zuluyi (Mano) the paramount chief's brother, an elderly man, was the head smith. Entering his smithy soon after we arrived in town, we found him hard at work. Through one of the boys following us about we informed him that in our youth we, too, had done some smithing. Immediately he quit the job on which he was engaged, stood up, and took us by both hands (possibly trying to give us the "grip"). Then he rushed into his house, soon emerging with three eggs of uncertain age, a small knife, and a red leather belt. All these he gave us as a brother handicraftsman and therefore entitled to the craft's guild fellowship. Later in the day he came to call, clad in his best, with all his medicines on his person, and bringing with him a small, iron ring from which dangled duplicates of all his strongest medicines (fig. 75, w). These he had just forged as a present to us so that we might be "a good, successful worker and a credit to the craft." (We scarcely need to record that this recognition and the present cost us dearly in English shillings.)

The local smiths of Ganta considered and treated Dr. Harley as a fellow guildsman after he had shown them a tiny anvil watch charm which his grandfather, a smith, had made and given him.

BARK WORK

The bark of trees serves a number of purposes in the homes of the hinterlanders. An oval section of it, from 14 to 18 inches long and about a foot wide, curved like a scoop shovel, does duty everywhere as a dustpan. In Sapã and Tië housewives also grind pepper upon such sections. Clay for pottery is handled

on bark (fig. 62, a). In the southeast, especially in Half-Grebo, and sometimes in the north, strips of bark 3 to 4 inches wide are fastened together at the ends to form circular bands of sufficient diameter to keep upright the round-bottomed water pots and other vessels. Carrying straps for kinja's 1 are made of strips taken

¹See below, p. 124.

from a young fo (Tarettia utilis) or a gbā (Xylopia) tree (Mano) or a podo tree (Gio). Bark rope is used in tying roof poles, thatch, and other construction work. A swamp hibiscus is most commonly used. Strips of tene gene (Dichrostachys glomerulata) bark are used for weaving mats.

To make bark cloth, long narrow strips are taken from smooth trunks of wild fig trees, of which there are several varieties. The outer layer is worked off, leaving only the inner fibrous bark. A strip of this is placed on some

supporting surface, such as a drum or log, and beaten out with a club in such a way as to increase the length but not the width. To make a "cloth," a number of these strips are sewed together with a needle made by the smith. For thread, fine raffia or other fiber is used. Bark cloth is sometimes dyed yellow in an extract of the bark of the sene tree boiled in water, then allowed to cool. This cloth is seldom seen at the present time, but formerly it was common among both the Mano and the Gio tribes.

FIBER WORK

Fiber work is done by both sexes. The fiber most commonly used for sewing is cotton. In the north handspun cotton thread is used for sewing native cloth. Sewing of cloth is done by men. The strips are held with the second and big toes of one foot and with one hand (fig. 53, d).

Imported needles are now in general use throughout the southeast, but in the north needles of iron or brass wire are still occasionally made by smiths. The most primitive type of needle still in use is a sliver of raffia midrib.

Here and there we saw cracked calabashes being mended with raffia fiber that had been twisted and waxed with beeswax. Tiny holes had been bored along the edges of the crack, and through these the fiber thread was passed in a neat cross-stitch (fig. 46, a).

In general, fibers other than cotton are chiefly employed for the making of string or rope. In common use are fibers from oilpalmfrond leaflets, from the folded inner frond leaflets of the raffia palm, and from a plantain stock. So far as we could learn, these last are not used in the north. Pineapple-leaf fibers

were not used in any of the regions that we visited. Other sources of fiber are the frond midrib itself, and various plants and bushes such as the *Triumfetta cordifolia* and *Mannio-phyton africanum* (fai). Strings and ropes are made by rolling the fibers on the thigh with the flat of the hand, thus twisting them together.²

Fiber Bags and Caps. Rice bags and carrying bags of raffia fiber in a tubular, diagonal weave (fig. 50; 46, c), sometimes so closely woven that they are waterproof, are made by the women in Gbunda and Loma. In Gio we saw some men making them. The method is unique. The weaving is started on the ground, then tied to a post, or bottom-up to a roof rafter, and held taut by the worker. The fibers are so numerous that it is a long and tedious task to make even a small bag.

The old-style skullcap, formerly much worn by men of the Kru stock and still used in some sections, is woven in the same way and of the same material as the bags. It was probably adopted from the Mandingos. More of these caps were seen on the men of the Sabo clan (Half-Grebo) than anywhere else in the southeast.

BASKETRY

For basket weaving the climbing or rattan palms furnish much of the material. We were unable to determine how many varieties of these palms are found in Liberia. Johnston 3 notes only Calamus deerratus, but we found also Ancistrophyllum secundiflorum and Ere-

²For the uses of string and cord in the making of fishnets and articles of clothing, see pp. 73 and 110,

mospatha macrocarpa. The thorny vines Smilax kraussiana (kpwēgo, Mano) and Trachyphrynium violaceum, are also used. One species may be plentiful in a particular region; another, scarce or entirely absent. These fibers are of varying strength and flexibility, some

respectively.

⁸ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 552, fig. 229.

being more suited to the making of one article, some to another.

Baskets. In the north women make most of the baskets. However, the men weave the heaviest, strongest, and stiffest, which are usually of rattan or midrib splints. In the southeast generally, men make all kinds. Baskets may be of one material only or two in combination. There are three types: those for stor-

age, for carrying, and for fishing.

Baskets for storing food for immediate consumption are made in a number of convenient sizes. Some have covers. In both the north and the southeast they have the same general vase or bottle shape. The smallest (kupie, Loma; kon, Mano and Gio; pobo, Half-Grebo and Sapã) are from 4 to 8 inches high, about 6 inches in diameter at the bottom, and 2½ to 3 inches at the top (fig. 47). They are for such things as salt, spices, seasonings, and decorticated rice. Small fish are also dried in them in Loma.

Other food and storage baskets are generally made with covers. In the southeast there is a loop of cord or other material in the middle of the cover, by which the basket is suspended over the drying rack of the hearth or, occasionally, in the loft (fig. 47, b). In the north there is rarely a loop, for these baskets are kept in a supporting frame of rattan or vine fastened to the ceiling. Those in which dried meat or fish are kept are made flyproof by a thick coating of clay or cowdung plastered over the outside.

In Loma houses we saw containers for storing unthreshed rice, cotton, and sometimes strips of woven cloth. The largest were woven like mats; sometimes, indeed, a mat had been used over a framework of sticks to form the sides. The largest one we saw was 49 inches high and 36 inches in diameter. The top had been sealed with clay. It stood toward the back of the house, 4 feet from the hearth, on a low, clay platform across which sticks had been laid. More common were smaller containers of rattan with four loops at the top. The corner sticks of the framework often projected beyond the bottom to form four short legs.

The Sapa make a tall basket for the storage of unthreshed rice. When empty it is hung out under the eaves for fowls to nest in. Less

common are the large, open-meshed fowl baskets (to kudu, Mano), seen only in the north, in which hens and their broods are carried to and from the farms and in which they are often kept at night (fig. 48, d). In some sections these baskets are dome shaped with round bases; elsewhere they are pyramidal with square bases. They may be of midrib pith and rattan or entirely of the latter. All of them have a side opening that can be closed by a piece of bark, attached to form a crude, sliding door. A piece of old mat, bark, or oilpalmfrond sheath covers the bottom to prevent the fowls' feet from going through the open meshes.

The Loma and Sapa also make a covered hamper or box woven over a framework for clothes, trinkets, and other personal effects (fig. 48, c). The Loma call this kalāna; the Sapa, balu. Those seen in Loma were about a yard long, a foot wide, and 8 inches deep, made entirely of rattan. In Sapa midrib pith and rattan had been interwoven. These hampers are an imitation of boxes, which are not indigenous.

The Sapa also make the klolo, a box-like rack, in size about 15 by 10 by 6 inches. Its sides are of the same material as the balu. The top and bottom are of midrib slats. The bottom slats are securely fastened, while the top ones are kept in place by passing them under hoops of rattan. To open this box, one merely slides the top slats out of these loops.

In the north, open baskets are used by the women for carrying food (kpwodo, Loma; $kw\tilde{e}$, Mano; to, Gio). They are shallow with bulging sides, large at the top. At the bottom are four, pointed depressions, which form corners and give the appearance of a square base (fig. 47, f and k). They are of the softest and most pliable rattan and are braided around the top edge. Those of the Gio have four handles at the top — mere loops of the same material.

For carrying their food and firewood, the Sapa and Tie usually employ the basket called ta in Sapa and to in Tie. This basket is of somewhat different shape from the food basket in the north, being reinforced at four places along the sides, which are straight rather than bulging. The diameter of the bottom is from 6 to 8 inches, that of the top from 14 to 16 inches. The depth is from 7 to 9 inches.

The Sapa and Tie have a stout basket of rattan called tie by the former and tiu by the latter. Attached to it is a plantain-fiber band. This basket is carried on the back. The band, which is passed over the forehead, holds it in place, and the hands are thus left free. Both men and women use this when going on journeys. One basket measured was 17 inches high, 9 inches wide at the top, and 8 inches at the bottom.

Another basket in Sapa, called po, is used by men to carry game or fish when they visit traps or go fishing. The bottom of this is considerably wider than the top. A fitted cover comes down 2 inches or more over the sides. Loops are attached to the sides of both cover and basket. A long, stout cord, passing through the loops of the cover and attached to those of the basket, permits the cover to slide up and down; it also serves as a handle by which this basket is slung over the shoulder.

A combination storage and carrying basket for tools and odds and ends (dru, Mano; se, Gio) is used by smiths. This is very strongly made. In shape it is elliptical. One measured was 18 inches tall, 6 across the top, and 12 at

the bottom.

Fishing baskets are of two sorts: 4 those used as scoop nets (gbwadie, Half-Grebo and Sapa; ta, Tie) and those into which small fish are put as caught (fig. 46, d; frontis.). The scoop nets are made in several styles of midrib splints interwoven with rattan. Twisted fibers across the center of the top keep the sides from spreading. The largest are about a yard long, a foot and a half or more deep, a foot or more wide. These scoops are a little awkward to

The smaller fishing baskets are of two types: the cylindrical, round-bottomed style of the north and the pouch-shaped, with round top and flat sides, of the southeast. The first is of a Marantaceous material, perhaps a species of Sarcophrynium: the second, of rattan. Both are re-enforced around the top, the bottom, and the sides.

Brushes, Kinja's, Bands, Strainers, etc. The fly-brush, carried mostly by older men, who sit much in one place, is merely a bundle of midribs of oilpalm leaflets, held together by

On fish traps we have little information. See p. 74.

fiber twisted around the handle. The fiber may be elaborately woven. The Sapa have another brush much like this, called tru. It is made of short lengths of finely split raffia midrib lath and used to stir such foods as "soup"

or palm-oil "butter."

Brooms are fashioned in the same manner as fly-brushes. In Gbunde and Loma brooms for sweeping the house, called glos by both peoples, are bundles of rice straw or palmfrond leaflets. Those for sweeping courts or streets (falivali, Gbunde; kala kpwali, Loma) are of finely split raffia midrib. Their handles are formed by twisting and bending back the bundle. In Gio brooms are made of raffia fiber. Those in Half-Grebo (puo) are made of ends of raffia fronds about 21/2 feet long, stripped of their leaflets for two thirds of their length. These brooms are tied in four places, instead of only once at the handle end, as are those of other tribes. The Sapa and Tie have a broom made of a bundle of the inner, pliable, frond leaflets. They also use the stem ends of palm-nut bunches.

The kinja or carrying frame is a hold-all. The simplest form is the lopped-off end of a palm frond, the leaflets of which are braided together along the sides (fig. 48, a and e; fig. 59, e). The tough leaves of bo (Mitragyne stipulosa) (fig. 60, d, lower righthand corner), preferably wilted in the sun, are laid inside for a lining and folded over the top of the load, where they are held firmly in place by lacing from side to side. This sausage-shaped hamper is well proportioned for carrying along the narrow trails (fig. 59, e). It is commonly used for storage and transportation of rice, cola nuts, and similar small stuff. A rice hamper is about 3 feet long and holds two buckets of rice. A cola-nut hamper is 4 or 5 feet long and holds several thousand nuts. These kinja's are temporary containers, seldom used more than once.

More durable kinja's, consisting of an open framework of rattan (fig. 48, d), are made by some tribes. These are for men only, except in the southeast. In Tie the kinja of the women is shorter than that of the men and has higher, rounded sides. In Half-Grebo and Sapa the women's kinja has a hewn-board bottom with

sides of rattan. This is often used for carrying food and firewood (fig. 101, b and d). Formerly the Sapā made theirs like those of the north. The Mano and Gio do not make this more permanent type of carrying frame. The Loma sometimes cover the palm-frond frame with a piece of woven mat (fig. 59, f).

In the southeast and in the Loma area the men carry kinja's on the back with supporting straps. In Loma these straps go over the forehead (fig. 59, e); in Kpelle and in the southeast, over the shoulders (fig. 59, f). The women always carry loads on top of the head, without

straps.

Palm-oil strainers are of several types. One type of Gbunde and Loma strainer is made of a forked stick with loosely woven fiber filaments between the forks. Another type is merely a loosely woven small square of rattan (fig. 61, a). The Mano split one end of a piece of raffia midrib, fan out the ribs, and closely weave a cord through them. The strainer of the Gio, called tiā, has a circular rim of rattan within which string is woven in a pattern resembling a spider's web (fig. 49, h). The Half-Grebo have two kinds. One of rattan, called tete, much resembles a basket cover. The other, called maso, is of raffia midrib splints, held together at one end by wrappings of raffia fiber. The unwrapped part is spread out and kept in the shape of a broom by firmly weaving with raffia fiber (fig. 61, a, right). These two strainers are often used together, the latter being placed on top of the former to catch the coarsest impurities. This latter type is also used by the Sapa and Tie. The Sapa call it bobwa; the Tie, boba.

Rice fanners ⁵ are like trays or large platters (figs. 47, n; 54, e). They are made by men. In the north they are long and elliptical. This shape is sometimes seen also in the southeast, but the fanners characteristic of the southeast are round or nearly round. The weaving is sometimes checkerboard, sometimes an intricate, water-tight, lock weave. The rim of heavier material is firmly bound on.

Mats. There are several different types of mats made by the tribes of Liberia. One type (sa, Mano) is the pliable, closely woven mat, comparable to Chinese tea matting. This is

often used as a floor-or-ceiling covering and as a sleeping mat. It is rolled for carrying. Figure 48, b shows a small mat of this type especially decorated for cult purposes. The Loma make this of leaves of Pandanus candelabrum, while the Mano and Gio make these mats from the stems of Thaumatococcus daniellii.

The stems are first cut to proper lengths, then split with a knife into quarters. From these the pith is removed after loosening it a little by drawing it over the fiber-padded fingers of one hand. To work them, a Mano woman sits under the eaves, feet extended, holding the stems between her ankles. Each piece, as it is stripped, she lays between the first and second toes of one foot and holds them there until no more can be accommodated. She then makes them into a standard bundle by tying a loose knot. To weave them, she squats on the ground and uses both hands and sometimes a foot. This is the general procedure followed for making all objects of this or similar material. The herringbone pattern seems to be the favorite in Mano (fig. 51, e).

Another type of matting has horizontal strips of a fairly stiff material, held together by interweaving at intervals with a more pliable material. The result is a screen-like mat, rather heavy and coarse, capable of being rolled up in one direction only. It is often hung under the eaves as a screen from the weather, and tied up or unrolled and let down as desired — answering the purpose of a Venetian blind.

The galagi of the Loma is of this type, made of slender strips of raffia midrib, woven with the pliable inner frond leaflets. A similar Loma mat, the volovoe, is made of stouter strips to which some of the pith is left adhering, crosswoven with bark, cord, or split rattan. In Gio this type of mat, made of thin strips of palm

frond, is woven by the men.

Still a third general type of mat is rigid, being woven throughout of raffia midrib. In Kru and parts of the southeast, hut walls are made from this mat, fastened over a framework. The weaving is done in a variety of patterns. In Sapa the entire floor of a hut is covered with one big mat like those forming the walls. In the north the ceilings are often cov-

gagba, Sapā; tidie, Tiē.

⁵ Sepsgi, Loma; la, Mano; nyaka, Half-Grebo;

ered with such mats. These are sometimes especially woven for the purpose, but more often they are old mats not good for much else. In special houses a mat ceiling may be woven in place.

A similar effect is produced by tying raffia "bamboo" strips to the ceiling, placed close together, until the ceiling is covered. Sometimes these "bamboo" strips are tied in an elaborate pattern.

CLOTH WEAVING

As we have already stated, two kinds of cotton (yue, Mano) are grown: the low-bush, white (betebeli, Loma) and the high-bush, brownish or khaki hued. The brownish cotton is planted in with the rice or corn and at the same time. The white is planted alone, usually a month later. The bolls are picked as needed until the rains begin, when all those remaining in the fields are gathered in. The kinja usually serves as a storage basket. We noted no boll pests, however, grasshoppers eat the plant leaves.

Seeding and Carding the Cotton. The first operation in preparing cotton for use is the removal of the seeds. This is done by placing a piece of boll on a wooden block and rolling a round stick or iron over it (fig. 51, a and b). The bits of seeded fiber are put into baskets. Usually women were seen doing this.

The Mano state that carding, which is done by means of a bow (fig. 51, c), is man's work, because making and using the bow are also man's work. In Gbunde and Loma carding is supposedly the work of women, who get the bows from the men. However, we saw this work being done by both sexes of all three tribes. They take a little cotton fiber, double it back over the bowstring, pull this up toward the bow and allow it to snap back. This movement is repeated rapidly, the fiber being readjusted on the string from time to time until it has become fluffy. Then pieces the size of the palm of the hand are pulled off, patted flat, and placed in loose layers in a basker. In Kpelle we saw women carding cotton with a comb (fig. 51, d).

Spinning. Spinning is done only by women in Gbunde and Loma, but the yarn is the property of the men. In Mano both sexes spin. In fact, next to eating and sleeping, it was the most important occupation of the chief of Busi during the week we spent in that town.

Carded cotton is loosely wound around a short, smooth stick or piece of raffia midrib or put in the kalagi, the basket-like contrivance seen in Gbunde and Loma. The cotton is held high in one hand while with the other the fibers are drawn down in a turning, twisting motion to form the coarse thread, which the rapidly turning spindle further twists (fig. 51, e and f; fig. 52, a). When about a yard of thread has been spun, the hand holding the fibers is slowly lowered to allow the spindle to wind the thread about itself. There is considerable variation in the thickness and quality of the thread, depending somewhat upon whether the material to be woven from it is intended for personal use or for barter or sale.

The spindle is a weighted sliver of midrib (kena kpwaku, Loma; kene yıdı, Mano), resembling a child's top. The weight (kena, Loma; kene, Mano) is of molded potter's clay with a hole in the center through which the sliver passes. Some of these weights are spherical; some cubical. Nearly all are ornamented with geometric designs. Most of those we saw were almost stone-hard from age and polished by long use. The best ones, which their owners refused to sell, were heirlooms.

Spindles belong to the women.

An old Mano woman, contentedly smoking a clay pipe, was a very efficient spinner, and we smiled appreciatively as we watched her nimble fingers. Noticing this, she slid over to one side of the mat on which she was seated, with her unwashed hands wiped a place beside herself, and motioned us to sit down. Then she sent a boy into her house to get a fresh egg for us from a hen's nest she had there — a gift for our appreciation of her work.

Dyeing. While much of the yarn is woven in its natural color, some of it is dyed. The brownish yarn is preferred for dyeing, as it takes the dye better than the white.

⁶ See p. 58.

Some of the thread is dyed blue and is later combined with white to form various arrangements of stripes. The coloring matter for this comes from the tender, young leaves of wild indigo (Lonocharpus cyanescens), called gala la in Mano and in Loma. These leaves are gathered in the forest, preferably in the month of December (Kalagwei, Loma). Some we saw brought in by Mano men in February were considered inferior in quality. In Loma the men pick these leaves and take them home to their women, who immediately crush them with their feet on a galagi or volovoe mat.7 The crushed leaves are spread out in the sun for three or four days. When sufficiently dried they are loosely packed in kinja's and hung under the eaves of the house. About two double handfuls of the dried leaves sell for one "iron." 8 We saw Mano men crushing their leaves in mortars and molding them with their hands into balls. These were dried and stored for use or for sale.

In the dyeing process the Mano may add to these leaves the ashes of bombax wood or cassava sticks. The extract obtained by boiling the yellow roots of a tree called zulubo (Morinda geminata) may be used as a mordant. Informants of the other tribes claimed to use nothing but the indigo leaves.

Other colors occasionally used are a redbrown from camwood (Baphia nitida) and a mustard yellow from turmeric (Curcuma

longa; gmea zu in Mano).9

Dyestuffs are mixed with water and kept in big, covered, clay pots. These stand on or are sunk into the ground in the court or behind the house (figs. 52, b and d; 63, g), as a most obnoxious smell is generated by the fermenting and decaying materials.

Yarn is dipped for about a day at a time, the number of times depending on the shade desired. For a medium blue, once suffices. For "black," three times is the rule. When dipping more than once, it is necessary to half-dry the yarn before putting it back into the pot.

One sometimes sees cloth dyed after weaving, but the result does not seem as successful.

Dyeing is done by the women in Gbunde and Loma and by both sexes in Mano. Among the first two tribes it is customary for a novice

to work one or two days for the woman who teaches her this art, as a recompense for the latter's time.

For dyeing the yarn of another person, the Gbunde and Loma women charge from two to twenty "irons," depending upon the quantity. In Mano the customer cooks a fowl and "good food" some time afterward and invites the dyer to eat it.

Weaving. The Mano word for "weaving" (50 f2) is literally "cloth making." Weaving is

done only by men.

Two types of loom are in use: the Indian, locally called the Mende, and the Mandingo. The Mende loom (fig. 52, e) is a simple contrivance in which the harnesses are suspended from a tripod of rough poles and the beater is held only by the warp threads. The weaver sits on the ground. The Mandingo loom (fig. 53, a) is a more advanced, foot-pedal type. The framework consists of four corner posts with four transverse poles — two to each side — lashed to them. The lower transverse poles are set at an angle, and a crosspiece at the lower end provides a seat for the weaver. From the upper poles the harnesses are suspended and the foot treadles are worked. Among the Gbunde and Loma, who excel in weaving, these looms are often substantial affairs with roofs over them, evidently intended for years

⁶The primitive African has a very limited color terminology. Some of the terms in common use in Liberia are:

COLOR	LOMA	MANO	GIO	SAPA
light tint	kpwele	pulu	pu	pudu
pure white	kpwele	pulu	pulu	pudu po:
	ve fofo	sedede		
black great				

dark blue, or dark

green teive ti ti enbwambo
absolute teive ti sɛ̃sɛ̃ ti sɛ̃ enbwambo
black gavike pliph
light red,
brown, or

yellow bazi zolo nia:ze sani bright red kpwoive zolo gbwe nia:ze sani sõ gbwe

In the north, black and dark blue are favorite colors. Red is sacred to the high officers of the Poro cult, and is, therefore, taboo for all others. In the southeast, where red is not a general taboo, it may be used more freely, but it is not a favorite color.

⁷ See p. 125. ⁸ See p. 181.

of service. Everywhere we visited in the north this type was used to the exclusion of the other.

Warp making is an excellent example of African inertia (fig. 52, d). Where there is room enough, the warp is laid out in a straight line the full length of the strip to be woven. First a stake is planted at one end; and two stakes, about a foot apart, are planted at the other end where the shed is to be made. Starting at the end with a single stake, the weaver walks to the other end, unwinding the thread from the spindle as he goes. There he passes the thread between the two stakes, loops it around the farther one, crosses over again between the stakes to make an "X" for the shed, and carries the thread back to the starting point. This process is repeated, to make a continuous warp, until there are threads enough to weave the desired strip. The finished strips are approximately 3½ to 4 inches wide (fig. 53, d), and there are thirty to forty threads per inch. A separate warp is made and set up for each strip. The longest warp we saw made in this way was one hundred and seventy-five paces.

If there is not room to lay the warp out straight, a number of stakes are set zigzag, or in any pattern that will permit the laying out of the required yardage in a compact space. The arrangement is immaterial so long as the thread is returned over the same course each

time around.

If a striped cloth is desired (fig. 53, d), the requisite number of blue threads are incorporated in the warp as it is laid out.10 (Woof

threads are white.)

Before the warp is removed from the stakes, the shed is preserved by tying a bit of string around the "X". The warp is then rolled into a loose ball, "X" end out. To set up the loom the threads of this end are cut, drawn through the reed and the heddles (fig. 53, c), and tied to the round stick upon which the cloth is to be wound. This stick is put into place on the frame of the loom in front of the weaver's seat. The ball of warp is then passed over a smooth stick at the back of the frame, unrolled

10 Commonly there is more white than blue in the weave (fig. 53, d), but a length of material for an especially fine blanket or a chief's robe is sometimes primarily of dark blue, with narrower white stripes (figs. 96, c; 43, b). This blue cloth is made less frefor some yards, and laid upon a piece of old mat or bark resting upon the ground. A stone weights down the bark, holds the ball firmly in place, and keeps the warp at the desired tension (fig. 53, a). The harnesses are now fastened in place and the treadles attached, and

weaving can begin.

In weaving, the shuttle (fig. 53, c) containing the woof thread is passed back and forth from hand to hand. Whether the reed beater (fig. 53, b) is operated after each pass of the shuttle, or less frequently, determines the degree of firmness in the cloth. When a man is weaving a cloth for himself he will beat hard after each pass of the shuttle. Much of the cloth intended for barter is very loosely woven.

Since there is no arrangement for winding the cloth automatically as it is made, it is necessary for the weaver to stop after 6 or 7 inches have been woven and pull the warp ahead so the cloth may be wound around the stick.

No one may stand behind a weaver to watch him work.11 This taboo suggests that at some former time weaving was a secret art, as were iron smelting, brass working, and wood carv-

Warps may be made by anyone and delivered to a weaver, together with the thread for the woof. The weaver has the option of payment in cash or its equivalent, or of all his week's food plus a "dash" (a gratuity) when the work is done. His pay is from 1 to 10

shillings.

In Loma anyone wishing to learn this art makes an agreement with some weaver, who usually teaches it free. The learner, however, must give him frequent tokens of appreciation, such as cola nuts, cooked food, or a fowl.

Having once learned to weave, a man is not free to make any innovations unless he receives permission from his teacher. When a weaver employed by Dr. Harley to make some cloth for him had woven one strip and was ready for the next, Harley showed him how he might save time and trouble by tying the ends of the second warp to those of the first and pulling it through in one operation. The weaver replied

quently by the Mano and Gio than by the Loma and their neighbors. The Mandingo traders often handle. the finer examples of weaving: buying from one tribe and selling in a distant part of the country (fig. 60, c). 11 See also below, p. 142.

that he must first consult his teacher. This he did, and the teacher consented. But when it was proposed that the weaver construct a loom

for weaving wider strips, this was rejected as too great a deviation from their accepted conventions.

WOOD WORKING

Trees suited to wood working are everywhere abundant; consequently, the number of wooden objects in use is considerable. The most important of these are:

Handles for axes, hoes, knives, machetes, and other tools, and weapons (fig. 65)

Club-mallets for making bark cloth and driving stakes Hoes for rice planting

Pillows (except in Loma), which are billets 4 to 5 inches in diameter, somewhat flattened on one side

Blocks for seeding cotton (fig. 51, a) Bows for carding cotton (fig. 51, c)

Hooks and racks for hanging up and storing things in

Planks on which potter's clay is worked

Planks on which sacrificial "meat" is cut up (Half-Grebo)

Boards on which beeswax is worked for making casting models

Boards on which seasonings are ground (southeast) Forked sticks for stirring food (Gbunde and Loma) Split swizzle sticks for beating liquids

Spoons and ladles for eating, stirring, and dishing out food ¹²

Mortars and pestles for decorticating rice, pounding food, and making oil (fig. 54, f)

Bowls and dishes (very few in the north)

Tubs for storing palm oil

Mortars, pestles, and containers for snuff

House walls (Half-Grebo), doors, and door frames (figs. 38 and 39)

Loft-ladders and ladders for climbing trees (fig. 38, f) Spear shafts (fig. 65, o)

Bows and arrows for hunting and war (mostly north) (fig. 65, p, etc.)

Quivers (north)

Sheaths for hunting knives, war knives, and machetes Shields (Gio and G ϵ ; no longer made)

Powder flasks

Walking sticks and staffs

Pipes

Smiths' bellows (fig. 64, u; fig. 25)

Parts of kinja's (southeast)

Box-like frames for carrying infants on the back (Half-Grebo) (fig. 61, a)

Tally sticks

Game boards (fig. 74, a) and children's playthings—guns, machetes, stilts, etc.

¹² See p. 103. ¹⁸ Drums are treated on pp. 149-51.

Anklets and bracelets - mostly for children

Drums for farm work, dancing, war, cult purposes (figs. 28 and 83) 12

Cult masks and other cult objects (figs. 70 and 71, 88-

Images and figurines (fig. 72)

Stools, three-, four-, or six-legged, with or without seats (fig. 73)

Chairs: those of headmen and chiefs (Gbunde and Loma); low-legged Kpelle chairs (fig. 73)

For this handicraft there are a few simple tools: a small-bladed adze ($kp\varepsilon ya$, Mano) (fig. 64, q); chisels with long handles suitable for hollowing out drums; the narrow-bladed native axe (fig. 64, b); the machete (fig. 64, j); knives, including one type with the end of the blade curved on the flat, much like a farrier's, for hollowing out spoon-bowls, etc. (fig. 64, r); and irons for burning holes ($bo\varepsilon$, Mano). There is no tool for boring wood

In the north the smith is also the wood worker. He makes all wooden objects, except in some localities where there are persons specializing in making mortars. In the southeast wood working is a separate trade, and those who practice it are not bound by taboos as the smiths are, it was stated.

In the regions of Liberia through which we traveled wood working is not highly developed. The best carving is done in two or three restricted areas, 14 and from these had come many of the finest specimens we saw. Some of their masks, figurines, and ceremonial spoons compare very favorably with specimens of wood carving from other parts of Africa. We noted with special interest human (and a few animal) figures on some supporting posts of palaver houses in Loma, the heads at the curved ends of Gbunde and Loma chiefs' chairs, and human heads in bas-relief on beeswax-working boards in Half-Grebo, as well as cult masks.

¹⁴ Among the Mano and Gio, the Krā have the reputation of being the best workers in wood. The Half-Grebo also do superior wood carving.

When we saw this work we agreed with

Guillaume and Thomas: 15

"It is certain that the craft of wood carving was handed down from generation to generation with many definitely understood rules and methods. . . . The elaborate and firmly organized designs he [the artist] produced do not come by mere aimless fumbling with a block of wood. . . . He saw and felt their elements clearly, one by one and in relation to each other."

Only a few of the articles made need be

described here.

Tubs and Mortars. Large, barrel-shaped tubs (tutugi) with short legs and two cylindrical knob handles on opposite sides, used for storing palm oil, were seen in Gbunde. They were made from a single block of bombax wood. One measured was 42 inches in diameter at the top, 34 inches at the base, and 40

inches high.

Mortars for pounding food and other materials are of two types: the spool-shaped type of the Mano and the vase-shaped type found everywhere else (figs. 54, f and 61, d). The Mano, Ge, and Gio mortars are, in general, larger than those of the other tribes. Loma mortars are seldom over 2 feet high, 12 to 15 inches across the top, and 10 to 14 at the base, which is 4 to 6 inches high. In Mano the men of the Ga clan who make mortars get their material from two kinds of hardwood trees, gei (Chlorophora excelsa) and wein yidi (Sarcocephalus diderrichii). Many mortars are rudely carved, the Mano's at the center, the others at the base. In Gbunde and Loma they are occasionally hewn in the shape of a tulip. The finest examples are to be found in Half-Grebo. Some of these have handles and resemble huge beer steins. Others have the soft, curving lines of the urn.

More interesting artistically are the graceful little mortars for pounding and grinding snuff, especially those of the Gio. They are not heavily carved. Their beauty lies in their delicate, flower shape, convenient for holding in the hand. Carving, if any, is on the base. Some are colored red; all are polished from long use to a shiny smoothness (fig. 61, c).

Bowls and Dishes. Wooden bowls and dishes, ¹⁶ formerly much used in the north, are now rarely to be found there. All those we saw were plain. In the southeast they are plentiful, ranging from small bowls and food basins serving as plates to huge rice bowls used only on festive occasions. The largest bowls we saw were in Konibo. One of these, like most of the smaller ones, was much decorated with carvings (fig. 61, b).

Stools and Chairs. Stools are of two types: one, the native stool, seen mostly in the north, is hewn from a solid block of wood. It has an elliptical seat, curving downward at the center, and three, four, or six, stubby peg feet only a few inches long. The other, adapted from a Mandingo stool, has a round, flat top and inserted legs 5 to 7 inches long. We saw them in use among the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano, and among the Mandingo women in

these regions (fig. 73, a-d).

Chairs (tangala, Mano) are of three kinds. The first is a simple tripod with two long legs at the front and a short one at the back, made from a tri-forked tree limb or root section. This may be used merely as a backrest, the user sitting on the ground and leaning against the two long legs. Sometimes a hewn slab seat is lashed to the legs, low down (fig. 73, e). One chair we noted had an elephant's scapula thus attached. Some had sticks secured to each side, which projected beyond the front legs; across these projections and tied to them was the seat slab.

The chiefs' chairs in Gbunda and Loma, and the so-called Kpella chairs used everywhere, are probably ancient adaptations of forms introduced from the outside. Both are constructed of parts that have first been fashioned separately, and both have backs (fig. 73, f and g). The legs of the Kpella chairs are sometimes only 4 inches high; the Gbunda and Loma chairs are higher. The legs are always carved; the backrest and the ends of the arms, sometimes. In all parts of the country we saw chairs that had been family heirlooms for several generations.

Cult Masks.¹⁷ Cult masks were made by all the tribes visited. In the southeast some

¹⁵ Guillaume and Thomas, 1926, p. 54.

¹⁶ Koko, gulewoko (two different forms), Loma;

kople bo, Mano; fu, Palepo; pobε, Sapã.
²⁷ See p. 277.

were exposed to public view in shrines or on walls of houses. In other parts of the interior these are never seen except when worn by Poro officials or entertainers who are supposed to be spirits. In the far interior, because of their religious significance, the carving of cult masks is done in great secrecy.

The variations in type and in skill of execution are remarkable. Some masks are crude and rough. Others leave nothing to be de-

sired either in design or finish.

A number of different woods are used, but mulberry (Chlorofora excelsis) is a favorite. Corkwood (Musanga smithii) is also used for bulky masks, because it is light weight. These masks are invariably stained black with plant juices and polished by rubbing.

Some masks are portraits of known indi-

viduals; some are caricatures. Others combine human with animal features and are dedicated to the animal represented. Still others are conventionalized into types which may be either grotesque and frightful or frankly beautiful. Some of the most carefully executed masks do not have the broad nose and thick lips of the African, but are refined toward the other extreme.

In these masks we see the artist at play, thoroughly familiar with his material and, with one or two exceptions, unhampered by convention. The conventional dance mask exhibits delicate features in an oval face. The highly conventionalized "Big Devil" is thick lipped. This mask is said to be the portrait of the founder of the Poro himself, and is greatly feared. It is little short of a god.

POTTERY

Clay pots are still made in quantities in all the hinterland (figs. 62 and 63). Only women do this work. In every tribe there are women whose pots excel not only in shape and design, but also in strength. The clay loves such a woman, say the Tie.

In Gio we found the best specimens. There, at Bangegie, pots were brought forth for our inspection from corners and lofts, covered with dust and soot. Proudly the owners exhibited them as their prize possessions, recognizing their perfection as well as we did. The woman who had made them, now dead, had had very strong medicine for this kind of work. Since no more like them were available, the owners, being decent housewives, refused to part with them.

The largest piece we saw, and the most difficult to mold and fire, was a huge pot suspended in a rattan frame from the ceiling of a Palepo hut. Besides the usual mouth at the top there were three other openings equally spaced around the shoulder. Each of these openings was the size and shape of a small jar. In this vessel rice was formerly cooked to be eaten in celebration of victories. Near it and suspended in the same manner was another pot of different shape, the size of a large water pot, from which palm wine was drunk when the Palepo were at war.

The favorite clay is bluish-white. Deposits of this are found here and there in swampy meadows, near springs, or at the edge of streams. In Tië, if a woman finds a deposit, she does not dig any for herself, but returns to town with the news. Then another woman of the town, "one whom the clay loves," goes out, uncovers part of the clay bed, and brings home as much as she can carry, after which other women may use the clay.

The women of the Ninebo and Baroba clans of Half-Grebo sleep either outside the town or in a section away from the men the night before they go out to get clay for their pot making. This is done to avoid being seen by any men as they leave at daybreak the next morning. If they wear any clothes at all, they

dress in the old, ritual, bark cloth.18

The process of pottery making is the same in all tribes. From the heap of hard clay in or near the hut the women take a sufficient supply and place it on a section of buttress root about 2 by 3 feet in size (fig. 62, a). Upon this they pound it, adding water as needed, to a workable consistency. The women always work sitting down.

In a Mano town where three women were at work, one of them prepared the clay and the other two shaped the pots on a square of old mat. They began by building up the sides, laying ropes of clay one above the other, firmly pressing each one upon the one below it, and smoothing out the seam. The work is done with the right hand while the left, held flat against the outside of the pot, gives the necessary support. The end of each new rope is carefully joined to the preceding one, making the coil continuous. In this instance the sides were worked into a cylinder, 6 inches across and 14 inches high. The top was then smoothed off with a piece of shell-fungus of the thin, leathery type, that had been soaked in water until it was very flexible. Held between the thumb and two fingers, it was swept along the edge, leaving this smooth and square. The completed cylinder was then smoothed on the outside with a flat, raffia midrib splint (fig. 62, c, e, f), and inside with a fragment of calabash, after which the piece was allowed to become partly dry. All tools were kept thoroughly wet while in use.

When the clay was dry enough to bear its own weight, the lower part of the cylinder was bellied out and the rim flanged or flared by working round and round the inside with a calabash fragment. Then the bottom was filled in with an extra piece of clay and the

inside of the pot given its final shape.

When the sides of the pot have become leather hard they are ready for decoration. To make these, the surface is first smoothed with a water-worn pebble the size of a hen's egg or larger. The area to be worked is always smeared with palm oil so the tools will not stick to the clay. The decoration is applied in bands or rings. For this purpose the commonest tool is an iron or copper bracelet,19 made from a rod with a square cross section, having a pattern incised on its surface. (Mano and Gio.) Such a bracelet is rolled along the surface of the pot and pressed in deep enough to leave its pattern. Deeper and clearer patterns are made by repeatedly pressing in the angular corner of a calabash fragment. Other impressions are made with the spiral end of a large snail shell and the grooved edge of a large bean-like seed. Braid-work patterns are produced on Gbunde and Loma pots by means of a carefully woven, rectangular stamp of rattan. This device is rolled over the entire surface of the vessel to make decorations that stand out in bas-relief. At the Zorzor market the pattern on the pots had been rubbed with white clay, making it stand out conspicuously from the

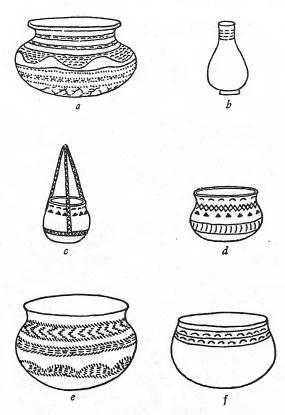


Fig. 21. Mano pottery. a, e, yigh, water pot; b, jar for palm oil; c, munu, with clay cover; d, ghagone, rice pot; f, zulugh, bath pot (i.e., hot water is poured into it, or water for bath is heated in it, and the pot carried outside for the bather).

black background. Nowhere are clay vessels glazed.

After the sides are decorated the pot is turned upside down, the mat removed from the bottom, and the superfluous clay trimmed off with a raffia splint. This leaves a rough surface, which is sometimes worked smooth with a corncob. During the process of drying, both inside and outside are polished by rub-

bing with a smooth pebble or other implement. The pots are dried directly in the sun, being smeared - in Mano, at least - with palm oil to prevent cracking. The two women mentioned above had twenty or more pots of various sizes and shapes lying on the ground, most of them turned so that the sun could shine inside (figs. 21-24, and 62, d).

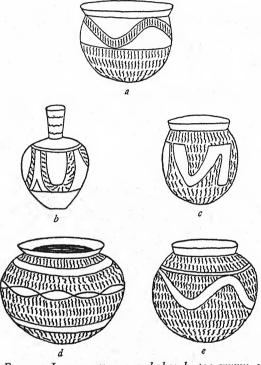


Fig. 22. Loma pottery. a, koko; b, toa munu; c, dawuogli; d, e, zieligi.

At present, all Mano pots are made with convex bases, except those in which small quantities of oil or seasoning are kept. These have a flat bottom so they will not tip over while in use. But sherds from kitchen middens on the were once made there. The firing is a simple process, done at the

old site of Ganta show that flat-based pots

edge of town. The thoroughly dried and hardened vessels are set on a heap of dried grass stalks or other quickly burning material and covered with the same. This is set on fire and allowed to burn until only hot embers are left. Now the red-hot vessels are taken up and set on some such stuff as rice chaff and allowed to cool. Though we could not learn for a certainty, it is probable that a tempering liquid, obtained by steeping certain barks or roots in water, is sometimes thrown onto the vessels while they are still red hot.

The Tie believe that if the firing is not done before the farms are burned for planting many

of their people will die.

Pots for cooking rice are larger in the north than in the southeast. With those for cooking "soup" the reverse is true. All of these have rather wide mouths. The big pots in which water is kept in houses are of the same shape practically everywhere (fig. 21). In Loma and Half-Grebo there are some egg-shaped ones. The wide-mouthed pots used for bath water do not flare at the rim. The Loma and Mano have vase-shaped jars for storing oil. The Gio and Sapa have delicately shaped little oil pots to hold the small quantities of palm oil needed for rubbing unfired pots, anointing the person, or storing seasoning. Clay pot covers, more widely used and better formed in Gio than elsewhere, are made to serve also as food basins. When so used, the large, flat knob forms a foot or standard. Some of these basins are symmetrical and graceful. Decorations are similar to those on the pots. Shallow bowls are also used as food dishes. The Loma have a sort of water bottle that is clearly an imitation of the imported article found in the coast

20 The names of the various vessels are as follows:

Kind	Loma	Mano	Gio	Half-Grebo	Sapã	Tiã
Rice pot Soup pot	dawuogli gbaviligi	gbogone gbogbwa	gbone bogbea		giabo bolobo	yabo sə mala blo
Water pot	zieligi	yigbo	oro	ja	yabwe	yabe
Bath pot Oil jar	guolig i munu	zulugbo	zuro		driabwe	drebolo chunubulu
Small oil pot		munu	munu	/	boke	(
Water jar	zieligi	 gbε	 gbε	ja	bulu	
Pot cover Bowl	buo koko	g/c	bea	ge:kɔzulrɔ	bulu	
Water bottle	toamunu	y	3.24.4.4		••••	



Fig. 23. a-f, Gio pottery: a, c, clay pot covers; b, clay pot and cover; d-f, clay pots. g-i, Sapã pottery: g, pot cover; h, basin; i, soup pot. j-n, Half-Grebo pottery: j, clay potstand; k, top view of j; l-n, top views of other potstands.

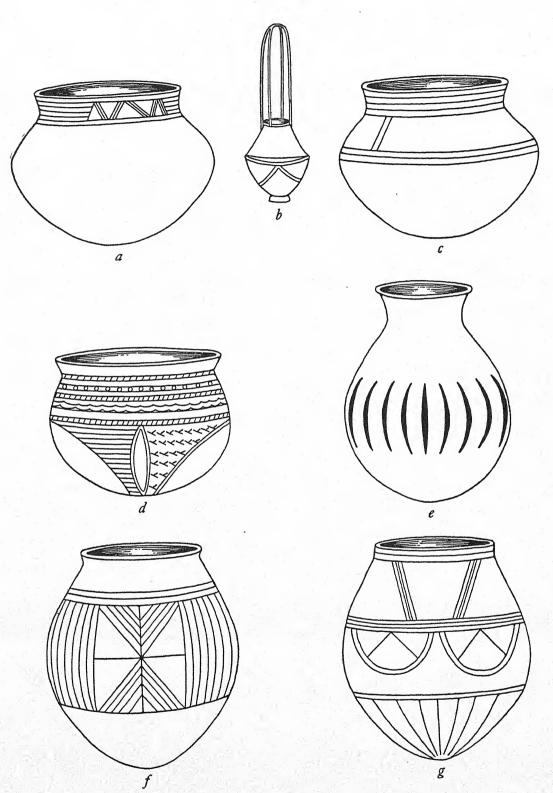


Fig. 24. a, c, cooking pots, Sapa; b, small oil pot, Sapa; d-g, Sabo cooking pots, Half-Grebo.

Besides the pots and other vessels there are potstands. These are, as a rule, merely unornamented, truncated cones, but in some areas they are decorated (fig. 23, j, k, l, m, n). The finest we found anywhere were in the houses of the Sabo clan, Half-Grebo. Some of these were fashioned to resemble decorated column capitals.

Clay pipes, where they are still made,²¹ are fashioned by men, according to individual

fancy (fig. 63, a).

Any woman may learn to make pots. One of the most skillful whom we met and inter-

viewed in Loma had been taught by her mother. She, in turn, had taught her daughter, whom we found at work at Zorzor, surrounded by a display of her handiwork (fig. 63, d and f). It is usual for recognized experts to teach those wishing to learn. These specialists are reputed to have a powerful medicine, the secrets of which they impart to apprentices for a consideration. Sometimes sacrifice must be made to the medicine in order that it may be favorably disposed and give strength to the pots of the apprentice as well as to those of the teacher.

METAL WORKING

Smelting. Iron ore is found in all parts of Liberia, but, if iron smelting is being done anywhere in the country today, we were unable to learn of it. Gbunde and Loma informants differed as to whether or not it had ever been done by their people. The older men insisted that it had formerly been done in the northern part of their country and that a town called Kwotezu, now in French territory, had been especially famous for its iron. Smelting was never done by either Mano, GE, or Gio. The Mano obtained iron from the Kpelle. Of late, the Mandingos have supplied them with trade iron of French origin. The Gio claim to have got theirs from the Konnor, a branch of the Kpelle. In the southeast all the tribes formerly practiced smelting. Among the Konibo the art seems to have died out about two years before we passed through their territory, with the death of the last of the old men familiar with the process.

In Sapa we saw the remains of an old furnace. Its walls, of which about 5 feet were standing, were formed of three concentric layers. The inner one, about 3 inches thick, was of white potter's clay. The middle one, somewhat thicker, and the outer and thickest one, were of red clay. At the base were holes for the insertion of clay funnels to protect the

nozzles of the bellows.

We were told that the Kpelle method was to heat ore-bearing rocks for two days in a kiln fired with young, dry, Musanga smithii wood. The stones were then removed, broken up, and pounded fine.

The furnace, made of clay, was "about the size of a small hut but taller." An extension at the top, forming a kind of smoke stack or chimney, was made by beating down moist, worked clay around a plantain stalk. As the clay dried and shrank the stalk also dried and shrank, and thus cracking of the clay was avoided. During the process the whole surface was frequently rubbed with clay and water to stop any tendency to crack by too rapid drying of the outside. When the clay was thoroughly dry the half-decayed plaintain stalk was easily slipped out, leaving the chimney solid and intact. Near the top of the furnace a hole was left large enough for charging it. Into this, several kinja's of the best charcoal 22 were poured; and on top of this, a charge of the powdered ore mixed with more charcoal.

When the furnace was completely charged and the proper medicine made, all with the proper ceremonies, the hole was closed. Firing was done from the bottom. Two bellows, sometimes four, kept the fire going continually until the iron was ready — sometimes three days and nights without interruption. When the iron was ready for a run the outlet, previously plugged up with clay, was opened and the molten metal run out into a small, V-shaped trench. Sometimes the yield would be a chunk "as big as a man's head"; sometimes,

"three times as big."

 $^{^{22}}$ Charcoal (see, Mano) is usually made from very dense wood.

During the smelting process strict rules were observed, of which the most important forbade sexual relations. Smelters were allowed to visit their villages, but if they even looked at their wives the ore would most likely fail to melt properly. If, when the time came to make a run, the iron did not come out as it should, the men would exchange glances. Finally one would confess to having looked at his wife. Then the proper counter-medicine would be made, the hole replugged, the bellows again set going, and another attempt made.

In Sapa it was the custom to kill a fowl, sprinkle its blood on the charge of ore and charcoal, and put its feathers and head into the furnace. The rest of the fowl was eaten by the chief smelter. It was said that sometimes a human head was also put into the furnace. This seems to have been considered, at least in some instances, a necessary medicine. According to one informant, a sheep might be substituted.

Smelters permitted no one to be present, or even within sight, while they were making their medicine or performing their ceremonies. It was especially important that persons who practiced black magic should keep away. To foil any efforts they might make to "spoil" the iron, the smelters had an extraordinarily powerful medicine. It acted upon the meddler in one of two ways: it either killed him or caused the loss of an eye. Cited in proof was the legend of a Konibo smelter, lately deceased, whose son practiced "making wi(tch)." This son came to the furnace while his father and otherers were at work there, and "two days after he got home he lost one eye."

A small chunk of iron, desired for the Museum collection, was bought by Dr. Harley from a local smith for 22 shillings. Since the smith had already made an agreement with another customer, who had given a sheep as part payment on it, he had to return the sheep before he could bring the iron to Dr. Harley.

Present sources of iron are broken and wornout tools and implements and such chunks as are still available of the old iron obtained by native smelting. In the north, besides these, there are the "Kisi pennies" (fig. 65, w) or "irons" (Gbunde and Loma only) and trade iron brought in from French Guinea by Mandingo traders. What we saw of this last was in the form of conventionalized native axe heads, but much larger.

Smithing

THE SMITHY. The smithies seen in Gbunde, Loma, northern Kpelle, and Sapa were rectangular, gable-roofed structures, while those of the other tribes were circular with conical roofs. All were either wall-less or enclosed by a low, clay bank. They were located at the side of the path just at the entrance to, or at the edge of, towns. Formerly, in the north, all smithies were outside the defending walls. This, we were informed, was because, with hut crowded against hut, there was constant danger of fire. Also, in the absence of the watchmen guarding the entrances, the smiths and their helpers could hold up all strangers. If these failed to give a satisfactory explanation of their presence the chief would be noti-

While there was individual variation in their interior arrangement, smithies were, in general, very much alike. Those of the larger towns were usually fitted for two smiths with their assistants. In a few instances three could be accommodated.

The description of a typical Mano smithy will serve for all (fig. 64, x and y). It is something over 10 feet in diameter. At one side are the two bellows (kunu). Their outer ends rest upon a low platform of clay at one side of the shop. Their nozzles 22a (tunu) pass through an opening in a clay block that acts as a fire screen and protection from the heat, into a clay funnel. The smaller end of the funnel is in the firebed. At each side of the nozzles is set a thin, flat stone, to keep that end of the bellows in place.

Each half of the pair of bellows consists of a stem about 4 inches in diameter, and 4 or 5 feet long, with a bowl-shaped projection, 8 to 12 inches in diameter near the center. The stem and bowl are carved from a solid piece of wood. The forward portion of the wooden stem is bored with a hot iron to form a tube connecting with the hollow of the bowl. The tubes end with the nozzles converging at the

yond the clay block, as the fire is built against it.

²²a In the southeast the nozzles do not protrude be-

fire. The mouth of the bowl is covered with a piece of leather which does not close the opening like a drum-head, but is tied about the rim to form a hood or a low cone, the two edges of the skin meeting to form a slit running from the apex of the leather cone to the back edge. This leather diaphragm is loose enough to permit an up-and-down motion of

several inches.

The operator sits between the outer ends of the bellows, throwing one leg over each stem, leaning forward to grasp one skin diaphragm in each hand. The slit in the diaphragm is closed by the operator thrusting his hand in with the thumb resting outside the leather. By closing the fist, and using the heel of the palm as a valve against the taut edges of the slit, he pumps the diaphragm up and down, driving air into the fire. For a gentle draft only the motion of the wrists is needed. For a stronger draft he uses his arms and shoulders.

The anvil (supu woti, Loma) for the smith working at the right is a stone 3 feet long by 1½ feet wide, bedded deep in the floor; that for the smith at the left is somewhat smaller. Near each is a watertight depression in the earthen floor, filled with water, into which the worker plunges the iron whenever it needs cooling. (Nothing seems to be known about tempering metals, but the anvil-hammer (yini) is plunged red hot into medicine water specially prepared.) Low blocks serve as seats for the forgers, though they usually prefer to squat. Near the water hole at the right is a circular wooden block 6 inches in diameter, set into the floor and projecting above it. This serves as a block for hewing down sticks for tool and implement handles. At one side of the smithy, out of the way, there is a rack for keeping extra clay funnels and other effects when they are not in use. A few smithies in Loma have crude, wide seats of raffia midrib poles upon which customers can lounge.

Bellows are of two shapes: the elongated and the "clay pipe." The elongated bellows is used everywhere except in Gbunde, where the "clay pipe" is used. Both are made with one air chamber, except in Half-Grebo. There both kinds are seen, always with two air chambers leading to a common opening at the nozzle. Some of the bellows are more than 5 feet long. Nearly every one we saw had a piece of old flintlock gun barrel driven into and projecting beyond the nozzle end. Before the days of guns a young green shoot of Musanga smithii, with the pith punched out, was used.

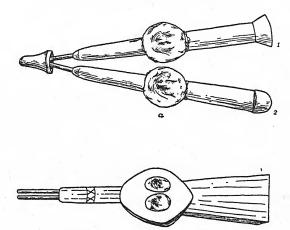


Fig. 25. a, Mano bellows with phallic symbols: 1, female; 2, male. b, Sapa bellows.

Bellows vary greatly in workmanship. In Sapa we came upon the best-formed one.

All bellows are operated by hand. The operator, holding the leather in his hand (or hands), sits astride the elongated form to hold it down. He squats or kneels behind the "clay pipe," which is held fast by sticks driven into the ground.

Sex symbolism is seen in the carved, free ends of the Mano bellows sticks (fig. 25). One is shaped like a phallus. The other has a flaring, bell-shaped end to symbolize the female sex.

Before tanning the skin for the bellows, it is necessary to make medicine to mix with the tanning ingredients. The details of the procedure we could not ascertain. Without this medicine the bellows would "refuse to work properly."

BUILDING THE SMITHY. The ceremonies in connection with the opening of a new smithy and the making of some of the tools, especially in northern Liberia, are worthy of more detailed consideration than has been given them in any work we have yet seen on the Liberian tribes. In Loma the diviner is called to help select the spot on which the smithy is to be erected. Medicine is made for its success that many should patronize it and the smith become wealthy. If the diviner "finds it necessary," a fowl or sheep is sacrificed and the blood sprinkled over the objects in the smithy. Before opening it for work, the smith petitions his mother — whether she is dead or alive — to intercede with the powers of the spirit world in his behalf. The tools are talked to and told what is expected of them. No women are allowed to witness the ceremonies.

The Half-Grebo smith sacrifices a fowl, which he afterward eats. Some of its bones and feathers are kept and hung up in the smithy as a reminder to the tools and spirit powers of what has been done to gain and hold their good will. The Sapa hang up a wing of the sacrificial fowl, smear part of its blood on the structure's supporting posts, and use the rest to stick some of its feathers to the same posts. Medicine is put under the stone anvil as in the north, and some of the ceremonies performed are similar.

As we could not get all the details we wished through our interpreters, we requested Dr. Harley, who was about to have a smithy built on the mission grounds (Ganta, Mano) as part of his school's industrial program, to record everything in connection with its erection and opening that was done according to local custom. His notes follow. (Gio customs are much the same.)

Choosing the Anvil Stone. "The blacksmith sent his boy with his iron staff, or walking stick, to call me (fig. 101, c). So I went to town, with Frank to act as interpreter. We found the blacksmith, and all three of us went to the chief's quarters and obtained his formal permission to go and "feed" the stone, so that it might be moved on the following day. Then the chief blacksmith with two other smiths of lesser rank led the way, and two small boys connected in some way with the profession came along. One of them was the chief blacksmith's son.

"The stone had been previously selected. It rested in a small stream, and a number of similar stones were scattered about. The other smiths approved it and decided which corner would be best for turning next the fire. This part of the stone would be used most. Then they oriented the stone so that the selected corner pointed north—the same positon in which it would lie when finally in the black-

smith shop. The men showed no veneration for the stone, stepping on it to get across the stream.

"The officiating blacksmith took his position on the bank of the stream (really little more than a shallow pool 5 or 6 feet wide at this time of the year), the rest of us sitting around on the other side of the water. He untied a little bundle done up in leaves, and sent the small boy for two leaves of a certain tree. One he placed on the stone, the other at the brink of the stream, so that part was in the water. The bundle contained small quantities of materials which he used as follows:

"He sprinkled a little rice on each leaf saying, 'This is our food; we bring you your part.' Then he took an egg, held it toward the stone and said, 'We eat meat with our rice; here is your chicken.' Then he laid the egg at the edge of the water. Then he took some cotton, and said, 'This is our wealth; here is your part of the cloth.' This he laid at the edge of the stream. Then he took a cola nut saying, 'This is our money.' This he laid on the stone. He now went off into the woods and returned presently with a small gourd full of palm wine. He strained some of it through a funnel, made of a leaf in which was some fiber. After it was clean enough to suit him he took some in a small gourd-dipper and poured a little on the stone, saying, 'Here is your drink.' Then he drank the rest himself. Without offering any of the wine to his companions he carried the remainder back into the woods where it came from.

"After this he addressed some remarks to his human audience to the effect that the black-smiths of at least two of the towns near by had agreed that it was all right for him to come and fix a blacksmith shop for me; that tomorrow we should come and take the stone and carry it to the new shop where it would be laid in position according to custom.

"Addressing the stone directly he said, 'Let it reach you' — repeating this three times. 'The white man has asked us to make a black-smith shop for him. He himself is a blacksmith. We come to you so that you will be willing to go and become the anvil stone. We will come tomorrow to carry you there.' Then he looked around at the other stones on the banks and in the water and said, 'Let it reach you,'

three times. Then he told them the purpose of our visit and asked for their sanction and assurance of success.

"The next day the stone was unceremoniously carried to the mission and dumped near

the new blacksmith shop.

Laying the Anvil Stone. "Two days later the stone was brought inside the shop. The smiths were seated around, as well as a visitor, my interpreter, a laborer, and myself. The chief blacksmith called for some water in a vessel. Into this he put some tender leaves, which he quickly crushed and mixed with water. This was the medicine.

"Addressing it, he said, 'Medicine, the American man called us to come and do his work. Now, we are blacksmiths. Let us come and have some good times together. It reaches

you.'

"Then turning to the stone he addressed it, saying, 'Blacksmith is never hungry; he has always plenty of rice. Here is your part [of the] rice. Let our part come to us. A blacksmith always has money. Here [presenting a cola nut] is you part [of the] money. Let our part come to us. . . . When we come here to eat rice, we eat palm oil with it. Here is your palm oil. Let our part come to us. . . . We eat salt and meat. Here is your part. Let our part come to us. . . . All men come to the blacksmith. Even the medicine man has a razor and other instruments that the blacksmith makes. Everyone needs something of iron. Here is your iron. Let our part come to us. . . . We measure our wealth by the cloth we have. Here [presenting some cotton] is your cotton. Let us prosper!' Then he asked me to bring something for the stone. I remembered our cornerstone ceremonies and brought a shilling, and a small watch charm that my grandfather wore in the shape of a tiny anvil he had made of fine steel.

"Each of the articles named was represented by a very small portion, so all were put on a leaf lying at the side of the stone. At the end they were all distributed on three leaves, apparently for convenience in handling, and shoved under the stone, which was resting on four poles laid slanting in the hole previously dug for it. When all were under, and the medicine mixed in the pan had been poured under the stone, the poles were removed and the stone settled into its bed without further ceremony.

The Smith Begins Work. "Three weeks later the blacksmiths came to work. First the chief one set up the bellows, then built the fire. No iron could be put in the fire, however, until a chicken had been sacrificed in a kind of dedication service. Accordingly, a chicken was caught. Since the second blacksmith had not been present when the medicine was put under the anvil stone, the actual ceremony was put off until the morrow, when the one who had been present could come. Meanwhile certain preliminaries were attended to.

"The head smith took the chicken, held it toward the visiting smith and said, 'Here is the chicken for our sacrifice. Let it reach you; let it reach you; let it reach you; let it reach you.' The visitor touched the chicken with his fingers. The smith then held the chicken firmly by the body, leaving its feet and head free, and put it over the bellows so its feet touched them.

"Addressing the chicken he said, 'Here are the bellows.' Then he let its feet touch the anvil stone and called the chicken's attention to that. Then he showed it the hammers and tongs, which he had grouped neatly on the ground, side by side: the gbana (hammerheads) removed from their handles and laid together, the handles laid beside them, the tongs next the hammers, the yini (small anvilhammers), belonging to both smiths present, on the side next the anvil.

"He then addressed the iron saying, 'The white man has called us to work for him. Here is your chicken. The other man who was present when we first made medicine in this place, is not here today. He will come tomorrow and we will kill the chicken. I show it to you so we can put some iron in the fire and do some work today. Let our work be good. The white man, let his work be good. Let it be cool inside the house [smithy]. Let us have success together. Let the white man prosper. Let all kinds of people come to him [for black-smith work].'

²² This was not a continuous address, but informal and leisurely, with plenty of time for "stage business"

and other activity. The punctuation is intended to indicate this. G.W.H.

"After this the chicken was turned loose, and we proceeded to shape a small anvil-hammer out of an old, badly rusted one that one

of my boys had dug up in the garden.

"The next morning the blacksmiths came to make the promised sale (sacrifice). The chicken was again caught, and rice provided, a pot washed, and fire built without any unusual procedure. The chicken was shown to the blacksmith who had not been present the day before, but who had been present at the earlier ceremonies. He was told, 'Let it reach you,' and touched it with the tips of his fingers just as the other man had done.

"We then went to the smithy—the fire, rice, and water being ready near by. The head smith showed the irons to the chicken; the iron of my gbana and of theirs, with handles removed and laid separate but still included in the group of the sacrifice; the several anvilhammers belonging to the two smiths, to which the small one made for me yesterday was added; the native-made tongs and my cast-

steel tongs brought from America.

"Then addressing the irons, he said, 'Here is the chicken we showed you yesterday. Let everyone who comes to work here prosper. Let the white man do fine work. Let money come into his hand thereby. Let him live long. Let his children live in health. Let this house be good. Let it be good inside the fire. Let it be good inside the fire. Let it be good inside the fire. If any woman who has a witch, if any man who has a witch, wants to bring it here, let his arm break so [breaks one wing of the chicken]. If any person tries to make witch medicine for this house, let his arm break so [breaks the other wing with his fingers]. If any person tries to make witch medicine here let his leg break so [breaks one leg]. If anyone makes witch here let him be so [breaks the other leg]. If anyone tries to make any kind of witch medicine let him be as this chicken [breaks the chicken's neck].

"After this he laid the fluttering chicken on the irons until the blood began to run out of the neck, then picked it up and smeared the blood first on his old bellows and then on my new bellows, particularly on the small iron staple into which the string is fastened for tying on the skin of the bellows. He then tossed the chicken outside to be cooked. He later prepared and cooked the chicken himself. When it was ready to eat, rice, chicken, and palm oil were mixed together in a pan. A little of this, including the gizzard, was mashed up by the blacksmith and sprinkled over the iron. Some of the food was also sprinkled on the anvil stone, the old bellows and the new ones. There was no formality and everyone present, including the small boys, had to eat some of the food. Each of the blacksmiths, myself included, sprinkled a little on the iron as we ate.

"Afterward the hammers were taken up, as every blacksmith carries his hammer hooked over his shoulder wherever he goes. As the rest of the irons had to be undisturbed until sunset, they were allowed to lie, then were put away after the sun had gone down.

"After we had eaten, a blacksmith from another town addressed the iron, invoking a blessing on the various procedures, and a curse on anyone who tried to "make witch" (poison) those who worked here. His harangue gradually deteriorated into a boastful account of how big a blacksmith he was, and finally dwindled into a small-talk palaver—showing the lack of any true idea of worship. He took us all 'under his protection.'

"They all seemed to address these objects as they would a man: yet there was a distinct impression that the ceromony was not a mere

formality."

TABOOS REGARDING THE SMITHY. The smithy has ever been the gathering place for men desiring to hear and disseminate news, but they are required strictly to observe all its taboos; for the smithy is a sacred place. Women never go inside.

After the smithy has been properly dedicated no one may bring a rice fanner inside (Mano); that would "spoil" its medicines.

In Mano, GE, and Gio no bows and arrows may be brought in, because the arrows are of raffia midrib, which is brittle. By process of sympathetic magic they would cause the iron also to become brittle. If anyone accidentally enters while carrying arrows, he must shoot one upward so that it will stick in the roof thatch. In a number of smithies we noted arrows in the thatch.

It is unfortunate for the smithy (Loma) if the blood of any person besides the smith or apprentice "runs" in it, from an accidental cut or any other cause. (For the smith and his apprentice, provision has already been made.) ²⁴ Such person must bring a fowl, the blood of which is shed in sacrifice to free the smithy from the spell.

In the southeast no one may walk behind a smith while he is working hot iron or weld-

ing.25

Smiths themselves have the taboo to abstain from sexual intercourse the night before welding is to be done; but since they so often have welding to do, a counter-medicine has been "found." The same taboo is strictly kept for a day and a night before an anvil-hammer or a small hammer is made. (Gbunde and Loma.)

Anyone hard pressed in any palaver, even involving murder, can run to the smithy and there take refuge. In Mano, once the refugee is inside, the palaver becomes "dead." Fighting there is prohibited under penalty of a fine of one sheep. This the town worthies would kill and eat.

In the southeast no palaver can be talked in the smithy. The parties must go elsewhere in town and in a peaceable way adjust the matter.

THE SMITH'S TOOLS. In all the tribes the smith's tools are few (fig. 64, α –w), and it is surprising what he fashions with them.²⁶ They are practically the same everywhere, though

they vary some in shape.

The big sledge (fig. 64, g) also serves as a small anvil (kpume, Mano). In Mano this is a round chunk of iron, forged from a "pig" run. It is some 5 inches long and between 4 and 5 inches in diameter, and flattened at both ends. Instead of iron, we found all the smiths of the other tribes using for a sledge a hard stone of about the same shape and weight. A length of thick, tough vine or rattan is wound around and firmly bound to the stone in such a manner that both ends project to form a double handle. Some of the Loma smiths stated that formerly no sledge was in use in their land, and that the idea came to them from the Kpelle.

The anvil-hammer (yini) (fig. 64, f) is a spindle-shaped piece of forged iron from 9 to 13 inches in length, oval at one end, becoming

round and widening to about 2 inches in diameter toward the center; thence tapering off to a round point at the other end. It is used as a hammer for average work. When it is serving as an anvil for fine and very light jobs, the tapered end is driven into the ground. This end is also used for shaping rings and other round objects.

The light hammer (gbana, Mano) (fig. 64, e) of the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano, has a handle much like that of a hoe, which fits into a socket at one end of the head. The whole tool suggests a goose neck. That of the Ge and Gio has a handle like a sledge, but naturally smaller. No self-respecting smith would walk abroad, even in his own village, without his gbana over his shoulder.

The tongs (gbēa, the short, and gbweng, the long ones) (fig. 64, d) are patterned after those of the Mandingos. We noted them in the north only. Originally, a piece of iron with an oval ring at one end served the purpose. The other end was pointed and driven into a handle of green raffia "bamboo." This was quickly and easily replaced by another when burned too much. If the iron to be worked was light, it was sometimes stuck directly into a hole in such a piece of green frond.

The cold chisel (tono, Mano) (fig. 64, v) is merely a piece of untempered iron, and is,

therefore, really a "hot" chisel.

Burning irons (boe, Mano) are round and of varying length and thickness to suit different kinds of jobs (fig. 64, 0).

The adze (kpeya, Mano) is short handled, narrow bladed, and intended for one-hand

work only (fig. 64, q).

The native or the imported machete (fig. 64, j), called in Liberia a cutlass, the large or small knife, and the axe (fig. 64, b) are used in wood working. The native cutlass is usually beveled on one side only. (A good blacksmith will make one specially for a left-handed user.) For cutting heavy bush it is beveled on both sides.

Tools are carried in a kit bag. One type (Loma) was of untanned hide, cylindrical, with a sewed-in bottom, and a strap at one side for carrying over the shoulder. Some

²⁴ See p. 145. ²⁵ Cf. p. 128.

²⁶ Some of the work is very creditable. Diviners' spears seen in the southeast were real works of art.

were open at the top; some had flaps for covers. In Mano and Gio baskets are used.²⁷

THE MAKING OF TOOLS. In Gbunde and Loma, smiths' tools are made in town, in view of everybody. There seems to be no prohibition against selling them. We might have bought any they had except the anvil-hammer, which is big medicine there, as it is in Mano.

In GE and Gio tools are also made in town in the shop. The chief doctor of the region first makes medicine to prevent them from breaking and to insure their doing good work. But no woman is allowed to see them being forged; that "would cause them to split." To make certain that no woman can even secretly take a look at the men while at this work, a raffia screen is built around the smithy. Smiths' tools in these two tribes and in Mano are in a sense "town property," and as such cannot be sold without the consent of the elders, because the town is dependent upon these tools for supplying and repairing its implements. When we tried to buy some, the owners were willing to let us have them but had to ask the elders for their consent. As this was not given, the tools are still there. Some smiths refused to part with their tools because they were heirlooms, and as such "contained" the accumulated skill of their former owners.

Cost of Tools and Charges for Work. When one blacksmith makes tools for another the charge is not so high as when he makes them for an apprentice about to be admitted into the guild. Within the guild the present charges ²⁸ near Ganta (Mano) are:

for an anvil-hammer, three cloths of a span's length for a gbana-hammer, two cloths for a pair of tongs, one cloth and five bowls of rice for the wooden part of a bellows, two cloths for a clay funnel for the bellows' nozzle, one fowl

As the big, double-handled, iron sledge hammer (*kpume*) is made only once in a lifetime, and that when the apprentice is about to graduate from his apprenticeship, the price is a cow or bullock.

The charges for making and repairing implements for others, not smiths, varies in different regions. In Gbunde nothing is paid by the smith's fellow townspeople, but they cut, plant, and care for his farm. (This does not apply to the gold and silver workers; they must do their own farm work.) If a smith from other parts comes and works temporarily in a community, he is paid. This is also the custom prevalent in the southeast. All who wish to keep in good standing with a smith, cook him a hearty meal from time to time "to show they do not forget him."

In Mano we were informed that costs for work are lower if one brings the charcoal needed for a job. Prevailing charges 29 are:

for repairing a broken machete, one shilling for putting on a new handle, a French silver franc for making a medium-sized machete, one shilling if the iron is furnished by the person having it made, two if the smith furnishes it for a large-sized machete, three shillings

While we were being told these prices, a man entered the shop and gave the smith a leaf of native tobacco for the privilege of using a hammer and anvil to repair his own machete.

In Mano anyone borrowing an anvil-hammer (yini) and breaking it, pays one sheep, ten native cloths, a piece of native iron sufficiently large to make a new one, a mat, a kinja of rice, and a hundred cola nuts or their equivalent. For breaking borrowed tongs the fine is one dog, one mat, one bowl of rice, one fowl, and a hundred cola nuts.

SMITHS' TOOLS AS MEDICINE AND ORACLE. After Dr. Harley had had a set of tools made for the Museum collection, he wished to exchange the new sledge for the old one belonging to the local head smith, which was "town property." Knowing he was particularly interested in old objects, the smith called together the chiefs and head men. After a very business-like consultation, they made an announcement:

"This thing (the kpume) owns the town; it is the very ground itself. The laws governing this thing are stronger than those governing man himself. The smith [who is also the chief doctor of that community] must make the proper sacrifices and talk to the kpume. He must tell it that it must go on a long journey;

²⁷ See p. 124. ²⁸ In 1928.

that it must transfer all its old powers, prejudices, and interests to the new kpume."

When the smith had agreed to all this everyone left, to return in the morning. Then the smith came, bringing a cola nut with him.

Laying the two sledges side by side, he said to the old one, "You must go on a journey to do some work in another place. This other one must take your place here. All those things you did, it will do. I agree. If you agree, here is your cola. I myself, I agree. I myself, I agree. If you agree, speak through the cola. I will throw them once." So saying, he split the cola and dashed the two halves onto the ground. Both came to rest with the split side uppermost, indicating "yes." So the kpume was secured for the Museum.

Many times in the past that kpume had been consulted as the town oracle and had been asked to decide the questions put to it by lot—the casting of the two halves of a white

cola.

The anvil-hammer (yini) is of considerable magical importance — "strong medicine" 30 both in the north and the southeast. In Mano, on the day it is made, a leader of the Poro cult (Country Devil) appears in town dressed in his cult regalia. He draws a line around the smithy. Only certain people may come into it; the rest must stay outside the line. The leader dances and there is a general holiday. No one may call the town by its name on that day; if reference is made to it, it must be spoken of as "the farm." Nor may the yini be called by its name until it has been finished. Anyone inadvertently doing so is fined a fowl or a kinja of rice, or the equivalent. After the yini has been finally shaped it is heated to a dull red and plunged into a mortar full of water containing medicine. This consists of leaves of various kinds, which impart to it its magical and other properties. Now it may be called by its name. It is then laid in running water for some considerable time, after which it is tested for its tone on the anvil stone. If it rings with a clear bell-like note, the medicines have worked, and the yini is considered good. On the day a yini is made for an apprentice, he must cook at least five big bowls of rice and kill one sheep for a general feast.

80 See also p. 362.

A yini thus made especially for a smith, must never pass from his possession, except in dire extremity. A yini inherited or obtained from another source may be disposed of, however, in any way the owner sees fit. When a smith takes oath on his yini he is bound, on penalty of death, to tell the truth. If he swears to a lie on it, "its ringing on the anvil will mark his death."

Small, conventionalized models of the *yini* are forged for personal medicines. Like their prototype, they are given their proper virtues by being plunged into medicinal water. A diviner may order one of these models hung on a cord around the neck of a new baby boy that cries incessantly. If this is done the child will grow up to have great skill as a smith. (Mano.)

APPRENTICESHIP OF SMITHS. In Gbunde, Loma, and the southeast, anyone wishing to learn smithing may do so, provided he can find a smith willing to teach him. In Mano the craft runs in families, but an outsider able

to pay well may apprentice himself.

In Loma the procedure for one who wishes to be accepted as an apprentice is as follows: The candidate goes to a smith and gives him a fowl. If the smith is inclined to take the applicant, he accepts the fowl and "gives" it to the stone anvil, the clay block (soba) before the fire, the anvil-hammer, the light hammer, and the tongs. He then takes a white and a red cola nut. To the red nut he says, "If anyone comes to bewitch this shop or its inmates, or to steal, catch him. If any blood runs, ³¹ this fowl's blood is for that." To the white nut he says, "Help us, that much wealth may come to us."

The anvil, block, and tools are then addressed: "This youth comes to learn this work. We give you this fowl. Tell us if you agree to take him." The nuts are split and tossed into the air. If three halves fall with the same side up, the answer is considered favorable and the apprentice is accepted. If they fall two up and two down, it is an unfavorable sign. They may then be tossed once or twice again in an attempt to make them give the desired answer.

If the youth is accepted, the fowl is killed and its blood smeared on all the objects to which it has been "given," with the statement:

⁸¹ See p. 142.

"Now you see we told you truly when we said we had this fowl for you. Here it is." The colas may once more be tossed to see if the objects still agree to accept the novice. In any event, the fowl is now eaten by both parties.

Though smithing is a hereditary profession in Mano, potential members must qualify by showing ability to do creditable work. For such persons the cost of training is nominal in the nature of a few gifts: fowls, rice, and, in the north, cola nuts. For other persons who are permitted to enter the guild the cost is high.³² Formerly the fee was two cows. As the people have become gradually poorer,³³ the initiate now makes part payments during the period of his apprenticeship; perhaps a goat or a sheep at first, later three native cloths, then ten fowls, then more cloths, or whatever the individual may have; and so on from time to time, until the equivalent of two cows has been given.

The father of such an applicant takes him to the smith and begs him to take the young man as an apprentice. What the procedure for acceptance is, either in Mano or Gio or in the

southeast, we did not learn.

The length of the term of apprenticeship differs with different tribes: two or more years in Gbunde and Loma, usually six in Mano, three or four in the southeast. There is no fixed limit. When the pupil knows how to do the work well, his term is at an end. If he proves inapt and unlikely to learn he is told to give it up and go away.

Unless he has already acquired some knowledge of the work from having helped about a smithy, the novice begins by learning to fasten the leather to the wooden part of the bellows. (This is removed at the end of each day's operations.) He then learns to blow the bellows.

Some men who already know the art take a post-graduate course with another smith noted for his work. They may complete this in as short a period as a month.

It is customary for a new blacksmith to kill a sheep and make a big feast for his teacher upon graduation. In Mano one of the horns is kept by each of the two parties as a souvenir of the occasion.

Social Standing of the Smith. The social standing of the smith is high; and as the community is dependent upon him for its implements and weapons, he is always well treated. Some minor chiefs are smiths, having learned the craft before they attained to the rank of chief.

The smith is necessarily a member of the cults, because they need his services for making various secret cult objects.³⁴ He, along with the chief, is informed of all plots to get rid of people. He is called upon to settle disputes. He is often a doctor (leech) — possibly the chief one of the town, as was the one with whom we became acquainted in Mano. As a medicine man he is more powerful than the town chief.

Formerly, in the north, when the smith (or a leather worker) was taken a prisoner of war, he was set free if he could prove that he really was a smith, by forging whatever might be designated by his captors.

Gold, Silver, and Brass Working. Gold and silver working, which have been learned at a fairly recent date from Mandingo craftsmen, are confined to Gbunds and Loma. The Loma smith-jewelers, especially those of the Gizima clan, have a reputation for being much more clever than the Gbunds. The blacksmith may also be the silversmith, but he never is a goldsmith.

In working these metals, a crucible of potter's clay, of a suitable size for the job in hand, is first made. The metal is then put inside, the top covered with an old rag, and the crucible buried in the coals. The molten metal is poured into a one-piece mold cut into the pith of a block of raffia midrib or into soft stone. The object comes out flat and is beaten into the desired shape.

Gold is supplied by Mandingo traders, who get it from the natives in regions of French Guinea where it is found. For silver, coins are melted down. French five-franc pieces and old "Marie Theresa" dollars, which for a long

short time before we passed through that land. Each claimed to be the better smith, and as such entitled to the position of Big Devil of the cult. We were told that the smith at Zigida won. See also p. 268.

³² Cf. p. 121.

See p. 30.
 The two most powerful leaders of the Poro cult in Loma had had a secret competition in forging, a

time were in use in the Western Sudan, are preferred, since they are the cheapest. If these are unobtainable, English coins are used. For a medium-sized bracelet two "dollars" of either kind are required. For articles we had made, we gave the amount of silver required, plus one shilling for the smith's work.

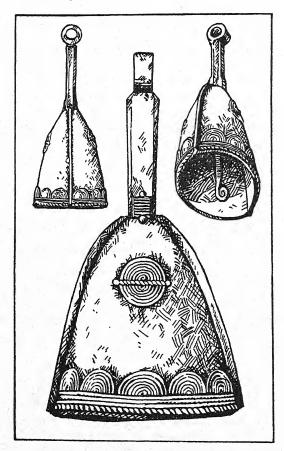


Fig. 26. Cast brass war bell of the Mano tribe (an unusual piece).

After removing the object from the fire, or after working it, the silversmith uses lime juice mixed with salt as a brightening (one can scarcely call it polishing) agent.

Most of the brass casting is done by the Gio and the Kpelle. The Ge, Gio, and Konibo excel in it. So far as we could learn, it is not indigenous among the Gbunde, Loma, or Mano. Where individuals of these tribes cast brass they merely imitate what they have seen or learned elsewhere. We did see broken gun parts being repaired by brazing, in the Mano town of Waipa. In Ge and Gio we several times came upon men making models or molds (fig. 64, aa). We are inclined to the view that they have taken this work over from the Krã or some other tribe of the southeast, where it seems to have had its highest development.

The source of metal is old trade kettles, old brass anklets, etc.

The method is everywhere the same. Beeswax is worked, shaped into models; these are encased in many thin layers of clay, each allowed to become thoroughly dry. Finally, the whole is baked, and the wax melted and poured out. Then the molten metal is poured in.

The making of models and molds requires considerable skill, especially for the casting of complicated figures. Favorite subjects are human beings engaged in various sorts of work, together with their tools and utensils (fig. 68). A belled anklet, consisting of a series of circles of bells presents some difficulty (fig. 66, a). The mold for each circle is made separately, then all are joined together so that the metal flows from one to the other, and clay is plastered over all for reinforcement.

Wire jewelry is also made, from trade wire.

TANNING AND LEATHER WORK

Like many other skills, leather work was introduced into Liberia by the Mandingos at a comparatively recent date. More leather working is done in Gbunde and Loma than in Mano. There is practically none done in Ge or Gio, and none at all in the southeast. It is a separate trade, though some smiths work with leather as a side line.

A Loma master of the craft stated that anyone was eligible for apprenticeship. The term for learning was up to four years. An apprentice who was faithful and honest and did any sort of work that was asked of him, even to farm cutting, would have to pay the equivalent of only twenty shillings or so; otherwise, he would have to pay more.

Since it was feared that we were seeking information to pass on to officials, who might use it against the people, we could learn practically nothing regarding the processes of tanning and dyeing and the related ceremonies and medicines.

Leather work is used for covering spear handles, hunting bows, ivory music horns, and sword handles; also for making belts, pouches, straps for powder horns and other articles, sheaths of all kinds, sandals, slippers, and even boots like those worn by Sudanese riders.

DRAWING AND PAINTING

Drawings are usually the work of some village youth who has been "to foreign parts," i.e., the coast, or another West African country, or possibly in school. Drawings are made on the walls of the houses, both interior and exterior. Most of those we saw were in Half-Grebo; a few were in the north, in towns of big chiefs who, with their retainers, had been to Monrovia or had children in school.

A stick or bundle of weed serves as a brush. Various colored clays are the paints. Black mud, sometimes mixed with powdered charcoal, is the black. Slate color is produced by mixing powdered charcoal with white clay

(fig. 40).

Motifs are usually taken from secular life and are sometimes illustrative of a story or an event. Sometimes the pictures are attempted reproductions, in detail, of foreign objects seen at the coast. A youthful artist who had drawn a man on the wall inside his mother's hut in Tapi Town explained his handiwork to us:

"His back hurts him. His legs are all cut up [markings on legs representing cuts]. He wants to sit down. They threaten to flog him. He lifts up his hand to beg for them not to."

Another painting represented monkeys. An animal on the outside wall of the Tie hut was in

black, outlined with red, with alternate white and red stripes on body and neck. Our Sapã carriers disputed as to whether it was a cow or an antelope.

Popular foreign motifs are men on bicycles or horses, soldiers with guns, and ships. (Half-Grebo.) We noted one ship, quite accurate as to details. A few automobiles painted on Gio huts were executed by workers recently returned from the Firestone Plantations.

Geometric designs are more plentiful than freehand drawings. In the north, especially in Mano and Gio, there is much painting of exterior hut walls near the base, in black on white. This was possibly copied from the Kpelle. In many instances the designs painted appear to

be phallic.

In Half-Grebo, especially among the Sabo, Nitiabo, and Palepo clans, most of the exterior of the houses — especially the doors — is a riot of color: red, blue, black, white. Laundry bluing, and now and then trade paint, are employed for the purpose. A number of houses are painted to imitate brick and mortar.

Some of the youths of the interior have a real aptitude for graphic art. It is to be regretted that no one in Liberia has attempted to develop their talents along this line.

PRESENT STATE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

Wherever the Poro organization exists it enforces respect for the customs and arts handed down by the forefathers. Because of its support, master artists and craftsmen, especially in the north, still occupy their historic place in the community; but they are rapidly passing away, and with their passing their skills are disappearing. There are none adequately trained to take their place, for the old restraints and disciplines are breaking down under the pressure of outside influences. The tribesman of today has more individual freedom than his predecessors, and the pattern of his life is less

apt to be fixed by custom and tradition. The Poro and Sande schools, where once the crafts were taught, are now in session for too short a term to give such instruction. At the same time, the products of the old culture are giving way to new ones from the outside world. Imported utensils have been replacing the native handmade ones only a little less rapidly in Liberia than in other parts of Africa. Another important factor in the situation is that the techniques of native African art are often secret matters, sometimes with religious significance; 35 and the artist usually prefers to

⁸⁵ For examples, see pp. 128, 130, 137, 142.

let his art die with him rather than to expose

its mysteries to aliens.

Iron smelting is already gone or on the point of going. A piece of native iron that we secured is probably the last piece that will ever be smelted by the traditional method. Brass casting has also gone, except for the work of two or three men. Other arts have been encouraged to some extent by the tourist trade in curios, but the demand for rapid production of saleable examples is preserving these skills only at low levels. The carving of fine masks, for example, though it will probably survive as an art, is for the present catering to this de-

⁸⁰ Whether we should be justified in assuming that this artistic deterioration has been going on for many generations is an open question. It is dangerous to allow ourselves to become too enthusiastic about a grand old culture of which we know, at best, only

mand at the expense of both workmanship and esthetic value.³⁶

Whatever the future may bring to modify the arts of the Liberian tribes, we may be sure that that which survives, will do so because it fulfills in some way a practical need in the lives of the people. Their forms and designs are fundamentally functional, even though the relation between form and function may be obscured to the foreign eye. A design on a spoon may have as its purpose an appeal to the spirits just as truly as the form of the bowl and the handle is determined by the use for which it is intended.

the diminishing remnants. Its products were undoubtedly rather better than what we see now, but we should probably be safe in considering the best of our Museum specimens from the area as fairly representative of the work of the past.

MUSIC, DANCING, AND GAMES

MUSIC

WE VERY much regret that we did not have sound-recording equipment with us on our trip. The old chants, songs, and choruses of the hinterland tribes of Liberia will soon be things of a forgotten, irretrievable past, and little that is scientifically reliable has been written on this subject.

The natives are as fond of making musical sounds as are the birds of their forests. Both at work and at play they sing and dance and

make music on various instruments.

A man working far from home will soon fashion a sound-producing instrument for himself if he has not brought one with him. An old kerosene tin or a box serves as a drum. A goat skin and a hollowed-out piece of wood become a guitar. A gourd, a forked stick, and some piassava fibers make a harp. Even sticks and string will serve.

Machetes cutting the jungle, axes felling trees, hoes "scratching" rice, all swing to the rhythm of song or the beating of drums. The knife of the rice harvester moves to the cadences of the master folktale-teller. (Sapã and Tiã.) Song, alone or with drum accompaniment, keeps the hammock bearer in step and

makes him forget his load.

At a Government post or "camp" we have seen as many as thirty women and girls beating out rice for the commissariat, their long pestles falling in rhythmic accompaniment to

their songs.

No matter how tired a man is after a hard day's work or march he freshens up and brightens when the music starts. He may dance and chant for hours with his friends in the moonlight if it happens to be the night; that is, the first night the new moon gives enough light, usually when it is about a week old. Harpists inspired by their own efforts often play all night long. At a Gio town in the north, where we spent a most restless night, the endless tinkle-tinkle of a clicker seemed to set the

tempo for the dance of the numerous rats in the loft above us.

There is no village so small that it cannot boast of its musician, and lively community festivities often last until almost morning.

Ceremonial music also plays an important role in African life. Certain instruments, as will be seen, are limited to cult use, and there are cult songs and dances as well as secular ones. When really good, ceremonial music induces in the native a frenzy that ignores fatigue.

Musical Instruments. Musical instruments may be grouped into four classes: solid body, skin, string, and wind; though there is some overlapping of string and skin types, and there are both skin drums and solid-body drums.

Solid-Body and Skin Instruments. To the first class of instruments belong the xylophones, drums, bells, clickers, and rattles.

The xylophone, found in all parts of primitive Africa, is too well known to require more than a few remarks. Some of those we saw had as few as four wooden keys; the one we saw in Mano had seven. These are laid across two sections of banana tree or Musanga log, lying parallel on the ground. The keys are made of certain woods, one of which is called pakpwai in Gbunde; another is kmā ti in Mano (Albizzia zygia). Pegs are usually driven into the supporting log-sections, one on either side of each key, to keep the keys in place. In some xylophones a peg passes through a hole in each end of the key. The under side of the keys is hollowed out in the center, until the maker's ear is satisfied with the note produced. Mallets for playing them are pieces of soft wood or raffia midrib. The Gbunde say that this instrument is "not a thing to be played in town, but only by boys in the rice farms to keep away the rice birds."

Drums are of three general types. The most numerous by far is the hollow wooden cylinder

¹ kipelevelegi, Gbunde; balau, Mano; blande, Gio;

with rawhide drumhead. The most common and most distinctive of these has skin over one end only (fig. 83, a).² This type — except when very large — is stood on end when beaten. For this reason the lower end is fenestrated, making four feet on which the drum stands. Such drums range in size from the smaller dance and cult drums about 2 feet long and 9 inches wide to the huge war drums of the southeast. The largest drum we measured was at Koloso (Half-Grebo). At the

Fig. 27. a, Palepo war drum; b, Half-Grebo war drum; c, Sapā war drum; d, Ge cult drum. Scale: I inch equals I foot.

head it was 35 inches across, wider at the other end, and 14 feet long. (The chief refused to have it beaten for us, as the sound would have brought all the men from neighbouring towns

2 gbele, Mano; bwe, Gio; sitou, Sapa. ^aThe platform consisted of a slab supported by two posts. Drummers stand on anything convenient; under him running armed for a fight!) Such great drums lie on the ground, with the head propped up, and are beaten in that position. Near the head of larger drums of this type short, notched clubs are inserted in the sides at an angle. Bands or cords fastened to the skin and passing under the notches in the clubs hold the rawhide in place. The desired degree of tightness is obtained by driving the clubs farther in or out.

Drums up to 8 feet long are not unusual. In a Gio town where a dance was given in our honor and a set of drums beaten, the drummers had to stand on a platform 4 feet high 3 to beat the two largest. Sets may include as many as seven drums. When one drummer undertakes to play a set alone he has to work pretty hard.

In the north there is some ornament, especially on the larger drums, consisting of carved geometrical designs (figs. 27; 83, b, c, and d). It is usually confined to the base. In the southeast the big war drums were the most elaborately worked. We had plenty of leisure to examine such a drum in the Palepo town of Boti where most of the people had run away and we were left without carriers. It was 11 feet long. Thirty inches from the head was an 18-inch figure of a woman deftly carved in high relief, exhibiting the highly rhythmic treatment that characterizes fine primitive art (fig. 27, a). In a tiny village in Sapa, under the eaves of a decaying hut, we came upon a drum of similar proportions, ravaged by termites and weather (fig. 83, d). The whole surface was carved in a geometrical design, and there was not a crude line on it. The work had been done with such precision that it might have been machine made.

Two variations of this type of drum have perhaps been adopted from the Mandingos. One is double-headed, resembling our snare drums and carried in much the same way. This is struck, not with a stick, but with the balls of the fingers or the heel of the hand (fig.

78, a; drummer at left).

The other variation is the little "talking drum" (tama, Mano; dama, Gio; tou, Sapa) that is beaten as an accompaniment to kettle drums 4 and other skin-headed instruments.

a mortar, for example (fig. 83, a, b). *See p. 151.

This is hourglass shaped and is laced from head to head with a cord network (figs. 44, f; 81, b). It is carried under the left arm (fig. 78, f) and beaten with a stick. This stick is of raffia midrib pith, bent through a 90-degree angle near the striking end. The pitch of this drum can be raised by squeezing it with the arm, thus increasing the tension on the strings.

Variations in timbre are effected in both of these double-headed drums by striking them in different positions: in the center, near the edge, or actually on the edge. It can be further varied by muting or stroking with the

left hand.

The second general type of drum is a stick or section of log chiseled out to a half-inch shell through a longitudinal, 1-inch slot. (There is a special, long-handled chisel for doing this.) The slot extends to within about 2 inches of each end. The ends are usually left intact, though we did see a cult drum in Ge that had been hollowed out from one end and the hole—about half the diameter of the drum—left

open.

In Sapa and Tie there is often a second, narrower and shorter slot, sometimes curved, parallel to the first slot (figs. 27, d and 81, g). Drums that have two slots are said to have two voices, since the narrow strip of wood between the slots has a different tone from the rest of the drum. The natives speak of the tone produced in this area as the son's piping voice. The lower tone of the outer lip is the mother's resonant response. In Palepo, where there is but one slot, the drum is said to have a man's voice only, as both sides of the slot have approximately the same tone.

Slit drums lie in a horizontal position. They are struck with straight sticks of suitable size, the drummer holding a stick in each hand. The tonal variation and rhythm pattern a good drummer can produce on a double-slit drum is really remarkable. When two or three such drummers form a drum orchestra one sees at

once where jazz came from.

The size of slit drums varies from 3 or 4 to 20 inches in diameter and from 18 inches or so to 6 feet in length. A small one may have a handle.

Slit drums are for dancing, for cult purposes, and for sending messages. While we

were at the town of Busi (Mano) the people cutting out the Franco-Liberian boundary were called to work by the beating of one of these drums.

In the small town of Toku (Palepo, Half-Grebo), where we had a few hours of enforced leisure while waiting for carriers, we were fortunate to find a master craftsman, a maker of drums. From him we learned that in those parts all the men have drum names or calls. (In Sapa only the chiefs and men of wealth have them.) Our drum-maker beat out a number of signals for us and explained their meaning. We learned, incidentally, that the message beaten out the previous day in the Sabo town where our carriers had set down their loads and vanished was not, as the drummer had told us, a call for men working in the outlying rice fields to hasten in and take us on. What the drum said was, "Bad palaver fo' town. Plenty loads"!

Other tappings by our informant were: bulu bulu bu lu bu lu "soldiers [or warriors] coming; war in town"; ga le se se ko, "play [dancing or festivities] in town"; a di bogolo, "man kill meat"; a sa ploble do tuba, "stranger [or guest] has come to [or remains for a time

in] town."

In imitation of both the skin-headed and the slit wooden drums there are simple drums made from short lengths of Indian bamboo. The little, bamboo slit drum is used to set the tempo for farm cutting ⁵ and other work. It makes an exasperating, ear-splitting noise rather than a musical sound.

The third type is the kettle drum, of which there are two styles. Both are purely Mandingo. The simplest one, a block of wood rounded on the bottom and hollowed out, is used only by the Gbunde, so far as we could learn. The other has a round leg, a foot or more long, projecting from the bottom. The whole instrument is shaped, as usual, from one block of wood. The kettle drum has an ingenious device for added sound effects. Into the bands that hold the rawhide head in place is stuck a round or irregular piece of thin iron or, more frequently these days, a piece cut from a kerosene tin. This often projects a foot or more above the drumhead. Iron rings loosely fastened into holes along the

⁵ See p. 57.

edge of this piece of metal produce a fine tinkling sound when the drum is beaten (fig.

79, c).

Sometimes, in Gbunda and Loma only, three such small drums, all of a different tone, are lashed together side by side and beaten by one man (fig. 79, c). Down the front of this combination hangs a fringe of raffia fiber. While this triple drum (badigi, Loma) is being played, it is suspended from the drummer's shoulders by two bands. One is fastened to the outer edge of each of the end drums; the other, to the center-back of the middle one. Kettle drums are beaten with the hands.

Bells 6 were sacred to warriors with three exceptions. Hunters' dogs had special bells made of iron, and shaped like a rather globose clam shell. The two halves are rigidly joined at the straight upper edge, and at either end of the joint a small hook is forged for fastening a strap, the curved two thirds of the periphery has a slit. Noise is made by a spherical lump of iron or brass, loose inside the bell (fig. 68, i, i'). Dancers were permitted to use small European bells as part of their costumes. Anklets and bracelets could have bells cast or wrought as part of each piece (fig. 66, d, e; fig. 67, 1), and cast bells of the same type were strung like necklaces (fig. 67, i). Such jewelry, however, was reserved for royalty or the very wealthy. The bells of jewelry were tinkling or jangling in tone, seldom with any resonance. They were usually slit spheres with a round piece left loose inside when the bells were made. Some belled anklets were quite elaborate (fig. 66, a, b, c).

War bells were of two types. The common one, made of iron, was a flattened cone extended to form a handle (fig. 65, v). The two sides were cast separately and welded together. A clapper was hooked inside. We secured a bell of cast brass similar in shape (fig. 26). Some bells were also cast in the conventional

European shape (fig. 68, h).

The other war bell was similar to the dog bell, but elongated (fig. 65, u). These did not have loose pieces inside, as did the dog bells, but were struck on the outside with a short

iron rod. Their tone was shrill and penetrat-

ing

The clicker 7 is made in the following manner: Nine raffia-splinter clickers or keys of varying tone, each adjusted separately, are held together and fastened by fiber cords to the broad surface of a rectangular or oval piece of split wood or thin board. Two pieces of split raffia stem under the keys hold up the ends, leaving them free to vibrate. The keys vary in length from 3 to 5 inches, depending on the pitch desired. In some of these instruments the longest keys are in the center, while in others the long keys are at the sides (fig. 81, e). The performer holds the board in both hands; to increase its volume he often places it against a fence post. Thumbs act as plectra. As the tips of these raffia tongues are plucked with varying degrees of force, a series of arpeggios is produced, giving the effect of a melody with an accompaniment.

The ko:la of the Gio, with its seven keys and gourd instead of wooden resonator, is doubtless a local variation of the same instrument (fig. 81, h). This instrument seems to have originated among the Kru tribes, but today it may be seen everywhere in Liberia. Kpelle soldiers who had served in the Kru country brought it to Mano. From there it seems to have spread to the other tribes of the

north.

The finest form of rattle s consists of a long-necked gourd, the spherical end of which is enclosed in a loosely made net. To the knots of the net, beads or seeds are fastened (fig. 82, d). These latter, seen in Mano, were white and were called zawele (Coix lachrymae-jobii). The gourd is held neck down in the right hand; the net, in the left. Time is beaten, rhythm produced, or remarks punctuated by jerking the gourd up and down against the net, thus causing the seeds or beads to strike the empty, resonant gourd. This rattle was used by both sexes in cult ceremonies and dances only; never, until recently, for secular purposes.

For fertility and rain rites there is a set of three rattles made of rattan basketry with a

⁶ kotigi, Gbunde; gbwini, Mano; lalo, Gio; bwelie, Sapã.
⁷ gruzavewonigi, Loma; gbeketele or bwo, Mano;

bolo, Sapā; paulugledi, Tiē.

* kpwole, Gbunde; alizabai, Loma; gei or ge, or gbea, Mano; samblı, Sapā.

piece of gourd for the bottom containing hard, bean-sized seeds (fig. 82, e, f). These are held by the handle at the top, one in each hand, and jerked up and down. In Mano they are used, with or without other instruments, to set the tempo for farm-cutting parties. They symbolize the noise of falling rain.

Minstrels (north) and dancers wear, tied around their ankles, heavy bundles of hardshelled, dry, seed pods or empty shells of certain nut-like seeds such as *Omphalocarpum ahia*, cut in half (figs. 79, a, b; 78, c, f).

The shell of the forest tortoise, Cynixis,⁹ is an instrument used in the north by the leaders of the women's cults exclusively. The shell is beaten like a drum with a piece of stick or iron, but its noise is like that of a rattle (fig. 82, g). The Sapā use it as an accompaniment to the harp to honor a successful hunter when he returns from the chase.

A sort of castanet is made from a pair of the dried fruits of *Oncoba spinosa*. The two spherical shells, each with its seed rattling inside, are joined by a short cord. Girls are sometimes seen shaking them as they walk along the road, the cord twisted between their fingers.

Stringed Instruments. The simplest of stringed instruments is the musical bow (fig. 78, g). ¹⁰ It is used mostly by children playing the game of bakagi ¹¹ (Loma). The bow is a wand of flexible hardwood; the string, of piassava fiber. The bow is held in the left hand when the instrument is played. The same hand holds a small stick by means of which the tension of the string is increased or diminished to produce higher or lower sounds. One end of the bow is held against the cheek with the mouth open, acting as a sounding-box. The string is tapped with a piece of stick held in the right hand.

A Mano variation of this may be thought of as the primitive violin (fig. 80, b). It is made of a gourd resonator with skin stretched over the mouth. A stick passes through holes in the gourd and under the skin to form a neck for the string. This is held up by a bridge resting on the skin. It is played like a violin with a splint of palm-stem bamboo kept wet. The

string is muted with the first and second fingers of the left hand to give two or three notes. The music is very soft and pleasant.

The dibo, seen in Mano, is a one-stringed noisemaker. A hole is made in the center of a square of bark of the sepe tree. A piece of semia yıdı bele vine (Adenia cissampeloides), with a knot at the end, is passed through the hole. The corners of the square of bark are pegged firmly to the ground over a hole about a foot in depth and from 6 to 8 inches in diameter. To play this contrivance, the vine is wet and held by one hand while the fingers of the other are drawn upward on it. Different sounds are produced by varying the tension of the vine. This crude instrument is used mostly in the rice farm to frighten off animals, especially antelope, as "it got mouf like tigah [leopard]."

In Gio we saw a sort of square banjoguitar (fig. 80, a). Its box was almost cubical, hollowed out of a single block of soft, light wood; its neck, a curved stick, entering the center of one end. Its seven strings were tied to the bridge, which rested on a tight, rawhide head. It was an old one, its wooden soundingbox, highly polished by much handling. The player held it with his feet as he sat strumming it with both thumbs. He made it "talk" not only in sweet melodies, but in imitation of the human voice, the shooting of a gun, and various animal calls. This instrument is used by a "master-singer" to accompany his recital of a warrior's prowess or the deeds of other great men of the tribe. It was formerly taken along by the musicians of war parties. The Mano variation of this has a gourd resonator and a stretched-skin head (fig. 80, e). The strings are tied to a bridge resting on the skin.

We saw a somewhat different instrument, with a gourd instead of a wooden sounding-box, in different parts of the country (fig. 78, e; fig. 80, c). It is made of six or seven bowed strips of raffia midrib of graduated lengths, attached to the gourd by fiber woven work in such a way that the short ends extend a little beyond the mouth of the gourd. To each long end a piassava string is fastened, the strip bent to a bow, and the string wound around the

short end. Tension is increased and the pitch raised by giving a string an extra twist around the short end of the bow. An hourglass-shaped opening is cut in the side of the gourd. When played, this instrument is held against the chest with the left hand and strummed with the thumb and fingers of the right, the thumb of the left hand taking an occasional note.

In some of these instruments a piece of tin shaped like a swallow's tail and hung with wire rings along the edges is fastened between the gourd and the midrib strips. This produces a tinkling rattle with the vibration of the strings.

A kind of harp 12 is made with the inverted bowl-like lower half of a gourd for a soundingbox (fig. 78, d; fig. 80, \bar{d}). A forked stick is fastened perpendicular to the outer surface at the center of the bowl so that the forks seem to spring from the bowl itself. Then a straight stick is set across the forks to form an equilateral triangle, the sides of which are about 14 inches long. Beginning near the base of this triangle a series of five to seven piassava strings are stretched from one side to the other. The mouth of the gourd-bowl is placed against the player's breast as he strums with the thumb of the left hand and the four fingers of the right (figs. 78, d; 105, f). The whole thing is rocked back and forth to open and close the mouth of the gourd, producing a sobbing or wailing effect. Its plaintive music accompanying an improviser's recital was often the last sound we heard at night and also the first in the morning. Our Sapa informant told us that it was not unusual for enthusiasts to keep at it all night.

Wind Instruments. Information regarding whistles is scant. The Mano children make them of a seed nut much resembling that of the Mimusops djave tree. They also make them from the hollow fruits of Bandieracea simplicifolia (popialo, Mano). The Sapā hunter blows a whistle called badue when making medicine for successful hunting. It is made of the horn of the "bush goat" (Cephalophus niger). Large crab claws are sometimes used as whistles. Pottery whistles (fig. 93, h, i, j), used secretly in the Poro, 13 make music surprisingly clear and sweet. The taboo against

imitating these whistles is undoubtedly responsible for the great scarcity of whistles in general.

Most of the flutes we saw were made of a section of Indian bamboo (fig. 81, d) ¹⁴ cut off above one joint. There were four stops. Some flutes were made from a length of raffia stem (fig. 81, f). The Sapā had also a sort of reed flute with only one stop. Flutes are held to the left by Liberian players. When wandering minstrels (Mano) play flutes for dancing, three at least are considered desirable. These are not played in unison, but each has its own part. The Gbunde claimed that they had no flutes. In the old days flutes were considered sacred, reserved for the use of Poro officials only.

The Gio stated that formerly one or more flute-players always accompanied the *kula* (war leader) when he went to war and when he returned victorious.

The long, Arab-Mandingo trumpets, said to have been blown formerly in Gbunde and Loma, seem now to be known only to some of the older men. Horns, however, are still used everywhere. Of these there are three kinds: those made of animal horns, those of elephant tusks, and those of wood in imitation of the latter (fig. 82, b). For the first kind, a horn of the lyre-horned bongo (Boocercus euryceros) (fig. 81, c) is preferred, but others are used, even long cow horns. Those of the Tragelaphus scriptus antelope are blown by the bauwēī (medicine man) in Sapā, and as oracles to locate thieves. Ivory trumpets and their wooden imitations $(d \circ gb \varepsilon, Sap \tilde{a})$ are usually ornamented at the wide end with a broad band of leopard skin, or cowhide if the leopard is not available (fig. 81, a). The more important chiefs have three to five of these, each of a different size and pitch, so that "joyful noises" may be made before them by what may be termed their horn orchestra. This kind of horn is used also to call people to work, and to wrestling matches, and to give directions to people lost in the forest who might possibly be within hearing distance. It once called men to war. Certain horns and certain calls are sacred to the Poro.

Orchestras. Orchestras are composed of a number of different instruments. An orchestra in Gbunde had a triple drum (badigi), two other drums, and five horns. One in Mano had two drums, two bead rattles, and two war bells. The total effect of such groups is undeniably stirring. African harmony has a peculiar quality that at close quarters is devastating. When an orchestra gathers around and singers kneel to sing one's praises (a native form of hospitality), the harmony is often so close and penetrating that one is glad to say "thank you" with a "dash" (a gratuity) at the earliest possible moment that decorum will permit.

Singing. In native Liberian song, as in that of other African tribes, three features stand out: antiphony; part singing, which is parallel more often than harmonic; and highly developed rhythm. Sometimes the soloist begins a new stanza while the chorus of the preceding one is not yet finished; the singers sustaining the last note of the chorus so that final and

starting notes harmonize. We shall not attempt to transcribe the many songs of our hammock-carriers, listened to sometimes with real pleasure, at other times with much distress. In the north it is conceded that the GE and Gio are the most talented singers. The worst singing we heard came from the throats of Mano carriers. Usually they sang Ge hammock songs, which they preferred to their own. The Sapa and Tie entertained us with mournful tunes, punctuated by ear-splitting yells. Our Kpelle and Mano carriers were sometimes silent. The Half-Grebo never sang at all—possibly because they were carrying under protest. But from the exuberant Ge and Gio music bubbled forth incessantly. In taking us from place to place they danced as they sang, almost doubling up in some movements. They kicked trees in their ecstacy, broke branches from bushes in passing, and swayed to and fro in rhythm. Sometimes, with hammock poles on the head, they danced around as on a pivot, or carried us backward for a distance, then forward again. Entering a town they zigzagged in and out among the huts, to the destruction of much

roof thatch. Our hammocks, and we ourselves at times, barely escaped being upset. The streams of perspiration running down their bodies the while were of no concern to the singers.

The most interesting of all the hammock-carrying songs we heard was an antiphony with accompaniment sung by Mano carriers as we went from Sakripie toward Gio. One man sang: "Ze le kapio!" The chorus: "Ze le hao!" ended in harmony with the starting note of the first singer. Another soloist sang: "A nwe wa wa, a nwe!" as accompaniment, softly and in imitation of the beating of a drum.

Minstrels. In each town and clan there are those whose musical talent stands out above the rest. Such men become the local minstrels and favorites of the chief. The evening's diversion is to listen to a minstrel singing to the accompaniment of an instrument as he improvises a tale of the prowess of some hunter, the exploits of local or tribal heroes, or the glories and riches of a family. On his instrument he can produce the yowling of a dog or the shot of a gun. Far into the night he holds his audience spellbound.

Then there are the wandering minstrels of the north. Nyagegi, our sprightly Mano interpreter, had been one of these. In an expansive mood he told us one day how he became a minstrel and the leader of a troupe:

"I bought my medicine from a man on the French side I saw dance fine. For this I paid him three shillings, four fowls [one of which was sacrificed later], two pans of rice [part of which was cooked for the sacrifice], and a bowl of palm oil for the sacrifice. I had to find four horns as medicine-containers. The largest and best was from a large antelope called su. This horn I always held in my hand when I danced."

Whenever he went on tour he took along three horns, ¹⁵ three dance drums, ¹⁶ and a rattle made by himself. The largest or "mother" horn was given to him; the medium-sized one cost him four shillings; and the small antelope horn cost a French silver franc.

Before the drum maker turned over the three drums, Nyagegi gave him a fowl and

¹⁵ turu li (mother horn), turu zei (medium-sized horn) turu kpwa (child drum).

¹⁶ bala lı (mother drum), bala zei (medium-sized drum), bala kpwa (child drum).

some rice and palm oil. Some of the fowl's blood was smeared on the drums. The fowl was cooked with the rice, and the palm oil poured on the rice. A portion was "given to the drum"; then the two sat down and consumed the rest of the sacrifice.

In Nyagegi's troupe were three drummers and three horn-blowers (all men), a boy rattler, and seven girl singers. Nyagegi himself was the dancer. He wore three strings of bells around his waist, bunches of nutshell rattles on his ankles, a fringed bracelet of raffia fiber above the elbow, and a fringed shirt of native cloth that reached to a little above the knees.

Before the troupe started out on a tour, the instruments and medicines were placed together in the presence of the player of the biggest drum, the blower of the biggest horn, and the rattler. (More of the men might join the group, but never any of the girls.) Sacrifice of a fowl and blood, rice, and palm oil was then made to the instruments; the medicine was "fed" with a portion, the rest eaten by those present.

No specific charge was made for the troupe's performances, but gifts were expected and received. These varied with the importance and wealth of the giver. A chief might give a native cloth. Others gave money, iron or brass pots, fowls, cola nuts, rice - anything.

Paramount Chief Wuo's troupe (Mano) and others we met in Gio were somewhat differently dressed (fig. 101, a). They wore ram'smane and leopard's-mane helmets, ornamented with cowrie shells and plentifully hung at the waist with small bells and much medicine (fig. 78, b). Their instruments were drums, rattles, and bells. They would kneel to a chief and flatter him in song until presents were given.

Paramount Chief Towe (Gio) did us the honor of sending for his troupe 17 to come home at once in order that we might see how they surpassed all others. We had heard much of these "snake dancers" - of their wonderful juggling feats as well as their dancing and playing of drums. Their masterpiece, as reported, was to "throw a little girl up in the air and catch her as she falls on the point of a big knife without hurting her at all." (The knife was actually lowered at the last instant so the girl fell unharmed into the arms of the juggler.)

The second day of our stay they arrived: two tall, husky men, three slender girls about eight years old, and several drummers. The two men were clad much like the other minstrels we had seen. The girls' clothing consisted of a girdle of native cloth with a strip sewed onto it to form an apron in front and behind (fig. 79, a and b). White clay decorations around their eyes gave the impression of large, white, diamond-shaped goggles. Around the forehead they wore red headbands decorated with cowrie shells and sheep's-mane "plumes." Each carried, slung over her shoulder, a medicine bag ornamented with brass

rings.

An exhibition was given late that afternoon in the open place before the palaver house. After a large mat was laid on the ground and the medicine bags thrown upon it, the jugglers took off most of their clothes. Then began the wonderful feats of which such tremendously enthusiastic accounts had been given us by our interpreter. The men of the troupe kept their acts moving briskly in the best vaudeville tradition. One would balance a girl on his head or shoulder and turn slowly around with her (fig. 79, b). One would run with a girl standing in his hands, or spin or dance around with a rigid girl held out at arm's length. In another act the two men stood opposite each other, 15 feet apart, each holding a rigidly horizontal girl in the hollow of his arms; then, simultaneously, they tossed the girls back and forth to each other.

In the midst of this performance Chief Tows called a halt and ordered his troupe lined up before him.

"Do the children forget their father when they return to town?" he asked.

"No," they chorused.

Towe berated them soundly for not having sent him any part of the gifts they had received while on their last journey. Promises were made, and the performance resumed.

The masterpiece, reserved for the end, was for us an anti-climax. One of the men took a rigid girl in his arms and laid her on the roof of a hut. (She was supposed to be dead while in this rigid state.) With difficulty he succeeded in keeping her there, because the roof was steep; and she had just as much difficulty in maintaining her "dead" state. When at last she was balanced in position the husky fellow picked up a well-sharpened, double-edged sword and held it point upward. At a signal the girl rolled down upon the point. At this instant the assembled spectators of all ages and conditions held their breath and closed their eyes to shut out the horrible spectacle. A sigh of relief went up as they saw that no blood flowed. No one seemed to have noticed that

the dancer changed the position of the sword from the perpendicular to the horizontal at the proper instant by a quick and dextrous turn of the wrist.

Next day, when the performers were about to repeat this act, Towe absolutely forbade it as too risky. He would take no chances on having blood flow in his town, thus bringing blood-guilt ¹⁸ upon it.

In a variation of this act jugglers sometimes toss the girls to and fro, pretending to catch them on the points of their swords, but actually catching them in their arms.¹⁹

DANCING

The best dances (gbwogi) were seen at Abi zã in Gio. Towe had sent for the champion farm-cutter (fig. 79, e).20 Toward evening he appeared — a slender, hollow-cheeked, redeyed individual - accompanied by a number of men. On his head was the helmet his position entitled him to wear. His dress was a cloth worn between the legs and drawn up under his belt in front and back, leaving about 6 inches of free, ruffled ends. Sticking out from these, next to his skin, was a small bunch of oilpalm leaflets. As the company drew nearer, one of the followers separated himself from his fellows and stood beside the champion. These two then began to dance backward and forward, striking attitudes as if cutting bush. The rest of their company beat time on tortoise shells. Occasionally the champion uttered a resounding whoop and the dance became increasingly violent, but it always remained graceful. When they came near the palaver house, Tows went out to meet and greet them. The two dancers knelt on the ground before him and were commended for their fine effort. "Tonight," he said, "you sleep here; tomorrow go to my farm." They did not retire that night with "hunger sticking the two sides of the stomach together."

¹⁸ See pp. 252 and 434.
¹⁹ William B. Seabrook (1931, pp. 123-24) claims to have seen this act performed at night by jugglers at a place on the French Ivory Coast, apparently not far from the Liberian frontier. Each of the two jugglers tossed a girl into the air with the right hand and impaled her on an iron sword, held stiffly upright in the left. They then paraded through the crowd bearing

The spear dance Towe did for us himself, boasting that he was "still a youth" and could do as well as the next. Dressed in a much-embroidered bubu (robe) with that precious top hat of his pulled down tight on his head, he looked a most incongruous figure in that crowd of meagerly clad men, women, and children. The dance consisted of many steps and leaps, after each of which he threw his spear high into the air and dexterously caught it as it came down point-first.

After his spear dance Towe favored us with a war dance. For this he changed to a red velvet bubu but did not discard his high hat. In this dance he was joined by the town "singer." The onlookers, standing in a circle around Towe and his "singer," represented the enemy.

Weapon in hand, Towe danced, rushed, charged, and lunged toward different parts of the group, bringing down an imaginary enemy with each spear thrust. His chief minstrel followed, chanting, singing encouragement, cutting off and gathering up in pantomime the heads of the slain. When these did not fall fast enough, Towe was urged on by his partner with shouts and yells of defiance, to which Towe added his own bellowings.

the impaled girls aloft "pierced through and through." No blood flowed. The girls were taken into the witch doctor's hut, from which they presently emerged safe and well. The illusion seems to have been complete. Seabrook makes no attempt to explain what happened. As the feat took place at night, we suspect the substitution of dummies.

20 See p. 156.

After enough victims had been slain and the red robe become somewhat sodden with perspiration the fight was concluded, and there appeared a company of musicians. The chief drummer, carrying a large talking drum, wore his old war-leader's costume with seed-pod rattles fastened to his ankles (fig. 78, f). He

was accompanied by two others who had similar but smaller drums, a man with an iron war bell, and another with a gourd rattle. They played the victory song, to the stirring notes of which Towe and his chief minstrel marched proudly around the town, with everyone following in procession.

GAMES

The African tribesmen also have several types of games which they play during their leisure. When farm work is not pressing and there is no urgent project on hand, such as weaving a net or building a house, there are many hours when the men are free to sit around in the palaver house, or on the ledge under the eaves of a house. Some individuals will while away these hours with a game.

The "Board" Game. Foremost among native games is the "board" game.21 The players sit on opposite sides of a board containing two rows of six cup-like holes (fig. 74, a). (Those seen in Gbunde had seven to the row.) Usually, but not invariably, there is also a larger hole at each end of the board for the captured pieces. Formerly, in the north, much time, skill, and energy were expended to make some of these boards beautiful and worthy of being handed down in the family. In the southeast a roughly hewn plank with depressions for the pieces is in general use. If no board is available those desiring to play the game hollow out a series of shallow depressions in the hard earth. The game is played with small stones, hard seeds, or oilpalm nuts. The Mano also use small, hollow pieces of iron shaped like seeds.

In most sections only men and older boys play this game, but in Sapa and Tie the women and girls also play it. Though we had seen it played hundreds of times in Liberia and in the Cameroun, we had never seen it played by women before we went to Tie.

The rules for playing vary with different tribes, sometimes with different localities or sections of a tribe. Players may even make their own rules. In general, however, all these rules are much alike. Since they have often been described, there is no need to repeat them here. Migeod,²² for example, has described the game as played by the Mends. The Gbunds, Gbands, and Loma play it in a very similar

The game may be played merely as a pastime or for stakes, such as a bit of cotton or a few cola nuts (north only), small handfuls of rice, palm kernels, or whatever is available.

"Playing Government." Sapã women sometimes indulge in a somewhat boisterous horseplay known as "playing Government." This seems to develop spontaneously when a group of gossiping women begins to feel hilarious. One of them suggests, "Let's carry Charlie King!" 23 There are shouts of approval, and they all rush into their houses and seize and put on any men's clothes they can put their hands on. One of their number becomes "Charlie King," another, "District Commissioner," and the rest are "soldiers." Charlie and the D.C. are carried in improvised hammocks while the rest follow singing, clapping hands in time, and dancing. This procession goes to nearby towns exhibiting the two distinguished personages and mimicking the conduct of those they are impersonating, to their own huge enjoyment and that of the whole community.

Wrestling.²⁴ The Gbunde, our informants there stated, do not wrestle.²⁵ The Mano and Gio, on the other hand, are particularly fond of this sport. In most tribes only men and boys wrestle; in Sapa, women also enjoy it.

The Mano formerly had wrestling matches at the market place on market days, but now the matches take place after rice-cutting "bees" are over. After the harvest is gathered the

22 Migeod, 1926, p. 283.

²¹ sakpwe, Gbunde; ma, Mano; babudu, Sapã; gba bu lu, Tië; mana, Kpelle; bwo, Bassa.

²³ President of Liberia in 1928.

²⁴ See also p. 91.

²⁵ zo, Gio; baufo, Sapa; ba, Tie.

workers go to town and there indulge in festivities which end in song and wrestling. Sometimes the champions of different quarters of a town are matched against each other. Sometimes the best men present enter the ring. If it is an interclan or intertribal affair, the whole countryside is on hand to witness it and cheer the favorites. The intertribal matches are mostly betwen the Mano champions and those of Ge and Gio. These last the Mano acknowledge as surpassing themselves in strength. The champion of the Gio was a cross-eyed man named Siawe, of Towai Town, who was one of our hammock men. No one had ever been able to throw him. These matches all take place late in the afternoon or on moonlight nights, never in the morning or at noon, according to Mano informants.

In Sapa and Tië the matches are held in the dry season before farm cutting has begun.

When the two opponents start to wrestle (Mano and Gio), they stand facing each other, bring up their arms to shoulder height, and interlace hands. Then they release the hands of one side, each slaps his own thigh, and they come to grips. With one arm each tries to get a crook around the other's neck. Any sort of feint or hold is permissible.

Rules differ locally and with different tribes. 26 A general rule is that the pair must be rather well matched. Upon this largely depends a wrestler's acceptance or refusal of a challenge. (These champions of the hinterland are no less concerned for their reputations than are those of our "civilized" world.) The Sapa and Tie require that an opponent be thrown on his back and that both his shoulders touch the ground before he can be declared the loser. In Mano and Gio it suffices for a wrestler to be thrown so that any part of his body other than the knee touches the ground.

The winner is loudly acclaimed (Mano and Gio) with shouts of "Hou!" With very conscious and evident pride he goes to a seat where he is surrounded and congratulated. His more intimate well-wishers grasp and work his arms. The small of his back is massaged and kneaded "to make it strong." His head is

seized at the temples "to stretch the forehead" (give him skill). Girls crowd around with small presents. Rice is thrown into the air.

Medicine for success in wrestling is often obtained from one who has himself been a famous champion. This the Mano keeps in his mouth during a contest, after having first rubbed it on the soles of his feet. The Gio keeps his in a small raffia bag which he holds in his hand. As he leaves his seat to wrestle he throws it to a small boy to hold, which the boy does, clasping it securely in both hands. The Sapa formerly went to Solo,²⁷ a big medicine man, for this "winning" medicine. It was put in a tiny antelope horn which was firmly attached to the wrestler's hair during the contest.

Gambling. The Liberian tribesman is just as fond of gambling as the other tribesmen of the West Coast. Most commonly played is the game in which cowrie shells are used as dice. The open side of the shell is broken off and the remaining part is filled with black beeswax. This is entirely a game of chance.

We sat in on a typical party in a Mano palaver house. The group of half a dozen players was seated on the mat-covered floor around a small mat. Each player in turn rubbed his hands on his medicine, which lay out of sight under the edge of the mat, took the four cowrie-dice, shook them in his hands, then tossed them into the air, caught them as they fell, gave his arm a quick twist, and threw them down on the mat, snapping his fingers as he threw them. His luck depended on how many of the shells fell "black up" or "white up." This game was being played as the Kpelle play it: all four dice white up, all black up, or half white and half black - player wins. Three black and one white up, or vice versa - player loses.

The stakes were handfuls of uncarded cotton. The game broke up when one man had won most of the cotton and suddenly remembered that he had work which must be done "one time quick" (immediately).

This was a mild game and soon over. We were told that games sometimes last for days, or even a week or longer. As the play con-

²⁶ On the whole, we found the rules governing these contests in Mano and Gio to be much like those governing similar contests among the Ngumba of the

southern Cameroun. The rules in Sapa and Tie were more like those of the Bulu and some other Fang tribes.

27 See p. 377.

tinues and the inherent passion for gambling takes possession of each of the players, the stakes are increased to more valuable articles and to money. Finally, clothing and possessions and persons over whom they have con-

trol are "put up."

Paramount Chief Towe's father, also a powerful Gio chief, considered this game so demoralizing that he prohibited its being played within his jurisdiction, saying, "One who plays with the cowries never can get ahead." In general, Liberian chiefs seem to set a sort of police-watch over the players to prevent

fights.28

A more harmless game, called $s\tilde{i}$, appears to be the favorite of the Mano, Ge, and Gio (fig. 100, g). It is played with tops, which are made by working a hole through an oilpalm nut, then inserting a pointed skewer of raffia midrib. In a shady spot outside of town, either on the path or beside it, a circle is drawn with a stick. Inside this circle the ground is dug up and smoothed and a mat laid. Around the edges of the mat a vine is laid to define the limits of the spinning area. Any number may play, but only four may spin their tops within the circle

**This game is played in the same manner in the southern Cameroun, where it was introduced by the "Monrovians," the native Liberian troops the Germans brought in when they first came to occupy the country. We have known of games there lasting for as long as two weeks. Now and then a player, after

at any given time. There is no limit to the number of tops one may have. Each player tries to spin his tops so as to knock those of others out of the ring. Tops so knocked out become his own. Anyone losing all his tops may borrow from another by giving him some small thing as security or by agreeing to give him a greater number of tops than he has borrowed.

Once, during a half-day's enforced leisure, we joined a group of youths and boys looking on at one of these games. Most of the men were out of town that day, and those who remained were all playing. As we watched we grew as enthusiastic as the rest of the onlookers, joining them in their exclamations of encouragement for the winning players and their groans for the losers. The spinning and picking up went on so fast that it took a nimble eye to follow even a single player's tops. We could not see how each one was able to keep track of his own in the whirling lot.

The Gbunde play a gambling game with small balls of elephant bone, but we could not get anyone to let us see a set of these balls or

tell us how it is played.

gambling away everything he possessed and becoming the slave of another, would start a quarrel in sheer desperation. Words led to blows, the seizing of weapons, and inflicting of wounds, sometimes resulting in a death or two.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND TRADE

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

IN THE north the social structure is substantially that common to the Mandingo proper and all tribes considered as belonging to the Mande groups. In the southeast, especially Half-Grebo, this is modified in some respects by European influences.

THE HOUSEHOLD

The unit of society is the household. This may consist of a married couple, or of a man and his wives and their children, together with any dependents ¹, he may possess. They live together in one house or in a compound (north only) or in adjacent houses. They work together to furnish the food and most other things necessary to their existence, thus constituting a real social unit—which is not, however, as close as the household in our meaning of the term.

When the husband has a number of wives each of them may manage her own house, or several of them may have a compound in common. The husband is by turns the guest, one may say, of each of his wives. When he has a superfluity of them some of the wives may live out in farm hamlets, where they practically lead a separate existence.

THE FAMILY

A number of related households constitutes the family, a highly organized unit that functions to secure its members against want and danger and injustice. The head of each family is its oldest male member, as long as he is qualified by the possession of his full bodily and mental powers. It may thus be said that the family consists of its head and his brothers and all their children and grandchildren. In addition there are the "serfs" that belong to the

Dependents, sometimes called "serfs," could include: (1) young men voluntarily allied to a chief for protection against questionable justice (fugitives, p. 423); (2) temporary bond servants unable to meet an obligation and giving their services until the matter can be worked out (see below, p. 164); (3) children

family as a whole, and formerly there were also the slaves and pawns.

In common with people in many other parts of West Africa, the Liberian hinterlander of either sex remains throughout life a member of the family into which he was born. Marriage does not affect the relationship. This fact accounts for a number of laws and customs, notably in regard to marriage contracts, guardianship of children, and so on.²

From this it would appear that the number of families would remain unchanged; actually, new families arise from time to time in a manner explained by Westermann: ³

A householder settles in an uninhabited part [of the clan's territory] and there founds a new village and thus, in time, his descendants gradually achieve the rank of a separate family. The feeling of homogeneity with the older family does not become lost, but naturally becomes lessened in proportion to the degree in which the original family branches out. Thus the individual members of this family unit not only become unknown to each other, but also do not know that they are related to each other. But in spite of this, they do form a unit, and also possess an infallibly distinguishing mark by which they can be recognized; i.e., their common taboo.

Today this "common denominator" is sometimes disregarded. The Gbunde say that if a man from one town comes to another with the object of finding a wife, and finds a suitable woman, they may marry even though they have the same family taboo. They are not considered to be related unless the relationship can be traced.

Family taboos are usually inherited from the father; but the first petition of a Gbunde or Loma in distress, "O my Mother, come help me now!" points to a time when children took their mother's rather than their father's taboo.⁴

"given" to a big man to be raised and, more recently, taught or sent to school; (4) apprentices; (5) young men bound by temporary marriage agreements (see p. 188).

² See also pp. 186 ff. and 415 ff.

 Family ties are very strong. Within it all persons of one generation are addressed by the same title by members of other generations: "father," "brother," and so on. It is owing to this custom that the foreigner is so often misled into upbraiding a native employee when he asks leave of absence, or explains for the second or third time that he has been away, to help bury father or mother.

The family's interests take precedence over those of the household. For example, the collective earnings of the household are not its own exclusive property. Except in the southeast, there seems to be no assessment upon the wealth of the household until some palaver "catches" the family; but when trouble comes there is a call for help and every household must contribute.

THE FAMILY HEAD 5

Although custom, in general, requires that the family head be the oldest member of the family, he must be chosen and inducted into

office by the elders of the family.

Upon the death or retirement from office of the family head in Loma and Mano his oldest surviving brother is usually chosen to succeed him. Some of the Loma stated that a town chief sometimes forced a favorite upon a family as its head, against the wishes of the family and in violation of custom. While the family must accept such an individual — for so long as they let him live - they will despise and disregard him and refuse to help him in any way or work for him as they would for the rightful successor. They will look upon and serve the customary successor as though he were in office as their "father," while the one forced upon them will have to be content with the outward form of service. In Gio, however, it was stated that no town chief had ever, as far as the old informants knew, been known to go against a family's wishes in choosing a new family head.

The family head is the keeper of the family medicines and must make the necessary sacrifices to them to "keep them fit." He is the family treasurer and custodian of the family property. Included in this property, in the southeast, are cattle; money; the proceeds of fines coming to the family when it, as a whole, wins a case; and the elder's chair, spear, and staff. In Gio, his fly-brush and the skin he carries about with him to sit upon are heirlooms in his custody. Some of the Tië stated that dowry prices received were formerly handed over to him, in return for which he had to see to it that wives were provided for all the young men as soon as they became of age.

He feels himself responsible for all the members of the family, but — excepting those of his own immediate household and those family members who, because of illness or age, cannot do so for themselves — he does not need to provide clothing or nourishment. He is concerned with their initiation into the cults in adolescence, is generally consulted in marriage and other affairs, and is the family's advocate in all dealings with higher authorities. He must see to it that the family honor is upheld and that its pride does not suffer. In short, he is the "big father" to whom all look for coun-

In this role of family-father he now and then has the unpleasant task of informing the town chief that the family has tired of a member and refuses to assume any further responsibility for him, because he has proved himself to be a scalliwag and the cause of too many palavers, putting a financial drain on the family, as well as giving it a bad reputation. This member is probably asked to leave town, in which event he attaches himself to some chief in a distant town.

sel, guidance, and help; and it is by this term of

affection that all his family address him.

THE TOWN AND THE CLAN

The town or half-town is formed of a number of families. There were, for instance, four families in the large Mano town of Busi, six medium-sized ones in the Loma town of Yala, and nine in the now small town of Bwejumbo in Sapã. It may be that its chief was confusing households with families, but as the Sapã towns were skeletons of what they once were, it is

Grebo; nyō kalagba (man big), Sapa.

⁵The family head is called lala sogi in Gbunde; gbwei, Mano; gũ dễi, Gio; nye kugu (man old), Half-

not impossible that what is left of the original population of Bwejumbo represents nine families.

The section of the town in which one family lives is called ka nyī in Mano. Colloquially it is spoken of as "the quarter" by the Americo-Liberians. Sometimes all but one of the families leave a town. This happened to the Tië town of Baobli where there is only one family left, at present, in its twenty-five remaining huts.

A number of towns, half-towns, and hamlets form the clan and a number of clans form the tribe. As a political entity, it is the clan and not the tribe that counts in Liberia.

As each family claims descent from a common ancestor, so also do all the families composing the clan claim ancestry from one and the same person. Clan members, like family members, may have a common taboo, though this is not necessarily so. Thus the "real people" of the clan are the old settlers. In the days of slavery they were the freemen. They included all persons born of free parents, or of a free man legally wedded to a bond-woman or slave woman. In the north such a slave woman must not have been acquired by purchase. A freeman always remained a freeman in his own land. Even if he was taken captive and reduced to slavery by the enemy, this did not alter his status at home. Immediately upon being freed he automatically took his old place in society. No free person could be sold; though he could in some circumstances be given in pawn for a limited time by his clan (not town) chief, it was stated in Gbunde and Loma. No free woman could marry a slave or be given to one as his wife.6

Outsiders who have had permission to move in constitute another group within this society. (North.) ⁷ These "strangers" may, after a few

generations, be counted as belonging to the land, but they will never be one with the clan, because of their different ancestry.

From this it can be seen that the social cohesion of these people rests on a feeling of kinship. The ties are strongest among the Gbunda and Loma whose tribal organization more nearly corresponds to that of the more highly organized Mandingos; probably strongest of all among the Loma, who have an outstanding reputation for implicit obedience to authority. Yet this did not prevent inter-clan warfare in Loma.

In Sapa and Tie the social ties are loosest, more nearly approaching those of some of the southern Cameroun tribes. The individual, the householder, even the family, appear able to pick up and go elsewhere to live when and as they please; and there is no way of bringing them back. One Tie town in which we stopped was only half of its former size because one of its families had decided to leave. The paramount chief could no nothing to prevent their going and thus breaking up the town.

In Half-Grebo, on the other hand, if an individual or a household leaves to settle elsewhere without first securing permission, he may be brought back even from another clan's territory. If he has a wife and children the simplest method is to take these, whereupon the man will follow. In Sapa and Tie the women and children cannot be taken.

Bond-Servants, Pawns, and Slaves. In a society where there is little incentive to industry, men seldom sell their services for a long period except to work off debts or other obligations. The custom of binding oneself to a creditor is less common than it once was, but it still exists.⁹ Formerly a man could pawn his wife or child in settlement of debts or

^{*}The Tië seem to have been an exception. See p.

⁷ Sometimes a man who has been constantly conscripted for work in his own town seeks refuge with a friend in the hope that he may be allowed to set up a home in his friend's town. If he wishes to reside there permanently, the friend asks his father's consent. If the father agrees, the stranger is shown a house. A stranger who has no particular friend in the town goes to the chief for permission to settle. In Gio it was formerly the custom to give the chief a gown of

homespun for such a privilege. There was no other obligation attached. See also p. 176.

For this reason they are preferred to any others as soldiers for the Liberian army. According to one of the officers, "You give them orders to bring in their own mothers to carry loads, to do any sort of work, or even to be punished, and they will do so." To appreciate fully what this means one must have a first-hand knowledge of the degree of affection that binds the African tribesman to his mother.

For examples, see pp. 263 and 439.

palavers.¹⁰ Children of slaves who were born and remained in the house of their parents, unless made free, were in general included in this class. (North.)

As compared with the slave, the bond-servant was at a disadvantage in that he could not buy freedom for himself; but like the slave he could be, and often was, given his freedom as a reward for faithful service. Now and then a bond-servant rose to an important position and even acquired considerable wealth through innate ability.

Slaves were acquired in war or by purchase. A purchaser preferred those coming from such a distance that it would be extremely difficult or impossible for them to return home if they

should run away.

Their lot does not seem to have been a hard one.11 Cureau 12 points out that the white man tends to confuse slavery in Africa with "the slave-trade and the horrors which white slave-traders practiced." Among primitive Africans the slave was, as he describes it, "a super-added member of the family, an artificial child," whose daily life was, to all intents, no different from that of a freeman. If he was able and energetic he might gain influence in the community. If he lacked enterprise he was contented to have a master "behind" him to relieve him of the responsibility of looking out for his own security.13 And there was always the possibility of his being set free or of buying his freedom.

It is true that a slave might be used as the pièce de résistance at a cannibal feast, or killed for medicine-making purposes or to accompany a dead master on his death journey, or be sold, or given as a present. But these were not everyday happenings, and if we know anything of the fatalistic attitude of the African, the slave's future did not weigh heavily on him. Indeed, one of the greatest obstacles to freeing the slave in primitive Africa was his own indifference and his contentment with his

lot. This is very well illustrated by Cureau: 14

There are certain man-eating tribes living on the Lower Ubangi who preserve their human game for the necessities of daily consumption. . . . The appointed victims enjoy comparative freedom while awaiting their end and are denied none of the delights which render the Negro's life attractive, such as idleness, good food, a soft bed, and so on. The captain of a French steamer, who had put in at one of these villages . . . recognized, in the crowd which came running down to the river-bank, a man who was a stranger to that district, and who had lately served as steersman on his boat. When questioned as to what he was doing there, the man replied that he was a captive in the village, and as such was destined some day or other to fill the cooking-pots of his masters. The captain thereupon offered to carry him off. It would have been an easy matter. . . . He refused, because at the time he was enjoying all the luxuries of life, and the prospect of the knife had consequently no power to disturb him. The boat left without him.

The Age Classes. In Half-Grebo all men and boys are organized into four age classes, each with its particular functions. This organization is substantially the same as that of the Grebo described by Bishop Payne 15 some seventy-five years ago. There appear to be corresponding classes in other tribes of the southeast, but we were able to learn very little about them. The Ge Yumbo 16 of the Mano is similar to the Gofa, the warrior class of Half-Grebo which has broad governmental powers. The Half-Grebo classes follow: 17

Class I. The Shemne or Mosquitoes (Johnston's Kimb2). 18 This is the youngest group, composed of boys up to eleven or twelve years of age. They are so called because there are so many of them and, like mosquitoes, "they do not eat much." The leader of these Mosquitoes is a member of the third class. (See below.) He keeps in his house the drums belonging to these little fellows. (Each age class has its own drums.) He rules over them, and it is their duty to serve him. When he has given orders even the fathers of the boys have noth-

10 See also p. 439.

¹⁴ Cureau, 1915, pp. 49-50.

¹¹ See also pp. 441–42. ¹² Cureau, 1915, pp. 136 ff.

¹³ The same attitude is brought out by Du Bose Heyward in his novel "Mamba's Daughters," in which Mamba, the South Carolinian Negress, schemes and works until she has secured a place in the household of the "right kind" of white folks, in order to have

them "back" of her whenever her daughter gets into trouble — which frequently happens.

Quoted by Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, pp. 1074 ff.
 See pp. 237 and 272 ff.

¹⁸ Each clan seems to have a different name for these classes, but they are all similarly constituted.

¹⁸ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1078.

ing to say. The boys help him make his farm and do any other work he may require. They may be called upon at any time for any work they are capable of doing. Their principal prerequisites are obtained from their collective services during the busy season. It is surprising how much work can be and is done by small African boys. They have a treasury, hold meetings, discipline their own members and, in general, conduct their affairs much in the manner of our own Four-H Club and kindred boys' organizations.

Class II. The Pubodu, literally "Wood Ashes" (Johnston's Kedibo). This name is given the group because they often sleep on the ground or floor beside a fire and by morning are white from the ashes. In this class are the boys and youths between the ages of eleven and seventeen or eighteen. Like Class I, they are under the leadership of a man of the third class and must perform any kind of work he gives them to do. This is usually work not easily done by the boys of Class I. They assist in building houses — getting roofing and other material, plastering the walls, and such jobs. They also have a treasury, hold meetings, and conduct the affairs of their group about the same as Class I.

The Sapa and Tie class corresponding to this is also called Pubodu. Its services can be had for odd jobs about town — farm cutting, carrying, harvesting, or what not - by paying a consideration to their leader. Upon joining this age class a boy must contribute a dog to make a feast for the members.

Class III. The Glaro 20 or Warriors. This is composed of two groups.

Group A. The Klaklabe; 21 that is, "de ting what bite proppah, like peppah." To this group belong the young unmarried men who have come out of Class II; hence, it is a sort of bachelor's club. They are the young warriors, the heroes of town brawls. Whenever one of these quarrels starts they must rush up and energetically participate. (Good training for future combats.) During farm cutting, whenever trees are found in which there are nests of the large tree-wasps, this group is called upon to fell them. To stand and allow oneself to be stung is a matter of honor. If a honey tree is located, they often get an order from their leader to get the honey without using fire to smoke out or kill the bees. Armed only with machetes and axes they set forth. As already noted,22 they are often sent with experienced hunters as hunting dogs to track game, to become keen observers, and learn to detect the trails of men and animals. In short, they are called upon to do anything that may be useful in the training and hardening of raw recruits. In war they join the more experienced fighters.

Group B. The Gofa. These are the real and seasoned fighters, the crack troops, as contrasted with the Klaklabe. Every member of this group must have at least one wife and be the owner of a house. The "bush goat" (the black forest antelope, Cephalophus niger) is their animal, and every male of the species killed must be given to them. (Upon the females they have no claim.) They may give to members of the other age groups only parts taken from the right foreleg and right hind-

The Gofa group of Nyaaka (Webo clan) caused considerable local excitement two years before we reached those parts, when the wife of one of its members ran away from home. As soon as her absence was known the signal calling together all the local members of the group was beaten out on the Gofa's private drum. About twenty-three of them came rushing together, heard what had happened, and ran off in pursuit. The woman was overtaken, seized, dragged to the edge of a stream, and there used in turn by all the men present. That she soon became unconscious did not deter them. After the last man had done with her she was ducked in the stream several times. This incident is proof that the old organization still exists intact, and when necessary takes drastic action.

Bishop Payne, as quoted by Johnston,²³ says of Class III among the Grebo proper:

¹⁹ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1078.

²⁰ The Glaro class is also called Sedibo or simply Bia Boe in some parts of Half-Grebo; and Bia Boe in Sapa and Tie. It corresponds to Johnston's Sedibo

⁽¹⁹⁰⁶b, vol. 2, p. 1075).

See also p. 85.

²² See p. 85.

²³ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1075.

"... The most influential class in every Grebo community is the Sedibo. This is most emphatically "the house of representatives," the popular house, for it is composed of all males beyond the age of twenty, except the patriarchs. Usually, as soon as a young man is married and has a home he pays into the treasury of the Sedibo a bullock, a goat, half a bushel of rice, and thenceforth, unless convicted of witchcraft, he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the Sedibo. These combine the legislative and executive powers, for although the patriarchs may originate and advise, the Sedibo must discuss and resolve before any action can be had or law passed, and they meet and make laws at any time, and in relation to almost anything. They meet and decide that a man has stolen something, and for the offence make him pay a fowl, or all that he possesses, according to their temper towards him. They determine that a man has been guilty of witchcraft, and give him gedu (sassywood) to kill him. The fines imposed by this body are divided according to hereditary right. Thus, for example, if a bullock is slaughtered (fines are almost always paid in something to eat), one man by hereditary right takes the shoulder, another the neck, etc. These rights owe their origin to the same causes as titles in Europe: they were given to ancestors for some services rendered, and have come down in lineal descent to posterity."

Class IV. The Bo (Johnston's Nyekbade ²⁴). These constitute the patriarchs who form the council of elders of the clan. They derive their name from the bo, the zebra antelope (Cephalophus doria), which "belongs" to them and must be given to them whenever killed. They must also be given all the broadhorned bongos, bo (Boocercus euryceros). In contrast with Class III, which demands only males of its animal, Class IV demands both males and females. Like the warriors, they may give part of the right fore and hind legs to others as they see fit.

Besides acting as a sort of upper house or council to assist in town and clan matters, the Bo have the duty of arranging for big feasts and denotes

and dances.

Again quoting Bishop Payne: 25

"The constitution of the Grebo tribe is patriarchal, although the government is almost purely democratic. There are in it twelve families . . . deriving their

names from the emigrant patriarch or father. . . . In nearly every one of the Grebo settlements . . . there are parts of these families, having in each case their distinct head-man or patriarch, who usually occupies a particular portion of the town, with his sons, grandsons, and relatives round him.

"... the patriarchs collectively constitute an upper court or senate. To this body belongs the right of originating plans for promoting the public weal; to them are referred questions involving international [inter-tribal] rights. In all matters of grave interest, whether domestic or foreign, the voice of the pa-

triarchs must be heard."

The Town Chief.²⁶ When a household or a family founds a new town, its head naturally takes upon himself the function of chief. The succession is usually hereditary. If others come to live in the same place they will, of course, be subject to the ruling head. If there are two or more families of equal rank, wealth, antiquity — local Mayflower descendants — in the town, they may elect a chief from each family in turn.

The town chief is always subject to the clan chief. It is scarcely necessary to state that the clan chief prefers town chiefs whom he can influence. Formerly, when new settlements were made in the clan's territory by the clan chief's serfs, slaves, or captives, the clan chief could set up as town chief whomever he chose, irrespective of the will of the people. Old Gio men affirmed that the clan chief had the right, in those days, to depose and even sell a disobedient town chief and that they knew of instances where this actually had been done.

A town chief can be seized and punished, even killed, for extreme harshness or cruelty or for making bad medicine to harm people. The case of such a town chief, named Dun, was cited. Dun was "born a witch person," made harmful medicine, and did much that was disliked by his people. When it came to light that he had gone so far as to kill some of them, the town elders had him seized and forced him to drink a decoction of sasswood, from the effects of which he immediately died. Then, to prevent any member of his

²⁴ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1076.

plei domi, Mano; poi déi (town's father), Gio; woroba (town's father), Grebo and Half-Grebo; wolo kon jibli (town belong to big man or father). Tie.

²⁵ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, pp. 1074-75. ²⁶ The town chief is called the *ta masa gi*, Loma;

family from ever again getting into office, all of its members were exiled.

A Mano chief may be forced to give up his office, and his family to give up the right of succession, to another, if the family collectively has nothing with which to keep up his establishment. "The quarter [family] becomes poor and breaks up." Then the wealthiest and most influential man of another family is chosen to fill the place. This is also done when a town chief dies bankrupt and his heir is in similar straits.

In Half-Grebo and Sapā (and probably in Tiē), the town chief can be deposed and replaced by some worthy member of his family—"one man he got good fashun." In Half-Grebo the family heads and town elders, and in Sapā the *bodio* (high priest) and the *boloba* (speaker), in council with the elders, have the

power to depose a town chief.

The town chief has several responsibilities. He must care for and feed the town medicines (except in Half-Grebo where it is the duty of the high priest); care for the town property (in the north); represent the town in all public matters, and also at the court of the paramount chief; see that the orders of the latter, as well as those of the cult leader (north especially), and also the laws of the land are carried out; see that strangers are cared for and provided with food and shelter, and in the event of their death that they are buried, and possibly given a funeral feast. (In Loma it was said that this was the paramount chief's business.) In Half-Grebo he must see that the "town meat," when there is any, is justly distributed.27

Nevertheless, in his own town the chief is little more than the executive head of his council of elders, which probably includes some Poro officials. To act without their sanction would be considered to be autocratic and would invite the displeasure or enmity of the council. These socialist-democratic bodies have a manner of ridding themselves of autocrats — a fact few chiefs allow themselves to forget.

Such significant matters as the town's appearance, the spirit animating its people, the treatment of guests, the regard or disregard for authority and the customs of the fathers, largely reflect the chief's personality. If he is a strong and fairly just character he can usually manage well unaided. Otherwise he may be forced to appeal for help to local ecclesiastical authority in the form of an influential Poro leader. A weakling chief who cannot manage his own town is held in derision, as is well illustrated in the following folktale from Half-Grebo:

A town chief who was something of an elephant hunter went to the forest. There he saw an elephant and shot at it but missed. The animal turned around and looked at him. Then, noting who it was, made an insulting grimace of disgust, broke a number of twigs off a tree, and "beat him plenty so he go run fo' town." This was a sign that the chief's wife had committed adultery while he was out hunting and so had spoiled his hunting medicine.28 The elephant by contemptuously flogging him, but not otherwise harming him, was symbolically expressing the fact that a person who cannot even be master of one woman, and she his own wife, is not capable of subordinating big game; that is, caring for a town.

When the town chief is too ill, too old, or otherwise incapacitated to perform his functions properly, he delegates his authority to a brother or some other big man of his family. (North.) In Half-Grebo it is the bodio and his speaker who carry on; while in Sapā and Tiē it is the family heads or town elders, through someone whom they choose. If it is apparent that the chief cannot recover or again take his place, he is removed, in Mano and Gio, and a new town chief elected in his place. Elsewhere, he continues in office until his death.

Particulars of the succession to this office vary in different parts. In Gbunde it is the chief's oldest brother who becomes chief, nominally; practically, this brother hands the office over to his nephew, the late chief's oldest son, if he is grown up and already established. (This nephew will, in any case, be the uncle's successor.) Otherwise, the uncle remains in office until the nephew is ready to take it. In Gio it is the chief's son who succeeds to the chieftainship if he is of age and capable. "He

must be strong, for only a real man [one who is not cowardly and will not hesitate to use violence if necessary] can hold this work in his hand." If he is too young the regency goes to the late chief's half-brother, that is, a brother by the same father but of a different mother, until the boy is of age. In Half-Grebo the office is hereditary in two of the town's families, which alternate in providing an incumbent — "so we not got war fo' de place wen de town king die," our informant added. In Tie, usually, the "strongest" [ablest and richest] man in the family, not necessarily the son, is chosen to take the place of a deposed or deceased town chief.

In Tiế a woman may become town chief. One, Kau, a "king woman," is chief of the fifteen-hut town of Wulubli. Living with her is her husband, to whom she has borne fifteen children, all of whom have died. Her father was a big man and chief. When he died there was no son. Although he had brothers surviving him he left his estate to his daughter, Kau. Since he was so fond of her and had such respect for her, the brothers (although one of them might possibly have been chosen for the office) helped persuade the elders of the town to elect her.

Other matters relating to the town chief are described below 29 in connection with the clan chief.

Clan and Paramount Chiefs. 30 At the head of each clan is a clan chief. When the tribes were brought under control by the Government, certain clan chiefs of outstanding ability and power were designated "paramount chiefs" and given a nominal authority and responsibility over other clan chiefs of the area 31 never over a whole tribe. There are two such paramount chiefs for the Putu section of the Sapa; we are not certain as to the other sections. The Tie have one for each section of their tribe.

There is naturally considerable variation in the size of the territory of the different clans

of any given tribe and in the number of towns they inhabit. Some of the Half-Grebo clans have only three or four towns, and those not necessarily large. In general, the clans are larger in the north than in the southeast.

Each clan has its chief town where the clan chief resides. This is usually the oldest town, the place where the clan's earliest ancestors settled. Excepting such towns as have been founded with the chief's sanction by outsiders within the clan's territory, or those that have come under his authority through conquest, the towns of the clan have mostly been founded by households or families moving out from the original settlement.32 The need for protection against possible aggression, for the influence emanating from the clan's medicines, for the continued blessing and help of the original ancestor and the successive chiefs:33 these are the main factors that keep alive and close the bonds between the newer towns and the "capital."

Court Functionaries. The court of a clan or paramount chief consists of four or five functionaries. There is always an assistant or prime minister, known in the north as the "speaker." At the court of the paramount chief this officer is himself a powerful clan chief, usually the one next in line for the paramount chieftainship. (Most town chiefs of importance also have a speaker, so called.) Our interpreter in Half-Grebo called the speaker boloba, which may be a local term, since Half-Grebo

dialects vary a great deal.

Regarding this functionary, D'Ollone,34 writing of Sapa, states:

In all this forest region each chief has a minister who not only handles current affairs, but also, on serious and important occasions, holds forth in his [the chief's] name. It is very rarely that a chief himself talks; he contents himself with stating his opinion beforehand; it is then for the minister to lead the discussion and to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion by means of his own resources, in the presence of the chief and his notables, who remain mute and apparently indifferent to the arguments.

⁸¹ At the top of the social structure in the old days was the powerful "owner of the land." (See p. 417.) A few of these great men still exist, and where they have been designated paramount chiefs their authority is considerable.

⁸² See also pp. 31 ff. ⁸³ See p. 172.

84 D'Ollone, 1901, p. 127.

²⁰ See below.

The clan chief is called zu masa gi, Loma (masa masa gi, Loma) is old Mandingo for "chief of the country"); domi, Mano (probably a title of respect, as our interpreter called all chiefs by that name); boome va (boome meaning "rich one"; va, "big"), or se dēi (country's father), Gio; bloba, Half-Grebo; bio, Tie.

This, too, is his function in the north. He may also be sent to represent his chief when the latter does not wish to, or cannot, go himself. Sometimes the paramount chief sends his speaker to Monrovia (north) or to Cape Palmas (southeast) to speak for him before the authorities there. Sometimes the speaker is more of a figure than the chief himself.

A singer, who knows the history, traditions, customs, and folklore of the clan, also belongs to the court. Paramount Chief Towe's singer (Gio) had inherited the office from his father. In Sapa this officer is called ble ny 5, "sing person" or "minstrel." His insigne is an elephant's tail (fig. 74, e). From what the interpreters said, this individual seems to be a sort

of court entertainer and jester.

A town-crier (dabenu, Loma; duo si, Gio) is a third member. In Gio he is also the messenger. (All town chiefs have one, too.) In the north he is also known as the market-crier. In Half-Grebo and Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) the office of messenger is separate, at the courts of both clan and town chiefs. In Sapa only the town chief has a messenger.

In Tie, where a paramount chief's establishment is surrounded by a stick fence, the we sa ny5 (talk man) is stationed at the gate. He is a guard whose duty it is to announce anyone

wishing to see the chief.

Finally, there are the "palaver men" who have "strong mouf fo' talk palaba" when the chief goes on tour.35

The Chief's Insignia of Office. Insignia for clan chiefs of the north are the leopard's skin, teeth, and claws. Though some town chiefs are also entitled to them now, they were formerly the exclusive right of clan chiefs. In Gbunde and Loma the clan chief has a special mat of raffia, the like of which no one else may possess. In these two tribes both the clan and the town chief carry elephants' tails (fig. 74, e), while the chiefs of half-towns and family heads can carry only cows' tails (fig. 74, f). In the north, too, each clan or town chief has an ornamented spear or staff, or possibly both. In Mano and Gio we noted these two classes of chiefs carrying ornamented cows' tails; and in several instances in Gio, either those of horses or of elephants. These last two kinds, it was stated, were of comparatively recent introduction. The chief of Ganta (Mano) carried an ornamented machete as his insigne (fig. 65, j). Some of the Gio chiefs have the big

knife called gbwela.

In Half-Grebo the clan chief has a brassornamented staff that "belongs to all the country." It is said that the town chief has nothing special. In Sapa the chief has a staff. Formerly, he wore a horn (ram's?) ornamented with many small bells "to make a noise to announce his coming." In Tie the bio (clan chief) has a cow's tail, while each town chief has whatever he fancies; for example, we saw in the hands of one of these men a native axehead with medicine fastened to it by many fiber or fibercord wrappings.

From the above it will be seen that there is considerable latitude in what may be used for insignia. As one of these emblems is given to a messenger sent to call people or to make known the orders or wishes of the owner, the essential thing about it is that it be immediately recognizable as belonging to the particular

chief by whom it is sent.

The custom of using tails of animals as marks of rank and power was possibly introduced into the southeast from the northern tribes, who may have taken it over from the Mandingos. These, in turn, have probably adopted it from the Arabs. From travelers' reports it appears that Arab and Turkish rulers carry horses' tails. Lacking horses' tails, Liberian chiefs took those of other animals. The elephant's tail has become the highest symbol. The horse's tail is the symbol of the warrior; the cow's tail, that of lesser dignitaries. A black or brown one is for any zo; a white one for a 20 of more than ordinary rank.

The Chief's Property and Income. The chief's insignia are said to be clan property. Whatever else he owns belongs to him personally and he himself must buy it.

Clan chiefs in the north affect the wide, flowing tobe of the Sudan, 35a of the richest materials procurable, for all important occasions. Their ambition is to outdo all others in the size, quality, and number of these flowing robes. Sometimes they buy their wardrobes and keep up their establishments with little

scruple about how they get the money.

The clan chief levies no tribute of any sort, unless one regards as tribute his portion of all game killed, leopard skins and teeth (north), and elephants with their tusks and tails.³⁶ In Gbunde and Loma we were told that strangers who have been permitted to settle in the land,³⁷ as well as townsmen, are required by custom to give the clan chief a hamper of the first rice of the new crop. He may demand regular contributions in kind from the half-towns under him, but usually he asks only for voluntary contributions as needed. In Half-Grebo the stranger who makes a farm, even if he remains only one year, must pay the clan chief a goat or its equivalent.

In Gio the stranger expected to share with the town chief any game that he kills; and if he wishes to stand in well he gives presents of cloth or trade pots to the chief's wives. In Sapā when the squatter kills "town meat" he must follow the custom of the townspeople, that is, give one-half of it to the chief. He is also supposed to divide with the chief any

palm wine he makes.

The work required to help the chief with farm cutting, planting, and harvesting of rice (mostly north), and the building of a new house or palaver house (north), may be considered in the party of a result.

sidered in the nature of a tax.

One of the principal sources of income is the produce grown by the chief's household. This includes cocoa in the southeast and cola in the north. Other income includes the earnings of his household, the fish and game they kill, and profits from trade ventures. He receives the fines and payments in court matters in which he participates — except in the southeast and in Mano. (In the southeast the fines go to the patriarchs and the chief gets only a refund. In Mano, when the fine for a public offense is an animal, it is eaten by all the town; when it is paid in goods, these are divided among the elders.) Presents are given to the chief from time to time by those who choose that method

of keeping in good standing with him. These presents may include a daughter or a sister.38

Small presents given by a chief are a personal matter. When he gives larger ones, where family pride is involved, his family may help. To "big" presents, his town, and possibly the whole land, contribute. This is also true when visitors are entertained. Visitors are likely to include family heads; friends; messengers from other chiefs; Government officials; possibly a few soldiers; one or more diviners, doctors, and leeches (who may stay indefinitely but are usually only temporary residents); and travelers. If there are too many of them and the town's resources are not equal to the strain, the other towns of the clan are called on for contributions. This is also expected of them when a big feast is to take place. These feasts are costly affairs,39 especially if made in honor of, and to impress, a visiting "big person" or another clan chief. At one of these held at Abi zã (Gio) not only was there food sufficient to gorge all present, but pots, buckets, cloth, and salt were given away.

Formerly, when the clan made war, all participating towns had to help finance the expedition. If defeated, they all had to join in meeting the conditions imposed by the victors. When, at the conclusion of a war (Tiɛ), a clan chief decided to make a visit to re-establish friendly relations, the group of towns that helped him in the war all contributed to the presents he would "take in his hands." On leaving for home, custom required that he should be given more than he had brought. These gifts would then be distributed among the towns which had contributed.

Powers of the Clan Chief. As the father of his country the clan chief has supreme authority over it—theoretically. (According to Be, a Ti\(\tilde{\ell}\) bio, town affairs have come within his jurisdiction only since the Liberian Government has so decreed.) In practice, this authority is limited. An actual despot, ruling without reference to the council of elders and the cult and war leaders, would be very unpopular

³⁶ See p. 88. ³⁷ See pp. 90 and 418. ³⁸ Such a gift puts the chief under obligation to the donor, who thus obtains a strong arm on which to lean. In accepting a gift-woman the chief must, ex-

cept in Half-Grebo, assume a share of all obligations and debts which the father-in-law or brother thus acquired may have at the time.

**See also p. 262.

and would not last long. In Tie the council includes old women as well as old men. When considering matters of common interest they meet secretly at night in a house standing apart from the others. The approaches to it are well guarded. The Big Devil of the Poro is a still higher authority. When he speaks neither the clan chief nor any other person can "put his mouth there" - not even if the order is contrary to one issued by the clan chief and is detrimental to him. In Gbunde, Loma, and Mano the Big Devil can countermand or make inoperative any course of action of which he does not approve, even if the paramount chief, the council of elders, and the whole community are in accord that it should be done. Persons who have ventured to dispute his decision have been known to die suddenly. In Tie it is the cult leader called $d\varepsilon$ sã nyo — described as the "big palaver man," the big lawyer who has this power. In Half-Grebo the bodio (high priest) theoretically can countermand the clan chief's authority; practically, he must have the support of the assembly of patriarchs.40

The $g\varepsilon$ or $d\varepsilon$ zo (Gio), the head of the B5 cult, which is the Gio and G ε form of Poro, has no such standing among the people. According to the chiefs and old men, neither at Tapi Town or Abi zã (Paramount Chief Towe's town) is he superior even to the town chief. Rather, he supplements the latter's authority. If anyone refuses to obey the chief, the $g\varepsilon$ zo is called to "put his mouth into the palaver." When this, too, fails to produce the desired result the elders take up the matter and compel the offender to pay a fine.

In legal matters the clan chief is the last court of appeal. He also has the right to pardon offenders (north) and debtors (Tiɛ̃), but when he does so he becomes responsible for their actions and must settle for any future palaver or damage they cause.

It is the clan chief who calls people for clearing paths and other public works—except the construction of hanging bridges (north) which are the palaver of the big Bush Devil.⁴¹ If they fail to come (Sapa and Tie) he makes appeal to the Kele cult leader, who fines the family whatever he fancies—usually a goat or sheep or even a bullock.

40 See p. 166.

In the fighting days in the north the clan chief could not declare a war of aggression without the consent of the elders, if his town alone was involved; or without the consent of the clan's town chiefs, if it involved the whole clan. He could declare a war of defense if he knew that war was imminent and there was no time for deliberation or that hostilities had already begun. In Ti\u00e9 he could give the order for war, but not without the consent of the vo nyo (war leader).

For selling a freeman or "doing too much badness" a clan chief could be removed from office. This actually happened to Dagezo, one of the two paramount chiefs of the Gbea clan, whose town was Boge. He began seizing travelers who came into his country and selling them to the Bassa. When he sold a few of his fellow-clansmen as well, his own people turned against him and invited other clans to help make war on him. He was killed in the fight-

In Tie the vo nyo could declare war on and move against a paramount chief (bio) and force him to abdicate if he refused to pay his just debts, "made rascal," or conducted himself in a generally obnoxious and unworthy manner. Complaint was made in this way: The seriously wronged party carried an axehead and a folded, undeveloped frond from the heart of a young palm to the vo nyo, and stated his case. If it appeared that the plaintiff had a just cause, the vo nyo sent a messenger to the bio asking him to adjust the matter. If the bio sent back word that the charges were untrue, the palaver would be talked. If he disregarded the messenger, a second would be sent to ask if he was looking for war. If a disrespectful or unsatisfactory answer was given this time, the vo nyo called his warriors and went to the bio's town. Whether the matter was adjusted peacefully or a fight ensued, resulting in the burning of the town, depended on the chief's attitude when the warriors arrived.

Travels of the Clan Chief. When there are matters in a town or half-town of the clan that cannot well be adjusted at his seat of residence the clan chief goes to the town concerned. The size of his retinue depends upon the importance of the affair. His stay is as brief as pos-

⁴¹ See p. 52.

sible. If the place is not too far distant and the affair can be settled quickly, he does not usu-

ally stop on the way.

When he decides to make an inspection tour of his territory the towns are formally visited. His coming in this manner is a big, costly, and burdensome event for the places honored. He sometimes stays a week, sometimes two weeks, in a town. He is accompanied by a number of women,⁴² including his medicine woman (north); chair-bearers (a few boys); probably, his diviner; his speaker; several men who "know palaver" (are versed in the laws and customs of the people); and others. Since the town must do its best to provide food, drink (preferably trade gin), and entertainment, the visit means much work and expenditure for the townspeople.

Succession of Clan Chiefs. The matter of succession is more serious and complicated when a clan chief dies than when a mere town chief is concerned. Now and then a conqueror has forced himself upon an unwilling clan, but the succession of such a usurper—even if he is a clan member—seldom remains in his family.

These cases of a man's coming into the clan chieftainship by force or ability were, and are, comparatively rare. Old Sapã men insisted they had never heard of an outsider forcing himself upon one of their clans, nor had their fathers ever told them of such an occurrence. "It could not be done."

The legitimate succession in Gbunde passes from brother to brother and then, when the last of these has died, to the oldest son of the oldest brother. Whether the brothers entitled to the succession all have to be of the same mother, or whether it suffices for them to have one father, our informants did not state. In Loma the succession passes to the oldest brother if there is one; otherwise, to the oldest son (as Néel 43 also noted of the Loma in French Guinea). But here as in Mano, where the oldest brother is also the legitimate successor, this brother is actually a regent-chief until such time as he may see fit to hand the office over to his nephew, the late chief's oldest son, if he is still alive; if not, then to the next in line. In Gio the succession is the same

as for the town chief: from father to oldest living son. Paramount Chief Tows is the youngest son of his father, all his brothers having died before their father. If there is no son to inherit the office, the succession passes to the oldest living nephew in line and to his house. In Half-Grebo and Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) also it is the oldest son who inherits the position. If he is a minor, the council of elders and the patriarchs will act for him until he has reached the age of discretion. If he is a rascal he will be set aside in favor of his oldest paternal uncle.

When there is no legitimate successor to the chieftainship there are usually several candidates for the office, each pushing his claims in the manner practiced by politicians everywhere. From these, the town chiefs and the council of elders elect the one they most favor. In Tie, where the richest and most influential man of the late chief's family is elected to the office if there is no son, he must sometimes overcome the opposition of one or more rival candidates who are as "strong fo' mouf" as he is.

Custom requires that the new chief recognize his public obligations upon officially taking office. The Loma, through the spokesman of the clan's big men and the town chiefs, hand him some heirloom, such as his predecessor's knife or belt. The spokesman in a fatherly manner tells him: "Your father was our father. He led us well. We will listen to you and do whatever you say. If you act wisely we will all like, obey, and follow you. If not, you will be alone," and so on. He is expected to reply in a suitable manner. When a new town chief assumes office, the formalities are much the same.

In Gio, according to Paramount Chief Towe's singer, the council of elders and the town chiefs and sub-chiefs, after consulting among themselves, assisted by doctors and diviners, decide what sacrifice the new chief must make on the grave of his father or of the ancestors. He is also given certain charges and lectured on the way he is to conduct himself if he expects to be considered by his clan children as their father.

Westermann 44 records of the Kpelle that the new chief has to live for a shorter or longer

⁴² See also p. 194. 42 Néel, 1913, p. 471.

[&]quot;Westermann, 1921, p. 91.

time in a hut erected over the ancestral grave, in order to come into magical relationship with the ancestral spirits. The Gbunda and Loma claim never to have heard of such a custom,

though they adjoin the Kpelle.

In Tië, if the new chief should see his father in a dream or vision during the days of installation or jollification, he must carry a white cockerel to his father's grave. There he plucks out some of its feathers and lays them on the grave. Then he takes the cockerel back to town and has it washed in cold water by some member of his family — preferably one of his sons. After this the fowl is set free as a dedicated animal, a living sacrifice, to the departed father. When the cockerel dies the new chief must replace it by another, and that by another, for as long as he lives.

Some of the Gbunde said that on the day the ceremonies are over, when the newly elected ruler formally takes up his work, according to their old custom (and that of their neighbors, the Gbunde and Mende), he may be "humbugged plenty" (be struck, cursed, spat upon, or abused in any way one may choose). Everywhere there is a big feast, dancing, and general jollification on this day and much shooting of guns. In Half-Grebo the women are given a bullock to eat, in return for the fancy dancing with which they entertain the chief on his

accession.

AFRICAN ETIQUETTE

Rules of polite behavior are essentially the same in the different tribes, though they vary in details. In general, according to our standards, the tribesmen of the north and in Half-Grebo are better mannered than those of Sapã and Tiẽ. "The Gio are a courteous people, with better intelligence than many civilized persons," was the estimate given us by an official. (The term, "civilized," as used in Liberia, denotes natives who have adopted civilized dress and manners.)

Salutations. Friends passing each other on the road are expected to stop and greet each other. In Gbunde, Loma, and Mano, men and women shake hands in greeting, snapping the fingers of the right hand once or twice after the handclasp. In Loma women were observed snapping fingers as many as six times, expressing in this way their great pleasure at meeting. In Mano two women embrace, then stroke each other's hands. First the palm of the right hand is up and the left palm down; then each turns her hands over and they stroke palms again. Men also greet close friends in this way. The wife of our interpreter welcomed a distant relative and a friend in this manner. Another Mano greeting when intimate friends meet is as follows: One lays his hands twice in the other's outstretched ones, saying each time as he does so, "Ma(h)," then giving our conventional handshake. When the conventional handshake only is given, they say, "I yua [pl. ka yua]." Sometimes the common Gio greeting is used by the Mano: the grasping (slapping, it sometimes appeared to us) of the upper arm once or twice and saying, "A o, A o," to which the one greeted replies, "A o" or "Ha o," and is answered, "Ba bua."

If an acquaintance passes, and one is busy or does not wish to arise to shake hands, it is sufficient courtesy merely to show the hand partly extended.

The following greetings are exchanged by neighbors as one meets another on the road or in the village:

Loma — Morning: Ngwe! (You wake up.)
Answer: Boi, ngwe! (Friend, I wake.)
Afternoon: Yana! (You here.)
Answer: Boi ava! (Friend comes.)

Mano – Morning: Ba vuo! (sing.); Ka vu! (pl.) (You wake?)

Answer: Ba vu (different accent).

Evening: Tu a:! or I tu a:! (sing.); Ka tu a:! (pl.) (I see you again.)

A person returning after an absence of one or two weeks is greeted with, I sene!

Answer: 'N, iyua! (Good luck.)

Half-Grebo, Sapã — Morning: Mwulu lio! (Light has come.)

Answer: Mwulu lio!
Evening: Wulu wao! (Light has finished.)

Answer: Aponyinio.

Sapã (a favorite) — Talo!

Answer: A o! or Ta ngalio!

Webo (occasionally) - Wololo!

Answer: Mai wololo!

⁴⁵ See p. 372.

Ketibo (occasionally) — E bieliu! (sing.); E biealiu! (pl.)

Answer: O mbieliu! (by one person); Waa! (in unison by a group).

The greetings of close relatives are more intimate than those of friends or acquaintances. A son or daughter returning after an absence sits on the parents' knees in greeting. (Loma, Gio, Sapa.) If the child is small the father sets the child on his hip, the mother sets it on her back and carries it about tied to herself with her cloth, as the women of the north carry their babies. (Sapa.) A father's return is celebrated by dancing and singing. In Sapa brothers were seen greeting each other after an absence of months. They first embraced by putting their arms loosely around each other, then said, "Talo!" five or six times. When a Sapā man returns from a journey his wife goes to meet him with a white fowl in her hand as a sign that she has been faithful to him during his absence.

Early explorers in northern Liberia gave offense to chiefs which the chiefs never forgave them, because they did not know that after they had been asked their names and had told them, good form required that they, in turn, ask the chief's name.

We witnessed the return from Monrovia of a Gio sub-chief, the old "King" Tapi's brother. About five o'clock in the morning we were awakened by a beating of drums, that sounded at intervals like the marching of many feet, then again like horses going by, interspersed with dance rhythms. When the beating ceased for a time we heard women's voices in song and the stamping of their feet as they wildly danced about. Later we went to the place of the festivities. Many women, bedaubed with kaolin, were dancing in the open spaces and in and out among the houses. Two young bucks with brass-ornamented capguns kept shooting as fast as they could charge their muzzle-loaders.

The sub-chief himself, dressed in a flowing black toba and a black plush cap, was strutting about, the center of a crowd. After a time, everybody stopped at a large open space in front of a house, the crowd made way, and he danced Gio "pigeon wings" to an accom-

paniment beaten on an old syrup tin. He kept smiling and talking the while to individuals in the circle of applauding admirers and to an older man and woman who were standing inside the circle. This woman held a pan containing a small quantity of rice intended as a gift to him. From time to time a whistle was blown (in imitation of officials and whites) and the drumming and dancing ceased. The woman holding the pan first called another woman, evidently one of the sub-chief's wives. into the ring. After her, others were called, one at a time. Some of them the sub-chief embraced as they entered. To one he gave a headdress. Most of them had brought small gifts of some kind for him - peanuts, rice, a strip of native cloth, a white cockerel - in token of friendly feeling. All these were accepted and passed on to the persons forming the ring.

This part of the welcome-home was climaxed when a man passed out a sizable bottle of trade gin and a small glass, both of which the older man took. He then acted as chamberlain: uncorking the bottle, pouring out a drink first for himself, then for the sub-chief, the other chiefs who were present, and lastly for the woman who had been standing with him in the center of the ring. The woman choked on the burning stuff but managed to drain the glass. "Gin finish, all finish," explained our interpreter. He had scarcely said it, when the gathering broke up. The reception was over.

Hospitality. The hospitality accorded a visiting stranger or guest depends both upon the individual and the motive he has for his coming. His social standing and wealth, coupled with his reputation for generosity or avarice, are taken into account. One of our Mano interpreters said, "A man or woman may kill a duck or a chicken for a friend, but sheep and goats are reserved for big chiefs or big events." A "big stranger" is a circus the first day; the second, a sideshow; the third, a nuisance; and after that a plague. We have often experienced this change of attitude after three days in a town.

When a stranger arrives at a town he does not first go to pay his respects to the chief (as is customary among the southern Cameroun tribes); he goes at once to the house of the person he has come to visit. If his visit is to one other than the family head, he will be taken

to pay his respects to the latter by the man whom he is visiting.

If, on arriving, he sees people in the rice kitchen of the man he is seeking he will enter the kitchen; if not, he will go directly to the house and sit down. (Mano.) After he has had time to wipe the perspiration from his face and rest a bit, his host says, "Va be na [what news there]?" He answers, "Fā nyō ɛ le na [no bad news there]." Then his host silently hands him a few cola nuts, a sign of welcome, and a "clean heart"; that is, he has nothing in his heart against the visitor nor is he planning any treachery against him. If the cola nuts are not given, the visitor knows he is not welcome. (Loma.)

When we were in one town of Loma we entered the house of a woman of importance and sat down. Before we left she gave us a chicken and ten cola nuts, most of them large white ones, considered much superior to the red. She later came to our house with some other women to make a return visit, remaining until she considered that our counter-gifts at least equaled in value her own gifts to us.

A visitor knows that he has been accepted and placed under the protection of his host after he has been given "cold water" (palm wine, rice, and so on) and "soup" (meat or dried fish).

In a certain Ge clan it is a mark of disrespect to give a drink of water with the right hand. It should be given with the left hand. No one will accept it if the giver has his thumb over the rim of the vessel. The origin of this rule of etiquette, which is really a precautionary measure, is as follows: The founder of the tribe was poisoned by a drink of palm wine. The poisoner had put the medicine on his right thumb by sticking it into his poison bag (worn at the right) and had put his thumb into the vessel while handing it to the victim. So today, if someone sticks his thumb over the rim when he is passing a drink to another, he is compelled to drink the contents of the vessel himself. Thus a poisoner occasionally must drink his own poison and suffer the consequences.

If the visitor is to spend the night, his host will have food cooked for him — rice, palm oil, dried meat or fish, chicken, or goat. On

receiving this, the visitor is not expected to say anything. The pot of cooked food is placed before the host, after the cook has first tasted it to prove it is free from poison. The host also may taste it, as a further proof, before setting it in front of his friend or calling him to the pot. The guest first eats his fill, as is polite, but leaves some for others. (In Sapa the food is placed before the guest only.) If he is not a stranger, his host eats with him.

If a fowl is set before a guest he does not begin to eat it until he has assured himself that the gizzard is in the pot (Mano, Gio), fearing that it may have been kept out to make medicine against him.46 This, the guest himself always eats. If it is not in the pot he may refrain from eating; or, if he is too hungry, he may eat and later tell people about the reception he received, saying that his friend "cooked nothing" for him. The Mano host himself eats the head, the lower part of one wing and one lower leg. If the visitor wishes to be generous and share more with the host he gives him the rest of the leg. This goes to the wife as her portion for having cooked it. The Sapa guest looks for and eats the feet, heart, lungs, liver, and head. The rest of the fowl he divides with his host. If he does not find these parts of the fowl the guest may refuse to taste it. The host is then bound by custom to "kill" him another fowl or a goat. In Gio the host does not eat of the food cooked for the guest. The head and intestines of the chicken go to the children; the person who has killed it gets the

A fellow-villager or a casual visitor is simply asked to share the pot with his host. If the host is not hungry he may tell someone near him to place the pot before his guest, or he may ask the guest himself to come and get the pot and eat. In this case the guest eats everything. A casual visitor is not expected to give anything in return for hospitality shown him. If he should offer anything the host might be offended.

To enter a house during the daytime unasked, or without first speaking or asking permission, is not an offense unless the door has been fastened. A house is open when an inmate is at home. A visitor to a community usually has an axe of some sort to grind. He may come to request help in paying debts or to acquire a wife. He may have some trade in mind. He may have been ill treated at home or have reason to fear that he will be bewitched. Again, he may merely be paying a return visit, in which case he will expect to receive more than he gave when his friend visited him.

The visitor does not sit idly by watching his friends work. After resting for two to five days, depending on how great a distance he has come, he helps his host with whatever work he has to do; for example, farm work or building. The women guests, or wives of a guest, help with the cooking and work in the farm with their hostess. They all act as if they belonged to the household and were at home in the town. One would, indeed, take them

for natives of the place.

Once he has accepted a guest, an African host will put himself to a great deal of trouble to help him accomplish the purpose of his visit. If, for example, he cannot raise enough goods in town to meet his guest's requirements, he will after a time (usually a month, but sometimes as early as the next day) tell his friend to wait a month or so, after which time he will let him know whether he has been able to raise the required amount. He may then entrust his household to the care of his guest or his brother or head wife and go in search of the goods, being absent sometimes as long as two or three years. (Gio.) In Mano, if the host has only one wife and her people do not live too far away, he may leave her with her parents until he comes back. If the guest is married and has one or more of his wives with him, he will set up his establishment and virtually become a member of the community during the time his friend is away.

If a guest is unmarried his host may "give" him his sister or daughter for a "friend" for as long as he remains in town, provided the woman consents. In Sapa the woman put at the service of a guest is to act only in the capacity of servant, to cook, draw water, and care for him generally. She does not sleep with him. When he leaves, if they like each other, he may marry her and take her with him. Otherwise he gives her presents of cloth and

other things that women like.

If the guest sees a girl in town whom he desires for his wife he tells his host, who then becomes the go-between. (Mano.) If an agreement is reached she lives with him. The host. if he is a bosom friend, may give him the money or goods with which to marry her. This is not considered as a loan but as a gift. The work the guest does while in town is considered sufficient compensation. Guests who thus marry into the community sometimes remain to become residents, especially if the woman is to be paid for in installments. (Loma and Tie.) If such an outsider then acquires a number of wives he may be given a section of the town for his own. In any event his posterity will remain there, because his grave will be there. (Loma.)

A guest everywhere enjoys the right of asylum. The family with whom he stays becomes responsible for him and his deeds. To insult or threaten or injure the guest is equivalent to doing the same to his host. In Tie, if a guest mixes in a palaver and someone says, "What have you to do with this? You are a stranger," it is an insult. A friend will protect his guest if necessary with weapons, and will even wreak vengeance if one of an unfriendly clan or tribe kills him. In the old days the person of the guest was sacred so long as his people and his host's people were at peace with each other. If war broke out between their people, they automatically became enemies and the host might seize the guest and kill him.

In Loma, if a man's "stranger" dies from illness, his people are informed so that they may come and carry his corpse away. If they live far far off they may delay their journey for as long as a year, in which case they may carry the bones away. Every stranger is buried in a shallow grave and with a light covering of earth to facilitate the removal of his bones. Such graves

are carefully marked.

We heard an account of a "stranger" who had killed himself in a Mano town. His people demanded payment. Though the official before whom this palaver was brought advised the host not to pay, the townspeople thought it wiser to adhere to custom and paid fifteen native cloths. They prefer to make a settlement, sometimes paying as much as a bullock to insure themselves against reprisal. In Sapa the relatives are not satisfied unless the witch-

person who supposedly caused the death has been found and subjected to the sasswood ordeal.

It is difficult for us to realize the narrow limits within which the tribesman formerly had to confine his travels. His visits were practically limited to friends or relatives living within the borders of his own clan. Possibly, he might cross the border and go to a neighboring clan, provided always that there was peace. The outsider who had no friend or relative in foreign parts might be allowed to come in on important business and stay for a time—the shorter the better, unless he brought something by which the locality might profit materially; but he could not pass and go farther.

A clan's territory much resembled a walled-in estate, where one might enter and be received but could not pass through. Our interpreter stated that in the old days he had seen strangers, who had come into a Gio town and tried to pass beyond, forced to set down their belongings, after which they were seized and shot. As a result of restricted travel the members of one clan might become acquainted only with their immediate clan-neighbors. Those farther on remained practically, if not entirely, unknown except to emissaries sent on important business, or to warriors. Early explorers passing through the country, not only in Liberia, but in primitive Africa as a whole, received the same kind of treatment.

TRADE

Trade had its origin and was sustained and increased by the exceptionally strong need of primitive man for companionship: his desire to communicate news, to gossip, and to tell stories. On friendly visits articles were often seen which had come from other parts. Almost imperceptibly, trade sprang up - an inter-town, clan, or tribal trade. Men at the coast traded with the next group toward the interior. Professional traders appeared when the way was opened for them, or they got in by paying tribute, or by force. Our interpreter was one of these traders. His object was to buy rubber, which is plentiful in Gioland. Here he established himself and kept on good terms with the local authorities by judiciously making gifts to the proper persons from time to time. (Among these gifts, gin took the lead.) Nor did he forget the importance of standing in well with the local ladies, whose goodwill was most important if one wished to live securely among the unsubdued maneaters twenty-five years ago.

Before it was possible for traders to go into the interior, trade with the coast was conducted as follows: At the coast a native bought an article from a trader. This he sold to someone in the next clan toward the interior. The buyer sold it to someone in the clan beyond his own, and thus the article passed to the hinterland until it finally found a buyer who did not let it go farther. The matter was simple: in each transaction the seller augmented the price as much as he could. The buyer, who was very seldom able to pay either in cash or kind, bought and resold on credit. This continued, the article passing toward the interior from one buyer to another, until it finally came into the hands of one who could and did pay. Whatever was obtained for it — usually goats, sheep, fowls, or cattle, if a big sale had been made then made the reverse journey via each creditor and finally reached the coast. There the original seller "cashed" the payment, and after taking his profit, sent the rest on to the next buyer, and so on, until what was left — little enough —got to the last seller on credit. The time required to liquidate such a transaction was considerable. Everyone in the chain knew the whole story, from one end to the other and back again. The system depended upon mutual realization of profits at each step in the

Captain D'Ollone ⁴⁷ has left a record of the beginning of the cola trade among a tribe he called the Gons or Ngueres. Part of these are indicated on his map as living in what seems to be the region occupied by the Gio. He indicates the supposed habitat of a clan which he named Deos. They were to the west of the route traversed by him and his party and may possibly be meant for the Gio proper, who

called themselves De.

⁴⁷ D'Ollone, 1901, pp. 197 ff. See also p. 178.

He met two itinerant Mandingo traders at the town of Diaro Bondo, paramount chief of the Gon clan which he called the Hounés, living near the Cavally, not very far from Tapi Town. These two Mandingos, he learned, had been permitted to enter that region because of an arrangement between the chief of the Hounés and Badia Galao, a Sudanese chief who had fled with his people in 1892 to escape the raiding hosts led by one of the infamous Samory's lieutenants. Badia and his people settled at Ngo, a town of the Gons, located at the foot of the Nimba Mountain mass, just over the present Liberian frontier, in what is now French Guinea. He kept in communication with the Sudan. From there his traders brought salt, cloth, cattle, and captives, which they exchanged with the forest peoples of those regions for cola nuts. It appears that the prospect of buying slave-captives was the chief reason for the freedom of movement permitted the traders, as the Gons were "des anthropophages pratiquant et passionnés" 48 — a characteristic of the Gio.49 Although they had cattle and other domestic animals in abundance they preferred human flesh. The slave-captives were bought for cola nuts. Those not eaten were traded with other tribes until they finally reached the slaving ships on the coast.

Before reaching the country of the Gons, D'Ollone passed through that of a small tribe he calls the Kopo's, living north of the Tie. Remarking on the abundance of cola trees in that region, he cites Binger as stating that there existed a secret society in the Sudan whose object was the transportation of cola nuts from all the forest region to the Sudan "to prevent this mystery of the forest from becoming known." 50 Traveling on from this region he found near each village a circular place cut out of the forest and evidently used as a meeting place, possibly as a market. He says, "We found bales of cola nuts, well packed as though for a long journey, with marks painted on them, perhaps those of their owners or of the consignee." 51 We have remarked somewhat at length on this, because we found considerable cola trading at the Mano markets when we

were there, though the season for these nuts was about over in the north.

MARKETS

While trade has long been carried on in most parts of the country in the manner described above, and more recently by traders, markets have recently been introduced in Gio and in Tie at the instigation of Government officials. In the other parts of the southeast none had been established up to the time of our leaving. In Gbunde, Loma, northern Kpelle, and Mano, where the market has long been an institution, it has come in through Mandingo influence. Some of the market places give indications of having been established for a considerable time (figs. 59 and 60). The market was always a neutral ground where even enemies might meet without concern for their safety and where the carrying of anything which might be used as a weapon was absolutely prohibited.⁵²

The old Gbunde manner of establishing a market was as follows: Any person wishing to establish one sent a notice to all the surrounding clans and tribes whose people might possibly come to trade there. Accompanying the notice were seven "irons" (Kisi pennies) and a white cloth for each of the paramount chiefs notified. After this had been done, the day for holding the market was proposed and agreed upon at a "parley of the chief." This day was not allowed to conflict with other market days already established. On the opening day all chiefs sent representatives with goods to barter or sell. A "country" where a market was located sent people from all its towns. The chiefs made representation of every town compulsory. On the day previous to market day no selling was allowed in the small markets of the participating towns.

The market place is usually a shady spot between two towns or just outside a town. That at Tapi Town was held in sheds without sides, built around three sides of an open court. We found the best and largest markets at the big

towns near Government posts.

⁴⁸ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 209. 49 See also p. 93. 50 D'Ollone, 1901, p. 151.

⁵² D'Ollone, 1901, p. 152. ⁵² See p. 236.

In the north, especially among the Loma and Mano, we saw well-developed and well-attended markets with produce in plenty. The gathering was apparently of social importance.

In Gbunde, Loma, and Mano, the name for market, l_2 , d_2 , has become the accepted term for "week." Days derive their names from the

different markets.53

On market days, before the market is opened for trade, any babies who are brought for the first time are "initiated to market" by touching them to the ground — girls three times, boys four times. (Mano.) We saw this done at Sakripie. Each time the baby came in contact with the ground onlookers chorused, "Hou."

Everyone must wait until the signal is given before beginning to buy and sell. After most of the people have gathered, which is sometimes as late as noon, the chief, through the town-crier, makes known any new laws of the elders, any announcements of his own, or anything that may be of general interest to the

people.

The lowering of a string stretched between two trees, followed by handclapping from the market men and women, is the signal for buying and selling to begin at Pandamai, Zorzor, and Sakripie. In Mano and Gio the town- or market-crier, waving his cow's tail (fig. 59, b) to include all present, may simply announce the opening. All respond by clapping hands and shouting, "A o." A Mano market seen at Zuluyi was typical of all the larger ones, except that this was a more important occasion than usual, being the first appearance of the paramount chief after a trip to Monrovia. On this account the opening seems to have been unusually formal.

The people begin straggling in about the middle of the morning. The market place gradually assumes an air of festivity. People are seated in groups: on blankets, on coiled cloths that have been used as head pads, on wooden stools, on the roots of trees, on the bare ground. Their wares are scattered around them. Walking in and out of the groups, or self-consciously standing near their own, are girls and young women in holiday attire. One

has a streak of yellow clay down the middle of her forehead, a streak over the eyelids to the temples, and a black streak from the nose down across the middle of the chin. Another is streaked with white clay around the eyes, looking from a distance as if she wore spectacles. There is one girl adorned with a necklace of leopard's teeth and one lion's tooth, bought dearly from a Sudanese peddler; she has marks on her abdomen. There are women wearing the attractive blue-and-white native cloths fastened around the loins or chest, men in simple native shirts, and Mandingo traders in long, flowing robes.⁵⁴

A Mandingo man blows a whistle for an order. An old man appears carrying a cow's tail. To the front of his blue-and-white striped robe of native cloth are fastened his old man's cap and two medicine horns ornamented with bunches of cowrie shells. He also wears a necklace of large crystal and blue beads. He greets us with three snaps of his fingers, looks over the various groups, greets friends among

them, and disappears for a moment.

When he returns he calls, "All sit down. Don't fear white man. Today any people come

[all may come]."

The crowd waits; becomes impatient. At last the paramount chief and his party arrive. The people must always wait for the dignitary, whether District Commissioner, paramount chief, or speaker.

The crier announces, "Paramount chief

comes. Quiet! Quiet!"

Two iron folding chairs brought from Monrovia stand ready. The young lads who have been resting their legs on the backs of the chairs rise to attention. The paramount chief and speaker sit down. The mustached paramount chief has on a white helmet, a wide blue-and-white striped robe of country cloth, European trousers under it, and shoes. He carries an umbrella. The paramount chief is scarcely seated when he arises, the speaker with him to interpret for him. The speaker takes the cow's tail from the old crier and proceeds to interpret the words of the paramount chief for us.

near French territory. They exchanged cloth, salt, and tobacco from the Sudan for cola and produce.

See p. 67.
The Mandingos began coming to Mano markets about 1920, trading first at the old market at Busi,

"Hello! Thank you! New Secretary [of the Interior] make town clean. I come from Monrovia. I see my town good. People say at Monrovia, Mano country no good, no people stay in town. I come and see all people in town. I see market good. I thank you. People have cola, sit down in one place. Why I come and no see plenty Mandingo people? Mano plenty."

A Mandingo arises here and says, "If Mandingo people buy cola there is no way to pass

for [to] French side."

The chief continues, "Mandingo people must buy what people bring to market. If they no buy, Mano people no come. People must come at twelve o'clock. [It was then five.] Make no palaver at market. After market go home, cut farm, so we have rice for market. Must not leave fire in house when go to farm; must leave water there so town no catch fire. They tell me at Monrovia when I come back I find no people in Mano. I find many people. I thank you."

The speaker, switching the tail around toward all, now calls to each group, "Market begin now! Ai! ai ai! Market is open!" A chorus of shouting assent arises, and again the air is filled with the bargaining voices and the sound of the rattling calabashes and pans.

At Ganta the Mandingos have to show the camp-master their trading permits before the opening of market (fig. 59, a). When we were there a new law had evidently been passed at Monrovia; for the crier told them: "All who wish to take cola to French side must first get permission from the station-master. If they don't, they will be put in prison, their father and mother all will go to Sanokwele." At Sakripie, where we were two weeks later, the Mandingos attended in great numbers, selling much cloth, both native and imported.

The following is a list of things we saw at the market. Brought by the natives: cows' skins and hoofs; fresh cow meat; chickens; eggs; dried fish and antelope meat; dried termites, caterpillars, and grasshoppers; snails (Achatina); rice; guinea corn; Kaffir corn; beni-seed; taro; cassava roots, both fresh and dried; plantains; lima beans, white and red;

greens; onions; toasted flat seeds of Cucumeropsis edulis; small red tomatoes; native eggplant; pumpkins; sweet potatoes; shelled corn; red peppers; black pepper; dried okra; dried mushrooms; peanuts; bananas; pineapples; papayas; limes; wild mango kernels; palm oil; palm nuts; cola nuts; nuts of the tree Coula edulis; native cloth; native cotton yarn; horns for snuff; calabashes of all sizes; rice fanners; leaves of the bo tree (Mitragyne stipulosa), for lining the braided palm-leaf kinja's in which cola nuts are carried; vine tooth-brushes; clay pots; etc. Brought by the traders: enamel basins, iron for axe heads, cutlasses, pocketknives, key-rings, mirrors, perfume, tin combs, beads, aluminum bracelets, small lengths of half-inch bar aluminum for making jewelry, galvanized iron buckets, iron pots, matches, fish hooks, tobacco, snuff, cigarettes, shirts, shorts, cheap cotton cloth, calico dresses, soap, indigo leaves for dyeing cotton (fig. 60, e), salt, old felt hats, and kerosene.

LEGAL TENDER

When goods were sold for money French coins were used: the tama, the silver franc (Mano and GE); "Louis" five-franc pieces and old "Maria Theresa" dollars, each valued at two English shillings.⁵⁵ English shillings, sixpence and threepence pieces, and Liberian coppers have been more recently introduced.

The rate of exchange at Ganta and Sanokwele in 1928 was two and a half francs for an English shilling, at that time worth about twenty-four cents. English two-shilling and sixpence pieces were accepted with reluctance at some markets. Old shillings bearing the image of the late Queen Victoria were usually refused. The reason was that "dem ole Mammy go die; him money go die too." For sales in towns most people in the north, outside of Gio, refused anything but "palm tree" shillings (coined by the Bank of British West Africa). The Gio, who have closer relations with the coast than the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano, accepted everything, even threepence pieces. Small English coins were accepted throughout the southeast.

⁵⁵ More recently French money has been used to a much smaller extent. Most of the old French coins have been called in. Paper money, in use across the

French border, is sometimes seen. The coinage of Liberian copper coins partly fills the need for small change. G.W.H.

Other legal tender we saw or heard of were as follows:

1. Kisi pennies or "irons," used in Gbunde and Loma. These were introduced from the Kisi country (fig. 65, w). They are exchanged at the rate of twenty for one shilling and form the small money of the northwestern tribes. We saw a smith making some of them. He said that formerly they were forged from iron smelted locally but that now any kind of iron is used, chiefly worn-out and broken tools and utensils. For convenience in handling larger transactions before the introduction of money, these irons were made up into bundles, twenty to the bundle. With the coming of the English shilling the rate of one bundle for one shilling was easily established. They formed the unit of the "head of money," as the price of a slave was formerly called. This varied in different localities and fluctuated a little with the available supply of slaves. As reported in Pandamai the price of slaves when they were sold in the markets was from 9 to 120 bundles.

For a small child, about 9 bundles.

For a boy of ten to fourteen years, about 15 bundles.

For a young man, 60 to 100 bundles.

For a woman, 100 to 120 bundles.

2. Small brass bars (Mano). These were said to be the pelds, the "mother of all things." ⁵⁶ The term is now used for English coin.

3. Brass ornaments. These were formerly used as money in some parts of the southeast. In Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) anklets of this metal (large ones) were valued at two for a goat. In Mano a brass bracelet was formerly worth about one shilling.

4. Tobacco. The strong, black, Virginia leaf, is valued in the interior at half a shilling the five-leaf head. This value was changed by decree at Monrovia before we left to three heads for a shilling, but the new rate was slow to reach the far interior.

5. Native cloth, homespun cotton in strips four inches wide. This medium of exchange was worth about five cents per fathom.

MARKET PRICES IN THE NORTH

Live Domestic Animals.

Horse – In the old days, 100 prisoners (slaves); now, 5 pounds to 10 pounds sterling.

56 See p. 362.

Cow (small) - 3 brass pails, 2 galvanized iron pails and 1 white enameled pail; or 7 native cloths now valued at 5 to 6 shillings each.

Large bull – up to 7 pounds sterling. Cockerel (medium size) – 1 shilling.

Cooked cow skin, a portion (2 in. sq.) -1 cola nut (Zuluyi).

Cooked cow's hoof - 1 tama (Zuluyi).

1 egg - 1 English penny or 2 "irons" (Kisi pennies).

Vegetables, Fruit, etc.

	Loma	Mano	Gio
5 or 6 taros or			
sweet potatoes	ı iron	1 spoonful of salt	r leaf-im- ported tobacco
1 large squash or			
pumpkin		ı tama	r leaf im- ported tobacco
1 hand (cluster)			
of plantains r small basket	ı iron	ı tama	
small tomatoes			1 leaf im- ported
			tobacco
1 handful of pea-	-		
nuts	ı iron		

r pineapple r iron or r empty tin can

r gallon of palm

oil sixpence to 3 tamas 1 shilling

Household Articles (Mano).

Vine toothbrush - 1 cola nut (Ganta)

I bundle native tobacco leaves, dried - I tama (Ganta).

I flat, triangular piece of trade iron for forging an axe - I shilling (Ganta).

I large calabash - 2 tamas to I shilling (Zuluyi).

Leaves of the bo tree for lining hampers - 12 for 1 ola (Ganta).

Soap balls about 2 inches in diameter - 4 for 1 shilling.

European Articles.

r elephant-hoof

bracelet

	Loma	Mano	Gio
r salt bar, about			
8" by 2" by 3"	10 irons		
r salt bar, about			
o" by 4" by 2"			r shilling
r aluminum brac-			100
elet		ı tama	
r silver bracelet	no fixed	Up to 5	
	price	shillings	

2 for I

shilling

Native Cloth.

Gbunde Mano (Ganta)

ı narrow strip,

white 4 irons per 1 tama fathom

These strips of native woven cloth were being bought by the fathom. In Sakripie especially we noted smaller men calling the tallest friends they could locate to come and buy these strips for them. It was amusing to watch these tall ones trying to stretch their long arms as far as possible.

Regarding trade and prices in the old days,

D'Ollone says: 57

These people have a passion for commerce and make of it their constant occupation.

This commerce revolves around four principal articles: women, cattle, guns, captives; these last reserved for the very rich. All have their fixed price with slight variations caused by the state of the object itself.

Here is the tariff of the forest:

A head of cattle is worth three guns, a 10-lb. keg of powder, two fathoms of cloth.

A male captive: four guns, a keg of powder, four fathoms of cloth, a hat, a machete, a cooking-pot, twenty gun-flints, four heads of tobacco.

A female captive: three guns, three fathoms of cloth, a machete, ten gun-flints, three heads of to-bacco.

A sheep or goat: one gun or a 20-lb. keg of powder.

The above prices ruled among the clans back from the coast and east of the Cavally, in what is now the French Ivory Coast. These people are related to the Half-Grebo and others living near that river, among whom practically the same exchange values are current today—except those of war captives, which no longer exist and could not be sold if they did.

⁵⁷ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 85.

SEX

IMPORTANCE OF SEX IN THE NATIVE CULTURE

THE attitude of the Liberian native toward sex is entirely frank. He accepts it as a matter of course, as he does every other physical function. The essential facts of conception and reproduction are well known.1 Birth control is universally practiced through the use of abortifacients. When the young people are ripe for marital responsibilities they are permitted a wide variety of legal and extra-legal

arrangements.

This is not to say that sex is taken lightly. On the contrary, there is a universal, serious concern with it, as a potent influence in all the affairs of men. Every crisis in life — unless it is death from old age — has its sexual implications. Failure in important undertakings is frequently attributed to broken sex taboos.2 The diviner, seeking to explain sickness or calamity, always investigates broken taboos, of which the sex taboos are first to be suspected. Puberty rites have a large place in the culture, especially where the Poro and Sande exist, and during these rites, continence and chastity

were, until recent times, rigidly enforced. Sexual indulgence by the initiate during his term of residence in the Bush school was one of two offenses which were punishable by death.3

In fact, sex plays so large a part in the native thinking that one is bewildered until one realizes that one of the bases of the native religion is an earth-mother fertility cult.4 Among the most sacred religious objects are those that "belong to the earth itself"; the highest sacrifices are made for the fertility of the crops; the rites of circumcision are believed to be absolutely necessary for the fertility of the tribe. At the same time, sex is not worshiped as such. There is no equivalent of the old god, Eros, or the more attractive goddess, Aphrodite. Neither is asceticism particularly esteemed. In the north wives or daughters may be dedicated to chastity for the supposed blessing of a community or clan. Men never are. Nor are eunuchs made, for this or any other purpose.

SEXUAL HABITS OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

The Age of Innocence. Children of both sexes are considered "innocent" before initiation into the puberty cults, but not in the sense that they are without knowledge of sex. It is no secret that all normal human beings possess sex organs, and sex matters are discussed freely and openly. There is no hemming and hawing, no blushing, or glancing around to see if the children are listening. Living, as the Liberian household does, in a one-room hut, it is, indeed, impossible to conceal sexual activity from the children, who may imitate their elders by playing at being husband and wife. The children are innocent in the sense that they are held to be sinless until they have come out of the Bush

Considerable advantage is often taken of this condition of sinlessness by women who would have scruples about committing adultery with adult males. Women whose husbands are absent, or have grown neglectful, invite uninitiated boys into their huts to "play" with them. Older women, too, "whom men refuse to look at," often do this.5

¹There is, of course, no knowledge of the physiological processes involved. No one could state where the seeds of life came from or how they grew. No one seemed to know the function of the testicles. "It is all a thing we do not know. Our fathers did not know. They told us nothing."

² Occasionally, for reasons of his own, the diviner may blame "black magic." This is especially likely in the case of pure accidents, of "acts of God." On

this subject, see also pp. 381-82, 84, and 86.

The other offense is the revelation of high cult secrets to an outsider.

The other two, equally important, are ancestor worship and hidden magical powers.

⁵We were once beseeched by a distracted mother in the Cameroun to permit her boy to come to us because there were no men in town and the other women were "killing him" by this sort of play.

In Sapa and Tie, and possibly in other parts of the southeast, there is a custom that would never be allowed in the north where Sande schools are common. A young aristocrat dresses himself up in the best finery he can secure and goes strutting about looking for young girl "friends." When he sees a girl who pleases him he approaches her father and mother to get their consent. If he is particularly attractive he may collect as many as a dozen such friends. Those who are sufficiently developed for "play" intercourse sleep with him in the loft of his hut, while those still too young sleep on the floor below. It is not good form for one of these girls to have any other male friends until she has had a child by this one; after that it is permissible. She may remain in such a relationship until she has had one or two or even three children before she is married off. She is free, however, to go back to her home-town whenever she is so inclined. Young aristocrats pay nothing to parents for thus "befriending" their daughters. Perhaps it is considered an honor to be so befriended by a man of higher caste.6

These girls are not despised by others or by themselves. With the African, intimate friendship between a boy and a girl includes the ultimate privilege of sexual relations. The girls living in the house of the young buck are the belles of the community. Desired and highly desirable, they are sure of proposals of marriage from other young eligibles. A girl who has never been desired (and therefore possessed) by a man of a higher caste is likely to be late in marrying and to bring less dowry to

her parents.

The Bush Schools.7 Puberty is recognized as an extremely important period in the life of the individual. "When the hair is beginning to grow in the armpits and the pubic region, we know our children are becoming men and women." At this time the youth participate in religious rites that correspond, in a sense, to confirmation by the church. This is also the period of apprenticeship to life, of learning to take on adult responsibilities.

Before a boy goes into the Bush he often seems to think that sex is the only thing worth

⁶ The attitude of primitive people on this subject is an exaggerated and open expression of the tendencies of human beings the world over.

his attention. In the Poro he is kept busy for several years, with learning a trade and with cult matters. The only woman in the place is old mother Wai,8 who rules with an iron hand. The boy learns that there is a great deal of life left even when sexual intercourse is denied him.

Girls in the Sande also learn to get along without sex. Though they learn something of feminine hygiene, and there is much talk of husbands and babies, intercourse is absolutely taboo. Their schooling takes a domestic turn. They learn to sing and dance, to cook and spin, to use native herbs in the care of the sick and. finally, how to hold the respect of their future husbands in the many little ways that women know all over the world. They also learn a more drastic means of control, the art of poisoning. Few women actually put this knowledge into practice, but their possession of it is sufficient to keep most husbands more or less in line.

Unmarried Youth. The initiated have left the Age of Innocence behind. Young men and women coming out of the Bush must keep the laws or take the consequences. At first they exhibit some reticence in sexual behavior, occasioned by their new sense of responsibility, but this is not long in giving way to desire, and is soon put aside altogether by both youth and maiden at this, their love and mating time. One young man boasted that he had been with seventy different women whom he could name and with many more he could not remember. All this is winked at so long as religious restrictions are observed. These include taboos against sexual indulgence during the daytime; also against intercourse with blood relatives, pregnant women, and mothers whose babies are still nursing. These restrictions and taboos apply to husbands as well as lovers.

It would be well for anyone to rid himself of the idea that the primitive African maiden values herself lightly and gives herself to every male comer. Her choice is much influenced by the potentia virilis of her acquaintances, which she can learn without difficulty, because she is always free to experiment. Sexual experimentation outside the bounds of wedlock takes many forms, which may be grouped as follows:

The Poro and Sande schools are presented at length in Chapter 16.

See pp. 268 and 288.

Possibilities for young men:

1. Intercourse with prostitutes 9

- 2. "Friend palaver" (unlawful but winked at)
 - a. girl consenting, with gifts
 - b. girl and her father consenting, with gifts to father
 - c. some other man's wife, secretly
 - d. any married woman, with the intention of eventual marriage if the woman can find the courage to leave her husband
- 3. With a married woman, openly
 - a. as the recipient of hospitality on the part of the husband
 - b. with an "extra" wife of a chief, as a reward for service to the chief
 - c. with an "extra" wife of a chief, as common law allows
- 4. With women previously provided for
 - a. his father's child-wives, who are likely to become his own wives some day
 - b. girls previously secured for him by his father and held in trust for him until he comes out of the Bush
 - c. wives of a deceased father inherited by him (except his own mother or his sisters)
- 5. On the basis of true love, where the lovers expect to be married in due course, with contract and dowry, according to correct usage

Possibilities for young women:

- 1. With any passing stranger, for presents
- 2. With any man as a favor, conferred with her father's consent

3. With a chief, by his right of social prestige

4. With a suitor, experimentally

5. With a lover whom she expects to marry (as no. 5 above)

6. With a man who has contracted for her but not actually married her — a kind of trial marriage

7. With a man for whom she is held in

trust as a future wife

Children Born out of Wedlock. It is no disadvantage for a child to be born out of wedlock. The idea of illegitimacy had never occurred to anyone in the Liberian wilds with whom we discussed the subject. All children are welcome, and the more the better for those interested. Nor is the mother considered to have done anything disgraceful or to have "ruined" herself or her future life. Quite the contrary, if a girl has had a child she has demonstrated to all the world that she is fruitful, and her family is therefore entitled to set a higher dowry price on her.

In Mano, Gio, and Palepo the child belongs to its mother's father. When the mother later marries (Gio), if she "loves her man very much," she and her husband are given the child for their own. No recompense is required by the grandfather if the child is a boy; but if it is a girl, then half the dowry price to be obtained for her when she grows up and marries must go to the mother's parents. In Sapā children born to a "virgin" are considered to belong to her husband when she marries. The grand-

parents get nothing for them.

If a girl decides, as she often does, that she does not want a baby yet, she uses an abortifacient.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

The Native View of Marriage. Marriage in the Liberian tribes is polygamous. Whether this was always so could not be learned from the natives. Only in Mano did we get any definite statement on the subject. The old men there said that once, long, long ago, their fathers had possessed only one woman each. If

this tradition has any basis in fact the practice of monogamy may have been owing to their poverty. In Liberia as elsewhere in the world, polygamy is the privilege of the well-to-do.

Because of a taboo against sexual intercourse between the parents of a nursing child, Johnston ¹¹ sees polygamy as "an institution abso-

⁹ See p. 197.

the male population is away from home for months, or even a year or two at a time, it is out of the question.

11 Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1048, footnote.

¹⁰ Polyandry, though not forbidden by law, was never practiced. Today, when a large proportion of

lutely necessary to uncivilized Negroes." As a matter of fact, in some tribes this prohibition is very leniently interpreted; and even where observance is strict, as in Gbunde, it is to be doubted that any great hardship is involved, since fidelity as we understand it is not ex-

pected of either husband or wife.

The accepted view of marriage among the natives is that it is a business affair. Wives signify wealth and increase prestige. The older men of position get and keep as many as possible. If a man can acquire a monopoly of the desirable women in his locality he secures an extraordinary advantage in the labor market. By lending ("giving," it is called) his "superfluous" wives to other men, such a magnate is able to attach them to himself in a form of servitude.

Between young men and women, naturally, ulterior motives play a smaller part. Instances are not wanting of genuine love and affection between them. We have sometimes marveled at the mutual devotion and unselfishness mani-

fested by loving husbands and wives.

Fidelity is another matter. Everybody we asked about this considered it a good joke and had a hearty laugh about it with his friends. "There is not such a woman in the country," we were told in Mano. The Loma said, "Even if a man has only one or two wives they will make friends with other men — as he will with other women, even if he has many wives."

An instance of this we saw while we camped at the Mano town of Busi. Our chief interpreter had one wife with him, but he was continually having relations with other women of the place. His wife also had relations with other men. One of these was a chief of a near-by town who himself had "plenty, plenty women."

In Gio the head wife has special indulgence in this line. She may take a "man friend" and even keep him in her house for some time, during which the husband obligingly remains in another.

A woman may be "loaned" for a time by her husband, but in the north it is claimed that no woman will consent to being simply handed over to another man without being consulted. If a man comes to town and wants a woman he must find one who takes a fancy to him.¹³ If he intends to stay for more than a few days he will ask the husband to let him have her, promising to be the husband's servant and helper during this time. If she is not one of the favored wives this proposition is usually accepted. (Mano.)

Men who have many wives usually reserve a number for themselves; the rest are likely to be out in the farm hamlets or with other men.¹⁴

Formerly, wives were pawned for debts or in settlement of palavers. In Gbunda and Loma, when such a wife was left too long in the hands of a creditor who himself needed financial aid, the creditor would take the woman back to her husband and demand that he give her as a pledge to the third party. This the husband was bound to do, but the creditor could not turn the woman over without this formality. Any children the woman bore while she was in pawn became the property of her husband.

Concubinage, so far as we could learn, does not exist among these tribes. There is no need for it.

Contracting a Marriage. Courtship. Acquiring a wife is no simple matter. To begin with, it is expensive. The suitor must usually make himself acceptable to the woman's parents by numerous gifts preliminary to the marriage agreement, and these are only the beginning. In contrast with the European custom, it is the man who pays the dowry, and he further takes on the obligation of assisting and making gifts to his father-in-law as long as the wife lives. For the transaction is not a sale. A woman remains all her life a member of the family into which she was born. Her parents continue to look out for her interests (which are also theirs) and to derive all possible benefits from their relationship. They are, on the other hand, bound to respect the rights of the husband and can be penalized for violations of custom with respect to them.

We shall concern ourselves here with the youth starting out to establish his own hearth, rather than with the man who already has one

or more wives.

¹² See pp. 208 ff. ¹⁸ See also p. 176.

¹⁴ See also p. 161.

¹⁵ See p. 439.

A primary requisite for the young man seeking a bride is love medicine. This may be made to gain the affections of a particular maiden or simply in the hope that it will cause one of them to look upon him with favor. In Mano and Gio a young man may take the leaves of a certain bush, dry them in the sun, pulverize them, and secretly sprinkle them in food of which both parties will eat or into water of which both will drink. Or he may burn the leaves of a certain tree, then blow part of the ashes to the four winds. Or he may pound to a powder the bark of another tree, mix it with white clay, and smear it on his face and the small of his back. Other love medicines are worn on the person. A walking stick made of two, slender, entwined saplings or vines may be carried, or a piece of such a "clinging vine" may be kept or carried, as medicine to cause maidens' hearts to become entwined around one's own even as these objects are entwined about each other.

In general, a wife must be taken from outside the family, or even outside the clan, if the clan is small.¹⁸ For blood relatives to marry is incest except in Loma. There it is considered proper for even first cousins to marry. This leniency has possibly been introduced from the outside, as it is unique among primitive West Africans of our acquaintance.

A disappointed suitor usually accepts his fate philosophically. We have known more than one well-educated native who, failing to marry the girl of his choice, has sent word to his relatives to choose another and bring her to him.

"Do you like her as well as the other — the one you chose for yourself?" we asked one such young man.

"Yes," was his answer. "My people know what kind of woman I need."

The Marriage Contract. In the north, when a suitable maiden is found, the people involved make all the arrangements. So far as we could learn the smith is not the official go-between, as he is among the Kpelle, unless he is a good friend of one or both parties.

In Gio the suitor of a younger maiden, if he knows her father, approaches him directly. If not, he asks some other person who does know him, preferably a fellow townsman of the father, to represent him. A Mano youth tells his

parents. If they agree they go to the smith and ask him to make a small knife. This and a native cloth are taken to the girl's parents. If her parents are favorably inclined, the maiden is asked to give her consent. This may be a mere formality. She may refuse and be given against her will. If her mother is willing, but not her father, then it is a question of the mother's ability to influence her objecting spouse. If the girl consents, they inform the prospective groom's parents and retain the knife and the cloth. This is considered as entering into the marriage contract. If she does not consent, these objects are returned.

After this, small presents are given to the girl's mother from time to time until the dowry price — or at least a first installment — has been fixed. An avaricious father may delay this as long as possible on one pretext or another. This he does in order to get all the preliminary gifts he can; for these gifts are made to keep his favor and are extra-dowry.

On the other hand, we learned of one instance in which the girl's father, learning from her that she wished to marry a certain suitor, forthwith gave her to the astounded youth without any gift or contract-binding or dowryfixing. This shows that individual inclination and fancy are factors in marriage as in all the other affairs of these people.

Before the marriage agreement is bound, a greedy parent may accept gifts from two, sometimes more, suitors. This he does in order to learn which of them is the most generous.

In Gbunde the contract is called "putting down the mat for a woman." This "mat" consists of seven irons (Kisi pennies). The term would seem to indicate that it once was customary actually to put down a mat. It is absolutely necessary to observe this convention. A short time before we arrived at Pandamai a dispute arose between a groom and his prospective father-in-law regarding the amount of dowry that had been paid. The groom named all the things he had given and counted their value. After he had finished, the bride's father nonchalantly asked, "Have you put down a 'mat' for her yet?" meaning the seven Kisi pennies. Since the groom had not, the local worthies ruled that all he had paid so far was predowry, merely good-will gifts.

¹⁶ See p. 161.

In Mano, if a man agrees to let another marry his daughter, he hands the suitor, in the presence of witnesses, a dish containing ten white cola nuts and some cotton. (He may first hand this to the witnesses and then to the prospective son-in-law.) This binds the marriage contract, and the paying of the dowry price may begin. If, after this, the father favorably considers another man as a husband for the same daughter and accepts gifts from him, it is considered a big palaver and the father must pay heavy damages to the injured party. If this original suitor should go so far as to destroy the father's house, the father could demand no redress.

The Half-Grebo give a native axe; the Sapa, a white cloth and a leopard's tooth; the Tie, a white cloth and a brass bucket or cooking pot, to bind the marriage contract. In connection with this ceremony a small feast is usually given

by the girl's father or guardian.

Prenatal Marriage Contracts. Strangely, from our point of view, it is possible for a man to contract for marriage with an unborn child. If he learns that some woman whom he likes is pregnant he may go to her saying: "If what you are going to bear is a girl, I will take her to wife. If it is a boy, I will be his uncle" meaning he will be the boy's "great friend." (Gio.) A man may even go to a couple he likes before there is any indication of pregnancy, telling them: "You are my wife's people [closest friends]. If you bear daughters, I will marry them all" (figurative for the first one). If they agree, he gives the husband something to bind the agreement. From time to time he also makes small gifts to the wife — a bit of salt, some rice or palm oil, a pot, or a cloth. These prenatal marriage contracts are by no means rare.

If a girl is born, he brings a large calabash in which she is to be washed, a cloth in which to wrap her, and other useful things. When she has attained the age of seven or eight years he may pay the dowry price and take her as his own. More commonly, he merely requests that she be allowed to stay with him a month or two now and then, after which he returns her to her home again until she has become more fully developed. (Gbunde.) In Gio she visits her future husband in this way up to the time her breasts form. She is then taken to him by

her mother or a female relative, never by her father. Girls so bound have no distinguishing dress.

It is not forbidden for such child-wives to have intercourse with one of their husband's sons while the husband is still alive. In any event, a son inherits his father's widows and can then play the part of husband to any of them who are near his own age. Some child wives are acquired by a man with his son in mind as the eventual husband. (Mano.)

In Gbunde, if a boy instead of a girl is born, the suitor is in duty bound to give the parents something for the child and for themselves. A Mano or a Gio considers the boy as his "son-friend," and as such presents him with small gifts from time to time, especially during the period in which he is being initiated into the Poro cult. He may also help the boy get a wife, or even go so far as to give him one. Such a "son-friend" has no part in the inheritance of his own father.

Some men, when they are about to become affianced to girls as yet unborn, are shrewd enough to take along a number of friends as witnesses to the contract and the acceptance of gifts binding it. This is to insure themselves against the future father-in-law's possible cupidity. If, at some later date, the father-in-law looks with favor upon another suitor and also accepts gifts from him, action for redress can be taken. If for any reason the engagement is broken after the girl has grown up, the matter is settled like ordinary cases of the kind described immediately below.

Breaking the Marriage Contract. There are certain causes for which a man may break his marriage contract. One of these is the absolute refusal of a maiden to marry him. She may do this because she has found another she likes better, or because someone wants her who will be better able to give her finery or increased social position. Again it may be a pure "woman's reason" that leads her to reject him. Whatever the reason, the groom must be reimbursed for all gifts as well as payments he has made to the parents or guardian.

A man can also break the marriage agreement if the women contracts some disease such as syphilis or leprosy before he has taken her to his town. In that event, another woman may be offered as a substitute. He has the option of

taking this substitute, or refusing her and get-

ting back the goods he has paid.

Sometimes the contract is broken by the bride's people if they have found the prospective son-in-law to be stingy, or too lax and slow in making payments. Agreeing to whatever settlement they may have to make with him, they look around for a more suitable sonin-law.

Elopements. There are sometimes those who, for romantic or other reasons, decide to become husband and wife without first asking permission. The young woman leaves her home and accompanies the man to his. After some time he takes gifts and goes to her parents to arrange matters formally. A son-in-law acquired in this manner is rarely refused. The Mano further state that if the man eventually tires of the woman and sends her back to her people, his action is not considered an offense. If she has borne children in the meantime they belong to her parents.

There seems to be no great stir caused by a girl's elopement with a man whom her father has refused to have as a son-in-law. Such a couple is seldom followed. In Loma it simply means that any children the wife bears belong to her father and brothers, unless the interested

parties agree upon a dowry price.

Widows, too, may "elope." In Gio any children by the previous marriage will, in that event, belong to the family of the deceased husband. In other words, she forfeits her children.

The Dowry Price. The popular concept of the dowry in these African marriages is likely to be entirely erroneous. Those who see in it a mere selling of the woman have somehow failed to comprehend or have overlooked the underlying principles. The dowry is the sheetanchor of African marriages. Without it, most of them would be wrecked upon the rocks of discord, strife, and jealousy. Any political or other agency which should attempt to abolish it would be doing a mischief leading to most unhappy consequences. The simple fact is that primitive African society, so far as we have known it, is nowhere ready for this step.

Of this we have knowledge from personal observation, having witnessed the results of such experiments. We have known fathers and brothers who decided they would do like the white man and give their daughters or sisters without accepting "even as much as a needle" for them. We have later heard the lamentations of these same fathers and brothers. The burden of their complaints - loudly seconded by the husbands, who had in the beginning felt themselves to be highly favored — was that the women, knowing that nothing had been given for them, knew equally well that there was nothing to bind them to their husbands. Since their relatives had nothing at stake they would pack up and go home on the slightest provocation or run away with a passing stranger. To a husband's protests they would simply reply: "You gave nothing for me. I am free. I refuse longer to marry you [be your wife]."

While there are exceptions, custom today usually requires that the dowry price be set. This does not necessarily imply that when the sum agreed upon has finally been paid the husband is at last free from further obligation. Fixing a total price is a measure introduced of necessity by the Liberian Government in order to deal officially with such matters.¹⁷ Anyone taking a wife is still under obligation to pay as long as she lives. 18 Whenever a father-in-law finds himself hard pressed by creditor or tribunal it is to his sons-in-law that he first appeals. The latter are duty bound to aid to the

limit of their ability.

How much a man must give to obtain a wife depends much upon circumstances: her age, the social standing of both parties, and whether the individual to whom she belongs is of a

liberal or a grasping disposition.

In cousin marriages (Loma) a nephew usually goes to his uncle and says that he has not the means to pay for the girl but that he will work for his uncle whenever the uncle needs help. The uncle in most instances agrees to this arrangement and lets the nephew have his daughter. He may even give her without any such agreement, but it is then understood that the nephew will lend a hand whenever his

¹⁷ A new law tends to set this at about a hundred shillings or the equivalent, but in marriage transactions among themselves the natives prefer to disregard this

¹⁸ In some regions death money may even be claimed if the husband outlives the wife. See pp. 415 ff.

uncle wants his help. It is not customary to make such an arrangement with any other

prospective son-in-law.

In Mano it often happens that an uncle provides a nephew with a wife, in this way making the nephew legally his son. A man may give a wife to his brother, who is then obliged to work for the donor as though he were the father.

Dowry is usually given in installments. A native can seldom collect and keep together enough goods to pay it all at once. As a smaller price is set for young girls than for older and more developed ones, many are contracted for at an early age. This has the added advantage of affording a longer time in which to pay.

The typical dowry price, as stated in Mano, is two head of cattle and ten native cloths or the equivalent. This is a minimum deposit in consequence of which the girl or woman is considered as legally belonging to her husband. The old custom, to which many still adhere, is that after this initial dowry price has been paid, other small payments are expected from time to time as long as the couple live together. In this way the parents not only get a greater total amount, but they also keep stronger their claim for help in times of great need.

For younger girls in Gio the price is three copper or brass buckets, two to six flint-lock guns, four goats, four sheep, five iron cooking pots, and two native cloths as a first installment. This must be paid before the girl can go to her husband. When he has paid it he has the right to take her to his home for a year, at the end of which she returns home to be initiated into the women's cult. When the initiation is over, word is sent to the husband to come and take his wife, now become a "real woman." He is expected to bring a small gift to everyone living in her parents' quarter of the town and to pay the remainder of the dowry price — one head of cattle and twenty native cloths or the equivalent.

Three of our Sapa hammock carriers gave us the following lists of goods they had given, in addition to the usual gifts of salt and cloth to the bride's mother.

No. 1. For a grown woman: 2 bullocks valued at £6/0/0 each

- 10 fathoms of trade cloth
- 2 brass buckets

- 4 iron cooking pots
- 2 goats
- 2 trade machetes

No. 2. For a woman:

- 2 bullocks (value as above)
 - 2 flint-lock guns
 - 3 trade blankets
 - 5 trade "boxes" (small, gaudily painted tin trunks)
 - 5 goats
 - 5 iron cooking pots
 - several fathoms of trade cloth
- i trade machete

No. 3. For a girl about nine years old:

- 2 bullocks (value as above)
- 4 fathoms of trade cloth
- 2 wooden boxes, painted black
- 2 brass buckets
- 8 cheap china plates
- 2 trade machetes
- I hat (for the father)

Dogs do not seem to be given in dowries.

Pebbles are sometimes used in Sapa to keep tally of what has been paid. In Gio this may be done by means of small pieces of raffia midrib pith strung on rattan fiber. One such tally string we saw suspended from a roof rafter inside a chief's house. It had nineteen pith pieces, each representing one of the things paid. These were, we were told: 3 goats, 5 copper buckets, a flint-lock gun, 2 trade tin trunks, 3 cloths (1 fathom each), 2 native cloths, 2 china plates, 1 trade machete. As the pieces of pith were all alike and without any distinguishing mark we failed to see that the tally string was much help! These things, the chief said, he had paid on a woman he had had for three years. As she had gone to her people's town and died there they owed him another woman as a replacement. He had not yet gone to get her because he had not found time to "talk the palaver."

In Gbunde and Loma, if a man has paid part of the dowry price for a woman but has neglected to take her to his town, and if she dies in her father's town, the father retains everything that has been paid. The prospective husband cannot claim anything; knowing the law, he should have taken her as his wife. This situation is not considered a "debt palaver."

Bringing Home the Bride. The send-off given a bride when she starts out for her future home varies with tribe and social standing. The

more conservative Gbunde and Loma are less demonstrative than those of the tribes farther east or in the southwest. In the north it is the custom for the bride to be taken to the groom's town. She is escorted for some distance by singing, dancing, noise-making friends and relatives. The number of people accompanying her all the way depends upon the distance. Upon the approach of the bridal party, the groom, with his previous wives (if he has any), relatives, and friends go out to meet and escort the party in a manner appropriate to his station.

While this is the usual way in which the bride is brought to her new home, the groom himself sometimes goes to her town to get her. She will, of course, be dressed in the best costume she has or can get, but there is no distinc-

tive wedding dress.

The manner of her reception differs in different sections. In Loma and Gbunde, when the husband has the final installment in hand, however large or small it may be, he sends word to the bride's people, telling them when to bring her. They come at the time appointed. After sunset a mat is laid on the floor of the husband's house for the bride to sit upon. If she has a brother or sister, or both, they sit down beside her as if they would say to the groom: "You have a brother now, whom you can call upon when you need help," or "If you need another wife or sister, here she is." The dowry price, or whatever may be left to pay on it, is then handed to the bride's father or guardian. The mother is given presents of cloth, salt, or other things that a woman likes. They then go into the house so that the groom may ascertain whether the bride is "all right" (usually a formality). When he has determined this to his satisfaction the festivities begin. If she is not "all right" he may give her back to her people, who must refund what he has paid for her.

The Sapa are the only people we learned of who had a taboo with regard to bringing home the bride. They never do this in the moon of Wutjo, the fifth or rice-farm-weeding moon. If they were to do so she would die before the end of that moon.

In Palepo the bride is first led to the house of the head of the groom's family. Here she remains from two to four days before being taken to the groom's house. During all this time there is general rejoicing, dancing, and

merry-making in town.

The Wedding Festivities. In Gbunds and Loma the festivities begin the first or second morning after the bride has been found to be "all right." At daybreak there is shooting of guns to announce this fact. This is followed by singing and dancing, continued sometimes for two days before the wedding feast takes place. In other parts the feast is held as soon as the bride has been "given away" and the dowry matters settled.

Preparations for the feast have been going on for some time. When possible, game has been killed, fish caught, and both meat and fish smoke dried. Rice and other foods and palm oil have been made ready. A goat or a sheep has been unconsciously fattening itself against the day; perhaps several sheep or a bullock if the groom is a person of importance — a "rich man" or a chief. At the proper time the slaughtering is done. The older women, assisted by any others they have commandeered, do the cooking, while others who have gathered for the occasion make merry in various ways. Then comes the feast. "We chop plenty, plenty, so

Here and in Tie, when the time has come for the bride to leave home she smears her forehead with white clay. Her body she rubs with an aromatic paste made by pounding pieces of the tonebu vine or the fruit of the pumwe tree and mixing it with white clay and a little water. She is then conducted to the groom's home. His people meet and escort her there with shrill cries of "O! O! O! O! O!" as a greeting. The groom is seated on the skin of a longhaired colobus monkey or that of a $b\varepsilon$ antelope (Cephalophus dorsalis).19 The bride seats herself beside him. If he sits on a monkey skin, it is "so she will not die quickly but last a long time." If the antelope's has been chosen it is "so that she will not move away quickly." 20 The bride price and the gifts are now brought out and handed over, and all is ready for the wedding feast.

²⁰ This antelope is slow moving, in contrast with other antelopes.

¹⁹ If he is a chief, it will be a leopard's skin.

we belly go blake [burst]," reminiscently exclaimed our interpreter. Afterward the merrymaking continues as long as guests and friends

feel inclined to stay.

At length the bride's parents and escorts prepare to return home. The groom now presses more gifts upon his new relatives to show his generosity and wealth. These they modestly refuse to accept at first, but are finally per-

suaded to change their minds.

When the fun is over the new wife, if she is her husband's first, takes her place as the head wife in his home. If he is already married she becomes a member of the household. In this event she has a honeymoon period of rest for a week or longer in Loma, about two weeks in Mano, a few days only in Palepo. In Sapã and Tië the period lasts, theoretically, until the end of the moon in which she is married. Practically, she is supposed to lend a hand when necessary and is gradually initiated into the ways of doing things in the household. The Gio say that the husband's other wives cook for her for three days, but she must help with other work unless she is a child-wife.

A child-wife immediately takes her place in the house of another woman. This woman is usually the head wife unless she defers to another. Here the newcomer does the chores and helps at whatever she is ordered to do. This is the usual arrangement for child-wives

in the other tribes also.

During the honeymoon time the bride is always free to strut about the place exhibiting

herself and her finery.

The Second Marriage Ceremony for Mothers of Ten Children. In Tië, custom requires that a wife be, in a sense, married over again to her husband after the birth of her tenth child. Her husband must return her to her father, or, if he is not alive, to his oldest living brother. If there is no brother, then she is given to the head of her late father's family.

This relative then gives her back to her husband again, saying as he does so, "I give you a new wife." If this is not done, all her children

will die.

She is considered literally as a new wife, and the husband must pay a token dowry price consisting of one brass kettle or something similar. To further carry out the illusion he must have a goat or sheep killed and make a wedding feast as in the original marriage.

Domestic Arrangements. The Bride's Contributions to the Household. The Loma state that when their daughters go to begin life as married women they take with them only their

clothing.

The Mano state that their daughters must bring along pots and baskets and other household gear, and any fowls, goats, and sheep they may own; also rice (several carrier loads if possible), dried meat or fish, and other foods. The foods brought along are handed over to the head wife, if there is one, to be cooked for the husband and all his household as a sort of good-will feast. The Gio custom is about the same.

In Palepo the bride brings with her only her clothes. After her husband has built her a house of her own, her mother or aunt usually brings her the necessary furnishing and utensils for both the household and the farm work. If this is not done by her own people, the husband provides her with these things.

In Sapa and Tie the bride's family provides her with the things she will need. These, together with any ducks and fowls she has acquired, she takes along when she goes to her new home. After her husband has established her in a house of her own, she secures a goat and makes a big feast for him and his friends.

Mano and Gio husbands must furnish their wives with salt, hoes, and mats. In Loma the husband must provide the household gear and either imported salt or the means to buy native "salt." If they make the latter themselves both assist in getting the material—the special plants for burning and the leaves for fashioning the container for the ashes. The wife does the leaching and the boiling down of the lye.²¹

Home Life and the Wife's Work. "Every black woman works for her husband," said our Mano interpreter. All household work except sewing and patching, all farm work except clearing (in which she assists), are woman's work. In this is to be seen the persisting influence of the old fertility cult. Here as elsewhere among primitive people it has laid upon woman, the bearer of life, the duty of occupying herself with the planting and raising of food crops.

²¹ See p. 98.

On a journey it has long been the custom for the woman to carry the burden while the husband walks unencumbered. In the old days this was desirable, because it left the husband ready to fight at a moment's notice or to give chase to an animal. An enemy suddenly met and overcome was at once a dead enemy and a source of food. Anyone encumbered by a headload would probably be the unfortunate one in an encounter. The man, therefore, walked in front of his wife carrying his spear

and knife, ready for a fight.

It is not stating the whole truth, however, to say without qualification that the women carry the burdens. Nowadays the common man will carry part of the load if it is too heavy for the woman to carry comfortably. He may sometimes help carry a small child too tired to walk or unable to keep up the pace, or he may relieve the mother of the burden of an infant of whom he is especially fond. Moreover, with the recent opening up of the country to trade, the men have put away their spears and are actually carrying more loads than the women. Though the women still carry bits of produce and firewood to the local markets, men always carry the pay-loads when they are for distant markets.

The well-to-do Mano man considers it a sign of dignity to have at least one woman with him who has nothing to carry. It is the mark of a big chief that he has several of his menfolk or lesser wives to carry everything while his favorite wives walk close behind him carry-

ing nothing.

Farm produce is considered the property of the wife; yet whatever she gets in exchange for this or anything else she must give to her husband. (Except in Mano, where she is free to do what she likes with it.) Out of this he is bound to provide her with what she needs, and if he is generous he may refund some of her earnings. This does not apply to the chief's farm or to farms planted to money crops to be sold in distant markets.

²² For a man to invite a woman to eat with him would be very bad form, and he would be suspected of having illicit relations with her. Likewise, when a woman gives cooked food to a man—except to a blood relative or with her husband's consent—it means only one thing to the natives; she is trying to gain his favor or perhaps she has already had relations

A wife may or may not take her meals with her husband. This is governed to some extent by individual choice. It sometimes happens that husband, wife, and possibly some of the older children, especially boys, eat together; but this is not usual where there is more than one wife. More often the cook divides the food and sets her husband's portion before him out in his palaver house if he has one, or in his own house, or possibly in the court in the hot season. He calls his older sons and male friends if there are any about—never women.22 Mothers and daughters and young sons eat together with other wives and the women-folk of the husband's guests, or their own women friends. The Loma say: "If husband and wife always ate together in the house and did not call others they would get a reputation for stinginess and would soon lose all their friends."

In Sapa a new wife eats alone behind the house until after she has had her first child, because she is ashamed and does not want her husband to see her eat. After she has borne a child she eats inside the house with her hus-

band

A polygamist is supposed to receive food from each of his houses twice a day, which should mean a lot of food — but he does not necessarily get it. We knew one such man who went to bed hungry when his wives, for their own reasons, felt disinclined to exert themselves for him. One wife refused to cook because it was not her turn; another was temporarily vexed with him about something or other; a third simply asked why she should cook for "the rotten old thing." So there was nothing for him.

The Head Wife and Others. In Gio the head wife ²³ formerly lived in a big house, while the husband had a smaller one into which he took his wives in rotation. The other wives, if there were not too many of them, lived with the head wife. This general arrangement was, and is still to some extent, followed by men of the other tribes. There are usually older wives,

with him. One who gives food in this manner usually tries to keep it a secret.

²³ This head wife is a most important personage called *peledi* (house mother), Loma; *koli*, Gio; *nyɛno kalagba* Sapā; and Tiɛ̃; *kalılı* (owner of the house), Mano.

and always some girl-wives, living with the head wife. A head wife in Mano whose house we visited had with her two grown and three immature women besides her five children. Another had two young girls and three little

girls about eight years old.

The head wife is the first wife and holds that position as long as she lives with her husband, provided, of course, that she "got haid" - is sensible, trustworthy, and has an aptitude for "affairs" - an aptitude which most of them seem to possess. If her husband outlives her, the second woman he married often takes her place. In a number of towns in different parts of the country we found "seconds" who had been thus honored.

In Gbunde, when she feels her end is drawing near, she has the right to choose any wife she wishes to be her successor. It will be one who has shown the necessary qualifications and with whom she has been particularly intimate. "One who has been very obedient to her," the interpreter added. In theory, the husband has nothing to say about it; in practice, his opinion and desire are not entirely disregarded.

This office of head wife, while considered a great honor, to which the other wives aspire, is not without many drawbacks. She who holds it has the task — an exceedingly thankless one of keeping the household running with as little friction as possible; of settling all quarrels and disputes among the other wives; of training the child-wives; of planning and dividing work to be done by other wives and assigning each her task (southeast); of apportioning the food for the others to cook.24

As her husband's business manager she must know his plans (often his plots) and be his counselor and confidante. She does all she can to increase his wealth, getting for him as wives some of her sisters, if possible.25 Formerly (Gbunde), she sometimes bought for him women slaves offered for sale in the markets. These were mostly war captives. During her husband's absence she must assume all responsibility not especially delegated to others. She is necessarily a spy in his interest. She is the guardian of his wealth — "sleeps with it."

Besides the head wife there are in the north several others whom a chief always has near him. They must accompany him on journeys. These are:

1. his favorite tiba nazai, or "love wife" (Gbunde).

2. his cook woman, who prepares all his food, in order to guard as much as possible against poison.

3. his medicine woman, who must carry his medicines and combat any evil influences let loose by those desiring to harm him.

4. a wife called the "water-carrier" (Mano), to provide him with bath and drinking water. She must also see to it that this water is not bewitched in any way.

Marital Troubles. It is but reasonable to expect to find in native communities marital relations both good and bad. As with us, there are men and women of good and bad dispositions; those who are amiable, peaceable, long suffering; those who are quarrelsome and quick tempered. Some are ambitious, neat, and cleanly; some shiftless, slovenly, and dirty. Some are easily satisfied, contented, and generous; others dissatisfied, constantly finding fault, nagging, miserly. One finds the trusting, confiding, and well wishing; the suspicious and jealous. There are persons who are diplomatic and courteous; and those who are blundering or bullying trouble-makers.

After dark one evening a paramount chief stealthily and secretly led us into his most private hut. Entrance to this was possible only by passing through two adjoining huts. His head wife had preceded us as we felt our way along in the dark. Arrived at the proper spot, we were requested, by means of pressure signs, to seat ourselves on a low bed which we could not see. Taking our hand, the paramount chief guided it underneath the bed to two enormous elephant tusks safely hidden there from Government employees and official requisitioning. When we had come out again we were made to understand by means of signs that this head wife was the "treasurer" of the things in this

²⁴ In Gbunde and Loma, she first gives what is to be cooked for the husband, to his "cook" wife; then she gives out food to the rest.

²⁵ Not only the head wife, but other wives also try to secure more wives for their husband - usually their

Living crowded together, as natives do, with no privacy of any kind, it is but natural that there should be domestic quarrels. These must not be carried on in the "street," but confined to the house or compound. (North.)

Jealousy, of course, is always a potential source of trouble in a household where there are a number of wives. Husbands try to avoid it by taking each wife strictly in turn. "A man sleeps one or two nights with each of his adult wives in turn. If there are too many for this he takes two each night." A woman scorned may resort to the poison pot to bewitch her neglectful husband — not, in most instances, to kill him, but to make him very uncomfortable or even quite sick.

A husband's impotence may be a source of quarrels, as also barrenness on the part of the wife.

For abuse, a wife may call her husband foul names, of which she has an adequate supply. Once started on this, she is likely to include his entire family, giving detailed attention to each member. If he beats her for this ²⁶ she may retaliate by running home to her people. The husband may then have to make a settlement with them, but the matter will more probably start a fight involving the relatives of both sides and possibly ending in wounds and sore heads.

A wife may get into trouble with her husband for a number of reasons. Among these are:

Disrespect and impudence — talking back to her husband or shaming him before others. A wife may get a sound beating for this. (Southeast.)

Disobedience — refusing to listen to her husband (or the head wife). He may punish her by refusing to let her share his hut with him when her turn comes.

Bad or indifferent cooking. For this or for burning the food a Loma husband has the right to fine a wife as much as three or four Kisi pennies.

Barrenness.27

²⁸ Flogging is administered to wives upon occasion, but in most instances this is not considered to be "a good thing to do" to one's wives. A husband has to be careful.

²⁷ Some of the Mano said that a husband could not mistreat a wife because of this unfortunate condition.

Flirtation — paying too much attention to other men. To share her food with any of them without her husband's consent is a particularly serious offense.²⁸

Refusal to "marry" (care for and live with) the husband. For this a Sapā or Tiē husband, after he has paid the dowry price, may tie his wife up and flog her until she appears, at least, to have a change of heart, by crying, "I like you! I like you!"

Runaway wives, when caught, are usually "put in the stick"—a heavy billet fastened to the leg above the ankle (fig. 99, d).

There is prevalent a belief that some women are "luck women" - born to bring good fortune to their husbands — and others, the reverse. In Mano the good-luck woman is called wighter in vision with the word of the wighter with the word of the word ofother, $n\tilde{e}$ h (the first). As might be expected, the one who is supposed to be the fount of many blessings is held in highest esteem, shown much favoritism, and plentifully supplied with gifts. The unfortunate one, on the other hand, expects accusations, buffetings, and abuse in abundance — and she is never disappointed in this. She is got rid of as soon as This is usually accomplished by possible. divorce.

Divorce. Either husband or wife can sue for divorce. The most common grounds for the husband's doing so are desertion (quitting the common domicile and living elsewhere); waywardness; persistent, flagrant unfaithfulness; willful stubbornness; carelessness and negligence in the household; incompatibility; continued "bewitchings" of the husband or others (by means of poison or black magic); barrenness; more rarely, for gross insults.²⁹

A wife may demand to be released from her husband for continued and brutal abuse, impotence, nonfulfillment of marital duties.

Illness is not a ground for divorce, even though the wife becomes a chronic invalid. If a man should attempt to get a divorce for this cause (Gio) he would be told, "You made her so." 30 Return of any part of the dowry price

If she was capable and not lazy, she could help her husband increase his wealth by spinning, and in other ways, and thus help him get another woman to bear him children.

²⁸ See p. 193.

²⁹ See p. 438.

³⁰ Cf. p. 198.

would be refused. Even if the sick wife herself expresses a wish to go to her own home-town (or quarter, if her family lives in the same town as her husband) to seek a cure there, her people will not agree. The husband, however, may take her to her family, saying, "If she dies here it will be my palaver." This means that he assumes the responsibility, and agrees to pay

the "death price" 81 if she dies there.

When a divorce is sought - unless either or both parties involved consider it useless or refuse to co-operate — the wife's parents, sponsors and relatives try to effect a reconciliation. If the wife has gone to her home-town, the husband follows her there. There is a public hearing, at which the charges and countercharges hurled back and forth would make one of our sensational court trials seem like a meeting of ultra-Puritans. If it appears that there is likelihood of a reconciliation, the husband is advised to "go and return in a few days so that our daughter may breathe here for a time." (Mano.) If he does this, and she refuses to go with him when he returns to get her, all the dowry paid for her, including the presents -"small things" such as salt and cola nuts excepted - must be returned to him. Or an agreement may be made to substitute a sister for her. She must, however, be the daughter of a different mother.

In most instances when a husband absolutely refuses to continue to keep a wife, a court trial is held. She may then be subjected to an ordeal to prove or disprove the charges made against her. When a divorce has been granted after such a trial, the full dowry price must be returned, in Gbunde and Loma. In Gio this is necessary only when she has been guilty of "making witch" or has run away and refuses to go back. In Mano, except as noted above, the divorced husband gets only part of what he has paid, "because he has left his woman." When, by a court trial, the wife has been proved gravely at fault, the amount he will receive back will be considerable.

All children born to a woman during the time she has been the wife of a man belong to him. (Mano or Gio.) If there is an infant at the time the divorce is granted, she cares for it until it has grown old enough to care for itself. Then it, too, goes to the town of the ex-husband. He need not necessarily be the child's father. Frequently, it is impossible to state definitely who really did beget a child.

MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS

Impotence. In view of the early age at which intercourse is begun, and the excesses practiced, it is no wonder that some of the young men find themselves exhausted by the time they reach real manhood. To renew waning desire and overcome the effects of overindulgence, young men as well as old resort to medicines. The favorite is the bark of a tree called in Mano g5 a bli yidi (the tree men eat).

We found men everywhere reluctant to talk about these medicines, because to call them by name was supposed to rob them of their power. Furthermore, women were not supposed to know about them. Now and then charms were pointed to, but not talked about. These were small pieces of very hard wood or bone worn next to the skin, supposed to work by means of sympathetic magic.

Sometimes evil influences, rather than overindulgence, are believed to be the cause of impotence — also of sterility. A chief once came to a mission doctor at Zorzor (Loma) praying him to remove from him a bad spirit that had taken possession of him for four years, troubling him at night, and rendering him impotent and sterile. A thorough examination showed that he was suffering from schistosomiasis.

While we were at Towai, Paramount Chief Towe brought a visitor to the palaver house where we were camped. He had with him something dark and dirty looking, resembling a piece of sausage, from each end of which there stuck out a long hair. As we talked, with the camp manager for interpreter, Towe kept scraping off bits of this object and swallowing them from time to time. The Government man asked him a question, then smiled. Towe shouted an order. Soon a tumbler half full of water was brought in. Into it Towe put some

of the powder scraped from his "sausage." The Government man stirred it well, then drank the contents, smiling and winking at us as he did so. By means of signs Towe then indicated the purpose of the stuff, and generously offered it to us in a sort of "help yourself" fashion. Needless to say, we declined. Two of the ingredients of which this medicine was composed were white clay and salt. The rest were unknown to Towe. The hair running through the center was from the tail of a huge and powerful bull!

Although the tribesman indulges himself to satiation and impotence he is not without an awareness of its unhappy results in other ways, too. "Dis make we fool fo' haid" (unable to think clearly) remarked our philosophical interpreter. It may well be that the taboos against intercourse specifically before hunting and war expeditions, or smelting and smithing operations, and universally in the daytime, are designed to conserve men's strength when it is

most needed.32

Prostitution. We doubt that there was formerly any prostitution among the hinterland people of Liberia. The old men told of their disgust when they first learned that there were women who made this their profession. The Loma said, "A woman cannot sell herself, but she can make friends with a man she likes, as often as she likes, for presents. He may even come to live with her."

Today, however, there are said to be prostitutes in most of the towns of the north and in the larger towns of the southeast. In the north these women seem often to play a considerable role in setting fashions in dress, if not in conduct. This is easily explained, since they are the recipients of gifts and money enough to buy whatever they fancy. Westermann 38 records the same trend among the Kpells.

Prostitutes are of two classes — married and unmarried. The latter, the Gio said, are those

⁸² On this subject Tessman has said of the Pangwe: "Unlimited sexual intercourse... weakens them and makes them stupid. Small boys are often very skillful workers; but after they have become sexually mature and known women, then they are simply no more use. This bad influence the Pangwe understood well, and intelligent persons did not hesitate to admit to me that sexual intercourse would injure them and make them incapable of prolonged physical or mental labor. However, we have no need of the testimony

whose fathers refuse to let them settle down with a husband, preferring to let them out to men for a consideration. The married prostitutes are "surplus" wives of chiefs or important men, who use them as a source of income. Opportunity is given them for illicit relations with other men. Then, when the husband is in need of goods or cash, the wives are assembled and asked to confess the names of their lovers. If necessary, pressure is brought to bear in the form of oracles or ordeals. When the names have been ascertained, the men are called and fines imposed. If they deny the charges made against them the same kind of "proof" by ordeal is available, and is applied.

In Gbunde and Loma there seem to be some divorced women who prefer this kind of life. Such a woman, tiring of her husband, goes home, and the family returns the dowry. Then she may marry a second, even a third time, and leave her husband again — the dowry price being paid back each time. When her father or other relative at length refuses to be further involved in her marital affairs she becomes free to take up the life toward which she has been

gravitating all the time.

Perversion. From our own observations and available information we have been led to conclude that perversion is not natural to these

primitive people.

Only one instance of homosexuality came to our notice. We were asked one day if white men ever wished to be women and to act like and do the work of women. We were then told of a native man who had "refused to be a man." He had left his home dressed like a woman, and acting like one, and had gone to a place where he was not known. There he lived with the women of a chief's household, helping them about the house with the children and out in the farms, until his secret was found out. Then he quit the place and went to another until the women there also found out he

of a few; the customs of the people sufficiently demonstrate the recognition of the results of intemperance. For I believe that the knowledge that sexual intercourse weakens a man's physical and mental activity underlies the abstinence prescribed for war and the larger hunting expeditions, and further for the work of iron smelting — besides the original religious view of the sin of sexual intercourse and of the women's embodiment of it." Tessman, 1913, vol. 2, p. 267.

***Westermann, 1921, pp. 63, 65.

was a man. He then went to live with an unmarried man at another place, whose "wife" he became by entering into an agreement that he was to do all the work of a wife, while the unmarried man would enjoy the functions of a husband. There he was said to be still.

We heard everywhere that formerly a man who "played" with another man, or a woman with another woman, would have been advertised through the land as "fool people who got

no sense fo' haid."

Today, unfortunately, all sorts of perversions are beginning to be practiced throughout the land. Most important of the contributing factors are the influence of Mandingos, of Americo-Liberians traveling through or stationed in the hinterland, and of natives (both men and women) who have been at the coast for a time or worked on boats. Native women from surrounding colonies also bring in practices learned from Europeans and "quality" natives with whom they have lived. These women sweep through the land like a pestilence, offering themselves and their knowledge of perversity to anyone who will have them. This was told us by a white trader operating in the hinterland of the southeast. He himself had recently been approached by one of these women from Tabu which is on the Ivory

Masturbation is by no means rare, since opportunities for normal intercourse may be lacking for long periods. Polygamy leaves some men unprovided for. Many native men

are absent from home for months, working at the coast or on plantations (in and out of the country) or on boats. This leaves the women also in an abnormal situation, and they are said often to resort to artificial means to satisfy their desire. One of the objects employed is said to be a long, unripe plantain. According to our informants, this practice is increasing rapidly.

Venereal Disease. Sexual diseases, except syphilis,34 are found everywhere. In Gbunde and Loma there is no penalty attached when a husband infects his wife, or she him.35 In Tie there is none when the husband infects the wife. In Mano the wife has the right to go home to seek a cure, but she must return to her husband when she is considered well again. If, however, she dies, and the cause of her death is found to be even remotely connected with the infection, her husband is considered to have killed her. In this event he has to pay "death money," which may amount in some regions to as much as twenty native cloths. The Gio said that when a husband infected his wife her people had the right to take her home, on the ground that he wished to kill her. They might require him to make some payment. In Mano, Gio, and Tie, if a woman infects her husband with a sexual disease that she caught through intercourse with another man, the other man is liable for damages inflicted upon the woman's husband. In Tie the amount of this payment was formerly the same as for adultery.36

PRACTICES RELATING TO CHILDBEARING

Menstruation. At the first appearance of the menses a girl is considered as having passed from girlhood into womanhood. Among some of the natives the belief is still held that they do not appear until after coition has taken place. Their occurrence "once every moon" has been noted, as evidenced by the name mene, meaning "moon" (Mano). We were not told whether or not the moon itself is believed to have anything to do with this phenomenon.

⁸⁴ Syphilis is rare among the natives, because most of them contract yaws in childhood; and yaws confers cross-immunity against infection with syphilis.

Among us it is a widespread and commonly accepted belief that the menstrual flow begins earlier in the primitive African than in the white girl of northerly climates. We have discussed this subject with several missionary doctors of medicine, all of whom have served primitive West African peoples for from twenty-seven to thirty-five years. During this period each has treated tens of thousands of women patients. These doctors all agreed that in their experience there was no material dif-

36 See p. 440 ff.

³⁵ For the law on this point during the "engagement" period, see p. 188.

ference between white girls and African girls in this respect.

To absorb the menstrual flow a piece of old native cloth is now used in the north. The Gbunde and Loma women wear two pairs of shorts over it — the inner pair very tight fitting. In the southeast, excepting Konibo, the soft raffia fiber formerly employed has been largely replaced by pieces of trade cloth, when this is available.

It is very important that these cloths do not get into the wrong hands; for they might serve as ingredients in "bad medicine" directed against the woman. Also, cloths spread out to dry must not be placed where they will be accessible to anyone who might desire to put

poison on them.37

During the period, a woman will, if possible, bathe in the morning and again in the evening. In Gbunde and Loma, if she has a separate house, she must keep out of her husband's until the period is over. In Mano she may be told to go and stay out in the farm. In any case, she will not be allowed to sleep in her husband's house, or in any place where he keeps his medicines, or where the town medicine or other "strong" medicine is kept. In Gio and the southeast, she may not enter the house of a medicine man, but she may stay in the husband's house if they occupy a different bed.

Everywhere, a menstruating woman sits only on her own stool or mat until the period is over and the purification ceremony is performed. For this purpose Gio women wash themselves with special herbs. The Mano women are washed by a member of the Sande cult before they are considered again fit for home and husband. In Sapā, and some other regions of the southeast, thorough washing of the body and the cloths three times on the day after the flow has ceased is considered sufficient for purification.

The Gbunde, Loma, and Mano women are not allowed to cook for men during this period. Old Mano men said that when war was imminent or had begun, special precautions

³⁷ See p. 360.
³⁸ This bewitching might affect not only the husband, but might also — by reflex action — "catch" and "humbug" the wife, causing the infant to be stillborn. In fact, a woman who has anything at all to do with

had to be taken against any menstruating woman's preparing or even touching the food of any man. In Gio and the southeast the feeling is different. She is free to cook for anyone at any time, but with the restriction that she neither make nor handle palm oil until after the period is over, as "this would cause the palm-oil butter to smell bad."

Pregnancy. It is believed that conception takes place immediately or soon after the end of a menstrual period. (Gbunde and Loma.)

"When we have not flowed for two months, then we are certain," the women said.

Pregnancy is kept secret as long as possible, lest someone bewitch the woman for some such reason as jealousy, or hatred, or fear of being supplanted in the husband's favor. If a woman is approached at this time by men desiring intercourse with her she may tell them of her condition, but usually she will simply refuse and send them about their affairs. It is considered a serious matter for a woman to make her condition known in the presence of boys. (Mano.)

After it is known for certain that a wife has become pregnant, the husband continues to have intercourse with her for as long as he chooses. Some men continue for four or five months only; others, until the last month. About the seventh month is the more usual limit. It is believed that the semen, somehow, gives strength to the developing foetus. An equally potent reason given us for a husband's continuing to visit a pregnant wife is his fear of being bewitched if he confines his attention

to other women.38

There are many medicines, taboos, and precautions to protect the mother during her pregnancy and assure a safe delivery ³⁹ and a healthy, normal offspring. Some taboos are general; some are prescribed for the individual by diviners or other consultants. Some are for both husband and wife, a few for the husband alone; but by far the greater number are for the woman alone.

In Gbunde both husband 40 and wife must abstain from goat's flesh, so that the child, if a

witch affairs at this time is believed to cause the death of her unborn child.

See pp. 394 ff. Though the husband is not necessarily the father, it is assumed that he is.

boy, will not go about "humbugging" women in the fashion of a billy-goat. If they eat porcupine the child is destined to have a snout; if *Achatina* snails, it will go through life dribbling at the mouth.

The pregnant mother must keep not only her own food taboos, but also her husband's, during this period, and until the child has been

weaned.41

In Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) she must not eat the forest buffalo or the chevrotain \(^{42}\) because these animals fight too much; they might cause the infant to struggle in her womb, causing long and hard labor. If she eats the monitor lizard (\(Varanus niloticus\)) she will have a miscarriage. The flesh of the pigmy hippo (\(ninb\tilde{\epsilon}\)) will cause her breasts to dry up, because the hippo runs around too much and so keeps his skin wet with perspiration. If she eats any of the anteaters her child will be stiff jointed. If she eats elephant the child's feet will be affected. She may eat the lizard, \(sozo;\) for that will promote a speedy delivery.

A Gbundã woman eats all she can get of the flesh of the antelope, fasawili (Cephalophus doria?), for a speedy delivery. But if her husband eats of this, he will suffer the labor pains.

Mano women may not even look at an owl, as that will put an owl's head on the foetus. For the same reason Gio women must abstain from eating the owl's flesh. (Indeed, Gio girls imperil any offspring they may eventually bear by so doing.) Nor may a Mano or Gio woman eat of the ground squirrel during pregnancy; that would cause the child to sit on its haunches all of its life. Sores will break out on the foetus' mouth if the yam called sõ (Dioscorea sp.) is eaten. (Mano.) If a Gio woman eats the flesh of su 43 at this time the child will live only to the age attained by the particular animal at the time it was eaten.

Crocodile flesh is considered bad everywhere; it causes the child to have pop-eyes and walk on the back of its hands and feet. The flesh of turtles and tortoises will, if eaten, produce weak and crooked-limbed offspring — with club feet besides.

To "hold" witches and witch medicine from exerting their evil influences upon her it is considered beneficial for a pregnant woman to have her feet "put in the stick [stocks]" from time to time. (Mano.)

A Gio midwife, leader of the women's cult there, told us she had learned from her mother, also a cult leader, that when a pregnant woman lies on her back it causes twins to develop in her womb.

In all the tribes there are doctors who "know medicines" to produce a child of the desired sex. 44 One of these medicines (Mano) involves going to some body of water in which there are sacred fish, 45 and there making sacrifices and performing other ceremonies. Another kind of medicine (Tiē) is drunk, after having been mixed with palm wine. The Loma stated that a person claiming to be qualified to make medicine for this purpose was engaged upon condition that he should get his fee after the results had become manifest. If the child born was not of the sex desired, he would not be paid.

Abortion. Abortion is at times resorted to by women of all the tribes. A common motive is fear of what the husband will do if he learns of his wife's having had illicit relations with another man or men.

Another motive is disregard or hatred for a husband, created by his neglect or abuse. The wife hopes that her husband will send her back to her people when he learns what she has done. For she knows that in destroying the life he has engendered she is doing more than disappointing his hope of a son — or the possible gain if the child should be a girl; she is going to the limit of a woman's ability to insult him and show how she despises him.

A head wife's nagging and tormenting may also lead a woman to commit abortion.

⁴¹ But the husband need not keep her taboo. (Mano.) ⁴² Hyaemoschus aquaticus (Büttikofer); Dorcathe-

rium aquaticum (Johnston).

⁴⁸ Antelope (Cephalophus sylvicultrix). We were told that it had a black skin and looked like a cow, and that a very, very old one lived but two years.

"In all parts of Liberia where we asked the question the parents wanted a boy first in every instance.

One reason the men gave was that a boy would always belong to them; a daughter would eventually belong to another man. A son, also, is a helper, and the heir to the father's estate and name. Women desire a son for their first-born, because a son will care for and protect them and give them a home.

45 See p. 338.

When conception takes place before the previous baby is weaned (which is forbidden by custom) abortion is resorted to, lest the baby sicken and die.

Unmarried girls sometimes resort to abortion to avoid the ordeals and responsibilities

of motherhood.

Instruments are never used for this purpose, but a concoction is drunk. Most women, and some men, know how to make this. It is usually administered secretly — especially if the woman is married. In Gbunda we were told that if the person who administered it were found out he would "get big palabah." A fine sometimes amounting to as much as a hundred shillings must sometimes be paid to satisfy the injured husband.

Childbirth

Confinement. It is generally supposed that primitive women bear their children as easily as do the animals of the forest. It is true that as a rule the women are in labor but a short time, and often deliver their children so easily that they are able to care for themselves and the child without much assistance. However, many of the problems of childbirth met in civilized countries are also to be found among the primitive African tribes. Some women remain in labor over a period of two or three days, and occasionally one dies in childbirth.

To avoid being bewitched (having hard labor) during childbirth it is customary in some sections (Sapa, for instance) to maintain secrecy about the time of delivery until it is

all over.46

If a woman is unmarried the event takes place, if possible, in her father's town. A wife remains in that of her husband. In the dry season, midwives often take the woman to a shelter in a clearing near the town. We saw such a shelter at Towai (Gio) just at the edge of the town. A curtain-screen of raffia fiber hung across the path at the entrance to the clearing to conceal what was taking place. The Loma gave as the reason why their women did not remain in their own houses that "there are now usually so many men in town that we have built shelters out in the bush where we cannot hear the cries of mothers and babies." The Mano stated that no baby might be born

inside a house. "It must be either under the plantains back of the house [generally at the edge of town], out in the bush [secondary growth near town], or out in the rice farm." When the midwife comes to escort the mother to this place she brings along the Sanda cult's "big medicine," which she leaves in the woman's house. In Palepo (Half-Grebo) the accouchement takes place outside of town if it occurs during the daytime; after nightfall it is under the eaves of the woman's own house. A diviner, however, may be consulted as to the best place. He may "find it necessary" that she go out to the rice farm, the forest, or another town.

The midwife, of course, is present. She must have been a mother herself, as must any other woman whom she calls to aid her. (Gbunde.) In Mano it is the chief woman of the midwives' cult who is called. She brings as many of her understudy-apprentices as she sees fit. In Palepo there must be at least one woman doctor present to aid and advise the midwife. The woman's mother, if possible, is also present to aid in delivery. In Gbunde all the women present must be naked. Anything worn, even a headdress, may have evil influences on it that will make labor more difficult.

So far as we could learn, men are never admitted. In fact, a Loma husband may not enter the house or shelter the first day after the child is born; if he is a doctor he may not enter and eat food there for three days. A Gio may come to the door of the place where the mother is after the child has been born, but he may not enter until after the umbilical cord has fallen off.

Before the child is born a native cloth is twisted to form a plug, one end of which is inserted in the mother's rectum "so the child cannot come out that way." The woman then sits on a low stool. The midwife, who sits behind her to support her back, presses her big toe against the plug to keep it in place. Another midwife sits in front of the mother-to-be to receive the infant. When the child comes, this midwife supports and protects its head with her hands. There is no mat placed on the earthen floor before the mother for the child's protection. It is born on the bare earth.

⁴⁶ Cf. p. 195.

If parturition of the placenta does not take place of its own accord, the Gbunde midwife takes hold of the protruding umbilical cord and, inserting her hand into the vagina, follows it up with her fingers until the hand rests on the placenta. She then tries to work it loose from the walls of the womb by gentle manipulation. If she is unable to accomplish this she withdraws her hand and leaves the woman to her fate. The Palepo midwife is more practical. When confronted with a case of this kind she has the woman doctor, called mayino, summoned. This person brings a medicine or remedy into which she dips her fingers three times, rubbing it on the patient's tongue after each dipping. Sneezing follows. It is said that in most cases this causes the placenta to be loosened and expelled.

Difficult Labor. When a woman's labor pains become acute (Mano) she "confesses" to the midwife any unrevealed love affairs she may have had. These confessions the midwife reports to the husband. He does nothing about it until his wife has returned home with her infant. Then only may he have the man, or men, called to talk the palaver.

If labor is long-continued and difficult the woman is believed not to have confessed everything. The midwife then asks her if she has told all there is to tell and named all the

men.

If she reveals anything more the husband goes to her, fills his mouth with water, and blows it upon her abdomen, saying: "If you have done me badness, or if I have done you badness, don't bewitch yourself. I beg you not to. Wait until the baby is born; then we will talk the matter over."

The Gio husband does the same, but ends by saying, "Let all the small quarrels and palavers we have had between us pass."

In Gbunde and Loma the husband throws a cola nut to his medicine, beseeching it to help his wife, "because she told him her badness."

In the southeast when a woman's labor is difficult, the cause is also believed to be secret love affairs on the part of the woman, or trouble between husband and wife. The Palepo consult a doctor, who often finds that there has been "too much bad mouth" between the couple, as well as love affairs on the wife's

⁴⁷ If the husband is listening in front of the house he knows the child is a girl if the question is asked part. If so, they are told they must "fix it up" before the child will consent to come. The wife's mother or father, if present or within reach, and also the head of the husband's family are called, and an agreement made or settlement reached. Then follows the water-blowing ceremony.

After this the unborn child is addressed: "We have settled our palavers. Now you must

come."

The Sapā carry a woman in difficult labor out on the path leading from the town, where she will be alone with the midwife to make her confessions. When the husband is told he comes, and goes through a procedure similar to that of his Palepo countrymen. The Tiɛ husband does the same; but the wife herself may first address the unborn child.

She says, "Even if I have bewitched anyone, or had a 'friend,' or stolen anything, you

must just come."

In Sapa also the infant may be talked to. "You must come. If you have half a head you must come! If you have only one eye you must come! If your ear is missing you must come!" And more in the same strain.

Cutting the Umbilical Cord. The placenta is considered to be the seat of the child's life. In Gbunde the midwife presses the "life" out of the placenta through the cord toward the child. She then ties the cord in three places if it is a girl; four, if a boy. The last tying is about a little finger's length from the navel. For this a piece of new raffia fiber must be got from the palm the same day on which the child is born. A few Gbunde and Loma mentioned plantain fiber as a possible substitute for tying the cord.

The midwife now asks the mother, as she points to the tying farthest from the child, "Shall we cut here?"

The mother replies, "No."

Then she points to the second tying and again asks, "Here?"

The mother again says, "No."

For the third time, as she points to the third tying, the midwife asks, "Here?"

Now, if the child is a girl, the mother's re-

sponse is, "Yes."

So the midwife takes a razor and severs the cord just beyond the last tying.⁴⁷ In Loma

three times; a boy, if it is asked four times.

and the southeast also, a razor is used for this purpose. Mano, Ge, and Gio midwives use a piece of raffia midrib newly fashioned for this occasion.

The Sapa, when they cut the cord, lay it over the stick that is ordinarily used to fasten the house door on the inside. The purpose of this is to prevent the infant's "going outside" (dying). In Tie the midwife sits on a stick or log, over which she lays the cord to cut it. Any stick or log will do. The portion of the cord adhering to the stick is then jabbed with a piece of raffia midrib (like that used by the Mano, Ge, and Gio for cutting the cord) on which medicine has been smeared. This is

supposed to prevent bleeding.

Medicines are smeared on the end of the cord adhering to the child, on two occasions: immediately after it has been severed and just before it drops off. Medicines are also smeared around the navel. They are supposed to stop bleeding, promote rapid healing, and make the child grow fast and become strong. Instead of accomplishing this, these concoctions—together with the too-often unclean implements used in severing the cord, and the unwashed hands of the midwife—frequently result in infection. This we have found to be true not only in Liberia, but also in other parts of West Africa where we have been.

For this purpose the mother's milk is considered highly beneficial. Many mothers, in different parts, allow it to drop on the end of the cord or on the navel or both. The Mano and Gio state that many mothers continue to drop milk on the navel after the child has had its daily wash, up to the time it can walk.

On the second day after the birth, the Gbunds apply the juice of a leaf called *findato*. This black substance is reputed to have great healing virtues. The Sapa rub mashed red capsicum pods on the end of the cord and around the navel.

Care of the New Infant. The Gbunde wash the infant girl three times in a large calabash or dish containing clean hot water. A boy is washed four times. After each washing the water must be poured out. A cloth dipped into this water is used to mold the head into shape.

48 This counting may be done only at the time the first child is born if the mother and midwife are both

The body is rubbed with palm oil that has been heated until it has become light colored. A cap is next tied on the child's head, and the child is then laid on a mat near the fire. In the other tribes the head is molded in much the same manner. Most tribes also use the palm oil in the same way as the Gbunde; but the Mano rub the child with the oil first, after which they bathe it in cold water and then besmear it with white clay, said to contain no medicine. Some of this clay is rubbed on the mother's forehead, unless the child was stillborn. The cold bath is given daily until the child is able to sit up without assistance, "to make it strong."

The Gio pound to a pulpy mass the seed pods of the suwa tree and some white clay. Both mother and child are then well smeared with it "to give them a fine odor and make them both smell alike." It is said that the infant then cannot smell the milk when it comes, and so will not refuse it. After being thus coated

the infant is rubbed with palm oil.

The Palepo midwife washes and oils the child, then takes it into the house and hands it to the husband's mother.

Disposal of the Placenta. The placenta must be disposed of in a manner to make it impossible for anyone to get hold of it, because it could be used to make very strong medicine to harm, or even kill, both mother and infant especially the latter. Inside the house, near the wall on the side facing the rising sun, the Gbunde midwife digs a hole in the floor. Entirely naked, she takes the placenta and walks backward with it toward the hole. Straddling the hole, she places the placenta in it. Now she turns around and runs her fingers along the length of the cord to count the number of "lumps" in it. These indicate the total number of children the woman is to bear.48 After the counting, the cord is wound around the placenta in such a way as to bring the severed end on top, in the center. Then the placenta is laid in the hole, with care to keep the severed end of the cord securely in position. On top is laid a pebble for every future child, and the hole is gently filled. The earth is well smoothed and pounded to resemble the

content with its results.

rest of the floor. If, later, gases generated by putrefaction in the shallow hole cause the dirt to rise, the place is again smoothed over and beaten hard, in order to make the spot unnoticeable.

In Palepo it is the mother, or her husband, who buries the placenta somewhere inside the house, smoothing over the place. In Sapa, the husband or the mother's mother buries it. In this tribe it is buried outside, in the ground under the threshold of the rear door.49 If it were buried under the front door, "the witch people would see it and take it and cause the baby's death."

Disposal of the Umbilical Cord. As to the disposal of the remnant of the umbilical cord that drops off from the infant, the customs of the various northern tribes differ somewhat. In Gbunde it may be given to the father, who takes it and a cola nut, and "plants" them both together somewhere in the forest near by. A crude stake fence is built around the spot to protect the young cola seedling. When the child has reached the age of understanding the father leads it to the place. Pointing to the young tree he says, "There is your cola; care for it." If the father does not choose to take the cord and bury it, it is given to the midwife to dispose of. The navel is kept moistened with palm oil for some time after the cord has fallen off.

According to the Mano, Gio, and Sapa, the cord drops off from a girl the third day, and from a boy the fourth day after birth. Why there should be this difference between the two sexes in the length of time required for this to happen could not be explained; but the number three is for girls and four is for boys

all through life.

The Mano mother secretly buries the cord under a plantain tree on the edge of town. In Gio, the mother, accompanied by the midwife, buries it in the same manner and in the same sort of place, the midwife saying as they bury it, "As you, Plantain, bear much fruit, so also let this woman [the mother] continue to bear plenty children."

In some parts of Half-Grebo, and in Sapa, the father takes the piece of cord and puts it into the top of a young and sturdy oilpalm so

49 Most Sapā houses are built up from the ground.

that his boy may grow big and strong as the palm. To give it every chance to do so, he keeps the ground around this palm cleared of all growth. This tree is then known as "son's tree." No one may cut palm nuts from it without his consent. Nor may he ever cut it down to make palm wine. The cord remnant of a girl child is taken out to the forest and there secretly buried.

The Tie keep the infant's stools in a basket until this piece of cord drops off. Then it is put in with them, and all taken out to the deep forest and thrown away "so that no witch

person can get hold of them."

Midwives' Fees. A midwife's fee depends upon the station of the husband in each case, if the woman delivered is married; the father, if she is unmarried. It depends also upon his generosity and how he feels about the advent of the new infant. The gift is made on the day the child is born, or at the time its father or maternal grandfather is called by the midwife to see it, or still later when the child is brought to him.

In the north the gift formerly consisted of cola nuts, cotton, a fowl or two, a native cloth, or whatever the midwife might like. At present, it is money, trade pots, pans, buckets, plates, "things of the white man," which are everywhere replacing articles of native make.

The Mano say that they give nothing at all if the child is stillborn or dies immediately after birth. The midwife is considered some-

how partly to blame for this.

Birth Ceremonies. After a safe delivery there is usually much rejoicing. We were witnesses of an instance of this while we were at Towai (Gio). There was a sudden commotion before the palaver house where we were installed. Women of the town rushed together from every direction. They grasped arms; they pulled one another about; there was a lusty shouting of "Ah o! Ah o!" It was all done in the manner of a crowd of undergraduates when the home team has scored a touchdown or made a home-run — three cheers for a girl, four for a boy, so to speak!

Then they began to dance and sing, winding in and out of the narrow passages between the huts, opening out their loin cloths in front,

See p. 37.

and exposing their persons as they danced and sang. After they had had enough excitement they all went back to the house, and then de-

parted.

Post Parturition Care of the Mother. After the child has been delivered and the placenta has been expelled, the Gbunde midwife has her patient lifted and supported in a standing position. Then, placing her head low down on the mother's abdomen she presses upward with it to bring the womb back into place. If the patient now feels any pain, either "the womb is not in place or there is another child in it." Investigation follows. If everything seems normal the mother is transferred to a small heap of sand, where she sits until the flow of blood and the discharge connected with the birth have ceased. She then walks to a stream. From each of its banks she pulls some grass, with which she rubs her back from the middle downward and forward three times. She stands facing downstream as she does this. The grass she then throws before her into the water, whereupon she seats herself in the stream, legs spread apart. After having sat in this position for a considerable time she returns home.

The Mano mother is washed by the midwife, then goes back into her house and rubs herself with clay taken from the top of the cylindrical water-pot stand. The Palepo midwife also washes her patient and sends her back into the house.

As soon as mother and infant have been washed and dressed, and before any food is given, the new mother must swallow a few finely beaten, dried melegueta pepper seeds, that have been roasted in a small earthen pot and mixed with palm oil. Then she eats soft boiled rice and palm oil. The next meal consists of soft boiled rice and well-pounded cassava leaves or sweet-potato greens, both mixed with palm oil. After this she may resume an ordinary diet — usually on the third or fourth day.

The Loma usually eat soft boiled rice first, or this and any kind of finely pounded greens,

r this and any kind of finely pounded greens,

See also p. 216.
Before this he may look in, but he is expected

not to gaze in the direction of the "big medicine" of the women's cult that has been in the house all this time and is not taken back to its place in the house of which are considered to be highly conducive to a quick, free flow of the mother's milk.⁵⁰ In Mano and Sapā the first thing eaten is "palm cabbage" mixed with palm oil. If the mother eats anything else she will "get plenty seek fo' belly." The Tiẽ mother may add soft boiled rice to the "palm cabbage." In Palepo and Gio the first meal is rice and palm oil or palm butter without pepper and with a very little salt or none at all.

The mother generally remains inside the house a few days, until the child's cord falls off. Meanwhile she goes outside only to perform the functions of nature.

Though the Palepo mother begins to help in the household on the ninth day she is not supposed to go to work on the farm until two months have passed. In practice, however, necessity determines the period allowed for recovery.

During her period of confinement to the house a Mano or Gio woman eats alone. When it is over, women friends make her a feast of rice, fresh or smoke-dried fish, meat, or anything available for soup. This feast is eaten inside the house. Afterward the friends wash all her cooking utensils. They then leave, and she is free to go outside. In Mano or Gio the husband, who has had to eat and sleep elsewhere during this time, is now free to return and join his wife.⁵¹

Birth of Twins. What has been written above regarding the birth of infants relates only to single normal births. When twins are born matters take a somewhat different course.

Though twins are not regarded as monstrosities they are regarded with suspicion, everywhere except in Palepo.⁵² For a pair of twins is supposed to be born with a spirit prenatally endowed with the power for making good or bad medicines: a skill that other witch people must acquire. Twins are particularly dangerous to the parent of the opposite sex.

Accordingly, the Sapa force twins to drink sasswood soon after they are born. If one dies, it is considered to have been born with a bad witch-spirit and is buried in the kitchen mid-

the head of the women's cult until the feast is over. (Mano.) The Gio husband may join in the feast if his medicine does not forbid it.

52 The Palepo say, "We welcome them."

den. If both die, the parents and the community are well rid of them, for both had the bad spirit. A surviving twin is treated like any other infant, once it has passed this ordeal.

The Tie consider their newly born twins as normal unless they are seen "getting up and walking about during the night," or unless they cry too much. If they do either of these things, they, too, are subjected to the sasswood ordeal. If they die from its effects, this proves that it was the witch-spirit with which they were born that caused them to howl or prowl about at night. They are buried in a swamp beside other witch people.

A Loma mother after being delivered of twins is washed with medicine made by crushing a certain leaf in water. If there is any other

special ceremony we did not hear of it.

The Mano midwife ties the husband's hands securely behind his back as soon as the delivery of twins is over. When it is time for the infants to be brought into the house she unties his bonds. He then gets two white cola nuts, white fowls, or white cloths, if he has white; if not, two pink colas, brown fowls, or brown cloths will do. Taking one in each hand he presents one to each twin as it is brought in. A Sapā or Tiē father presents each twin with a white fowl, a white cloth, and a leopard's canine tooth, at birth or as soon afterward as he can procure them. He is also supposed to kill a white fowl in sacrifice at each new

A Mano mother remains inside her house for three days after the birth of twin girls or a girl and a boy. If both are boys she remains four days. This is also the custom in Tie. The Sapā mother remains "back" of her house for

four days.

When non-identical twins are born in Gbunde the placentas must be buried in separate, adjoining holes. The Sapa take the placentas of twins to the forest and throw them away where they are not likely to be found by anyone.

Deformed Infants or Monstrosities. The Loma and Sapa do not kill a child born with a deformity, but the Gio carry it out to the forest and throw it away. The Mano, main-

58 By joining it to the company of the Water People. See p. 338.

taining that it "be no pusson," throw it into a stream or pool. "If the stream wishes to kill it, it will do so. If the water wishes to keep it, it does so." 53

Infants born with six fingers or toes are variously treated. The Loma let these extra members grow, for to cut them would be shedding blood on Loma soil, a most serious affair. The Sapa also allow them to remain, as of no particular significance. But in Mano and Tie it is customary for midwives to cut off these extra members as soon as possible. A widely known Bassa native whom we met had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot.

Death of New Infants. When a child is prematurely born and dies, is stillborn at term, or dies immediately after birth, it is treated much like a live infant in the southeast. Its head is molded into shape and its body washed before burial. The Sapa and Tie rub white clay mixed with medicine on the bodies "so they can come back and be reborn as good children." 54

Infants who are thus born dead or die immediately after birth are buried in kitchen middens by the Gio; in ant-hills by the Gbunde and Loma. If the mother also dies in giving birth the infant is often buried with her.55 In Gbunde, where the firstborn is considered a good-luck child if it lives (doubly so, if a boy),

it is given a more elaborate burial.

In Mano, if the mother is supposed to have had something to do with bad medicines or black magic while pregnant, the infant is usually buried in or at the edge of a swamp. Otherwise the midwife secretly buries it among the plantains or bananas growing on the edge of town. No mention is made of the birth or death by anyone. The father's behavior is the same as when a normal infant is born; he does not eat with his wife for three days. No feast is made at the expiration of this time.

If a woman repeatedly loses her infants at birth or through miscarriage, a doctor is consulted. If he "finds" that she has been bewitched and names the party, that person will, on denying the charge, be subjected to ordeal.

The Gbunde consider it very bad luck when the firstborn dies. After the infant has been buried in a termite-hill, the mother goes to a

⁵⁴ They also do this when a child dies before it has begun to walk. 55 See below, pp. 207 ff.

mat, a white hen, and a little rice, asking for her assistance. The mat is placed on the ground before the doctor. On this she seats herself. Then the doctor scatters a bit of the rice on the mat and puts the hen down near it. If the chicken eats the rice, it is an omen that the misfortune which caused the woman to lose her child will leave her. The doctor then takes more of the rice and throws it over the client's head so that it falls behind her. This is done as a token that the bad luck has departed. The obliging hen is returned to the woman to be retained as her bringer of good fortune.⁵⁸

The woman is then taken to a stream, accompanied by the doctor, and is seated naked in the middle of the stream, facing the rising sun. The zo then washes the mother's whole body with medicine—a mixture of barks, herbs, and leaves steeped in water which she has prepared beforehand and brought in a pot or gourd.

After the washing, the zo woman throws the remaining contents of the vessel downstream behind the mother, saying as she does so, "All the bad luck and misfortune-bringing influences have been washed off of you and away from you! They are behind you!" Then, touching the mother's hands and body three times each, she repeats, "Bad luck, leave her body. Bad luck, leave her body. Bad luck, leave her body."

After the ceremony, the mother puts on clean clothes. She takes nothing back to town that she has worn to the stream. Any clothes she may have had on become the property of the zo. The mother now accompanies the zo to the latter's house. On the way there, she must look straight ahead. At the zo's house she reports to those assembled that she has been "washed free." She then goes to her husband's house, looking straight ahead as before, never to right or left or behind her. Since she is now considered to be clean and free from all evil influences, she and her husband sleep together.

If the child that dies is not the firstborn, this ceremony is not considered necessary. The

mother is then merely washed with medicines to free her from harmful influences.

Death in Childbirth. So far as we could learn, women who die in childbirth are everywhere buried naked by women who are past the time of childbearing. The graves are dug by these same old women. In Gbunde the burial place is in the forest or near a swampy stream. In the southeast it is out in the deep forest.

In Loma, when a woman shows signs of dying in childbirth, or after she has been delivered but before the placenta has come,⁵⁷ she is carried to the path leading to the stream where the women go to stool. She is then set down in the center of the path. Her relatives ask her to speak if she knows or suspects what may be causing her death. When she dies, she is buried near the stream. This place serves as the cemetery for all who have died from the same cause. No man may ever set foot on this ground. While the obsequies are being conducted, all pregnant women of the town keep one foot in stocks hastily fashioned from a section of banana or plantain tree.

In the north nothing is put into the grave of a woman dying in these circumstances. The Loma place broken gourds or potsherds and a bunch of unhulled rice on top of such a grave. The Half-Grebo 58 first put in the bottom of the grave four sticks from the walls of a fallenin and abandoned hut. On top of these the woman's sleeping mat is placed and then her corpse is laid on it and covered with an old mat. The Tie put in a cloth. If she died before the child was born, her abdomen is cut open, the child taken out and buried near by, in a separate grave. Hot coals and an abundance of red capsicum pepper pods are laid on the infant's corpse before covering it with earth. This is done to prevent it from "desiring to come back to humbug others as it has humbugged its mother."

The Gbunde have a curious custom in connection with a death resulting from childbirth. The day after the woman has died, the midwives and old women dress in men's clothing. Armed with sizable sticks, they assemble just

⁵⁶ What happened to the hen if it refused to eat, we were not told. It is unthinkable that a hen should refuse rice.

⁸⁷ It is said that "if the placenta has not been born, the child is still unborn."

⁵⁸ Some sections, as Palepo, for example.

before dawn. They then go about the town, banging on doors and roofs of all huts in which there are men, shouting as they beat, and cursing the men. Girls and all women not past the childbearing age are "caught" and taken to an open place in the town where they are kept until redeemed to be "washed." They are not averse to "being held," as they are aiding to make a bit of excitement at the men's expense. The chief comes forward, advising and haranguing the men to make payment of small gifts to the captors, so their wives and daughters may be purified and released. After a sufficient collection 59 has been taken, the prisoners are marched to the water. There the malignant influences are removed from the captives by rubbing them with certain leaves and pouring water over them. When this is over they are free to return to their homes once again.

The Mano, GE, and Gio women indulge in a similar practice, which we witnessed at the Mano town of Kawi. There was much excitement among the many people we found gathered there when, late one afternoon, we entered on foot, having been abandoned by our carriers at a town some miles back. After we had greeted the half-drunk chief and town worthies, secured men to bring in our loads, and been promised carriers for the morrow, we were left by our host and his followers, who sought more gin and palm wine. The chief soon returned with the admonition that we need not be afraid if we should be awakened by great noises and loud cries and shouts during the night, for "the women would be out cursing the men."

The warning was timely, for toward morning, while it was yet dark, we were startled out of our sleep by a most frightful din made by women's voices and a banging on doors and roofs. Our interpreters, who shared part of the rest house with us, were discreetly peering out, enjoying their apparent security. They told us that the commotion occurred because a woman had died in childbirth.

We then learned that for three nights after a woman has died from this cause, it is the privilege of the women to "curse" all men and to beat any and everyone of them they can get hold of. This is "to chase away the evil that man has caused." We were to consider ourselves fortunate that the women had waited so long. Often, we were told, they begin in the evening and keep at it all night long.

Like frenzied demons, they rushed everywhere, banging doors, to the destruction of some of them, and roofs, to the detriment of the thatch. At one moment, when all the women were at the far end of the town, we noted a few doors being carefully and silently opened. Then heads were cautiously thrust out in an endeavor to get a glimpse of what was going on. All these disappeared and doors were hastily fastened when suddenly the tide of female furies swung back. One luckless individual was too slow. A few women got inside the house and, if the sounds issuing from it were any indication, he was getting all that was coming to him, and more. The shouts and cries accompanying the banging were the vilest imprecations of the Mano vocabulary. "Dey pass all ting fo' bad we get fo' we mouf. I no fit tell you," our interpreter remarked, when we asked what it was they were shouting.

This spree was indulged in by all the women of the town; not, as in Gbunde, only by those past the childbearing age. There was here no catching of younger women to hold them for redemption.

Period of Abstinence from Sexual Intercourse. In Mano, Gio, Sapa, and Tie the parents abstain from intercourse until the child can toddle about. Otherwise the child might become ill, hindered in its growth, unable to walk for a long time; it might even die. In Tiɛ, if a woman becomes pregnant before her child begins to toddle about a bit, she takes an abortifacient. Palepo women abstain only until the child can "begin to creep a little." In the case of monogamous marriages, children are considered as having acquired this ability by the sixth or seventh week! In polygamous marriages local custom says that the child begins to do so after the third month. This interpretation of the law is probably a wise provision to avert abortion.

The Gbunde custom is the severest in this matter. The wife remains in her mother's house, if she is of the same town, or that of her

lings in money and kind.

⁵⁰ The total may not be more than six to eight shil-

mother-in-law, for three years after she bears a girl and four after she bears a boy. During this time, she is expected to abstain from sexual intercourse with her husband or any other man. When the time has expired, the husband goes to the mother's house, taking a new mat and native cloth.

As he hands these over, he says, "I want my wife back now. The child walks."

She is given back, and she and the child accompany him home. They go to his palaver house or "rice kitchen." He gets his medicines and on these she must now take oath in the presence of the mother or mother-in-law and the town's notables that she has had no relations with any other man since the birth of the child.

If the husband has been away and is unable to get back at the expiration of the time, and his wife has become pregnant by another man, he is told that the child is not for him. The begetter is named. The wife is again put in the care of her mother or mother-in-law until a like period has expired after the birth of this new child. The begetter must assume the responsibility and care for both mother and child during all this time. At its expiration, he has the right to acquire the child for his own by making a payment of the equivalent of about sixty shillings to the woman's husband.

Sterility. Men are never supposed to be sterile, though they may not be able to "make a child" because of impotence. When a woman fails to bear children it is always held to be her fault.⁶⁰ There are a host of reasons why she may be thus afflicted.

She may have been "borned" so, and therefore not responsible. This may be the result of bewitching.

She may have looked at medicine of the Poro cult (north), which is sure to cause this condition. She herself may confess to having done so. Denying such an accusation, she may be subject to trial by ordeal.

She may have broken some taboo or other. She may have "too much fat in the belly"—not fatty tissue, but another kind of "fat," the nature of which could not be clearly explained

She may have become a "witch" and practiced black magic that reacted on herself.

by our interpreter.

Before she was married she may have eaten fresh eggs without chicken embryos inside them. (Customarily, only eggs that have failed to hatch are eaten.)

For overcoming sterility there are many medicines, ⁶¹ because with very rare exceptions every African woman wants children. They add to her prestige, give her a higher standing both in the household and in the community, lead to more consideration on the part of her husband, and give her a sort of insurance in later years. Children are also valued helpers in many kinds of work.

One of the medicines seen in Sapa for overcoming sterility was a mixture of white clay, barks, leaves, and other substances that had been beaten in a mortar. This was rubbed on the body, not only by the sterile woman for whom it had been made, but by all the men and women of the place, and the children as well!

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SEX IN INANIMATE OBJECTS

Inanimate objects are everywhere held to possess sex. A good illustration of this is the fact that a perfect medical prescription must contain both male and female elements. The more actively therapeutic ingredients, such as leaves and bark, are called male medicines. The more magical elements and those ingredients that are roasted or charred before using are called female. Fresh red palm oil in a prescription is a male element; "burned" or clarified palm oil is a female element. A poisonous plant

[∞] Sterility is sometimes a ground for divorce. See p. 195.

may be considered male when used fresh, but female when charred and more safely used for its magical qualities.

Similarly, a certain fruit used as a heart stimulant (Amaralia sherbourniae) is considered male. A leaf caught in mid-air and incorporated into a warrior's fetish to give him speed, is female.

Stones are male, because of their hardness. The fertile soil is female. Of two obviously similar plants, the larger and more robust is

⁶¹ See also p. 394.

called the male. (Occasionally, true scientific sex is recognized in plants when one tree bears

no fruit and the other is fruitful.)

In wood carvings there are occasional representations of male and female organs. A pair of blacksmith's bellows sticks differ in shape at the rear end. One is rounded or frankly phallic in shape; the other, the female, has a flaring end like an inverted, truncated cone (figures 64 and 25, a).

The post set up in the center of a town for a place of sacrifice to the ancestors is almost always of the male type, but we once saw a pair, male and female. (These supported a crossbar to which was tied a stone from the former site of the town.)

In Loma country there was a grave with posts set up at the four corners — two male and two female. The female posts had human

breasts carved in the wood.

SEX IN THE SPIRIT WORLD

After death persons are believed to continue in their sexual status at the time of death, but not to be sexually active. They are also believed able to confer on the living such powers as they themselves formerly possessed. A woman who had had many children was prayed to for children by sterile women, as well as for fertility of the crops. (Gio.) The image of a woman whose sons were great warriors was

prayed to for success in war. (Krã.) The spirits of twins who die are still feared by parents of the opposite sex; and the common spirit of mixed twins is feared by both parents. Finally, the Poro masks, which are the dwelling places of spirits, are definitely of two sexes; the finely carved ones are usually female. The hideous ones with big eyes are always male. Examples are illustrated in figures 88–91.

CHILDHOOD AND CHILD TRAINING

TAKING THE CHILD OUT FOR THE FIRST TIME AND GIVING IT A NAME

WHEN a girl baby is three days old, or a boy four days old, there is often a "coming out" ceremony—a formal presentation of the infant to its father and the public. The child is smeared with white clay and medicine supposed to please the spirits interested in the fertility of the clan—presumably ancestral spirits. Until this event a man is not supposed to tell anyone that he has a new baby.

On the day the umbilical cord drops off, the child is given a name and taken out for the first time. (North.) In Palepo it is taken out on that day, but is given a name later. In Sapa

either plan may be followed.

In Ghunde, after the cord has dropped off, the midwife takes the infant outside. The mother follows and seats herself on a stool near the door, facing toward the rising sun. The midwife gives her the infant to hold for a moment, and then takes it from her again. The mother is then asked what the name is to be. Upon hearing the name the midwife turns to the east, speaks the name, and enumerates all the good things she wishes for the infant. Having exhausted her vocabulary on this subject, she holds the infant toward the setting sun, then toward the north, and finally toward the south. With her hands she next scoops up water from a vessel and washes the infant. In this water are some herbs and perhaps one or two Kisi pennies, as medicine. When this ceremony is completed the midwife empties the vessel into the "road" toward the east, and once more gives the infant to its mother. Then the husband and any others who have been present may make small gifts to it of anything they may have.

In the Loma ceremony, called duwulaetea, the midwife stands inside the house near the door, holding the child. If it is a girl the woman for whom she is to be named stands just outside the door. The midwife stoops down, touches the infant to the door sill, and hands her to the godmother. She does the same, and hands the infant back to the midwife. This is done three times. Then the godmother takes the infant again and goes to a near-by calabash

containing water and certain leaves. In this she seats the infant. Then, taking the crushed leaves, she begins washing her, saying as she does so, "Make — [naming her] grow to be strong in our hands so that she will remain with us for a long time." She now takes the infant from the vessel and holds her in the sun until she is dry. This, also, is repeated three times, after which the infant is handed back to her mother, and the naming ceremony is over.

For a boy the ceremony is the same, except that the infant is received by his godfather and the procedures are gone through four times

instead of three.

The custom of the Loma living in French Guinea is said to be somewhat different from this. After the child has been passed back and forth between midwife and godfather or godmother, and has been handed back for the last time, the midwife chews a white cola nut and three or four seeds from the red seed pod of tayizegi (Afromomum sp.). When this has been well chewed, the resulting mass is stuffed into the rectum of the infant, who is told "to grow up fast like this [mixture] will make you [your bowels] move quickly." Then the washing and drying proceeds as above.

When a Gio infant is first brought out of the house, all persons in the town who are interested come to admire it. Each in turn takes a mouthful of water from a gourd and blows it on the child's body. The child is then placed on a mat and all take turns stepping over it, saying as they do so, "Anyone who curses your father, you curse his father. Anyone who curses your mother, you curse his mother. Anyone who hits you, you hit him back." The child is then given its name.

When the Palepo infant is brought out for the first time the father or mother lays it on a small, new mat and carries it to the head of the father's family. Handing it over to the aged man, the parent says, "I have brought this man [or woman, if a girl] to work for you."

Holding it in his arms, the family head speaks to it thus: "You must remain on earth for long, as I have done. You must get as old

as I am. Do not make trouble for others. Do not become a rascal. Do not cry too much."

Next he takes some of a dry "beefsteak" mushroom (ge t'ro), chews it, and blows it out on the infant's face. Finally he gives it his blessing and wishes it the things these people consider most desirable and useful. On the following day, the family head has a fowl killed and makes a small feast for the mother.

Some time after this blessing ceremony, usually ten days or a fortnight, the godfather or godmother, and any others who may desire to be present, come to the house where the child is, to name it. If the infant is a boy, the person chosen to be the godparent is given four palm nuts; if a girl, three. If he (or she) agrees, he "catches" (accepts and retains) the palm nuts. (This is a mere formality; it is said that he never refuses.) The godparent now makes a small feast of a fowl with palm oil and rice for the parents. The mother is given a cloth; the namesake, a small cap, a spoon, and perhaps a cheap enamelware dish or plate.

While handing over these things the godparent says, "You pikin, dat be my name."

The relationship between the godfather and namesake will be that between a father and his son. They will help one another and make gifts to one another. The namesake will never forget his godfather when he kills an animal.

The Sapa midwife burns wood of a certain tree, mixes its ashes with palm oil or water, then takes it to the house of the infant on the day it is to be first brought out. She dips the four fingers of one hand into the mixture, makes streaks from the forehead downward on the infant's face, then on her own, and last on the face of the mother. After this, the mother takes the child out behind the house. In readiness here are white clay from the "waterside" mixed with medicine, and a mortar containing water and medicine leaves. Near the mortar are some oilpalm nuts, a stone, and a fire. The stone is heated and dropped into the mortar. From this the mother scoops up medicinewater with her hand, bathing the infant three times if it is a girl; four, if a boy.

While doing this she admonishes it, saying, "You must not trouble me; you must grow; you must not cry"; and so on. If she has dreamed that her child is the reincarnation of some person, she makes it known at this time. stressing the virtues of the deceased, supposedly possessed by the child.

tility ceremony.

Other persons present now come forward, scoop some of the medicine-water from the mortar, and put it on their own bodies. Next they rub themselves with the medicine-containing white clay. Last, each eats one of the oilpalm nuts. This is done to bring good luck to all participating and to the infant and the community as well. "As this child has been born here, so also other children will be born in this town." Thus the name-giving ends in a fer-

This procedure is a little different in Tie. There the midwife takes three sticks for a girl, four for a boy, from among those she finds lying in a stream. These she dries and burns, collects their ashes, and mixes them with palm oil. She takes this paste to the mother's house on the day the remnant of the cord drops off.

Entering the house, she brings out the infant and carries it behind the house. The mother follows. There, in anticipation of this event, are a stone taken from the bottom of a stream, a mortar, and some water. Any townspeople who have seen fit to come are gathered there. The midwife streaks the face of the infant in the same way as her Sapa sister, then the faces of all present, including her own. The stone is then put into the mortar, the water poured in, and the child bathed. It is then given to its

In Mano there is also a sort of baptismal ceremony — the real significance of which the informants refused to tell. It takes place after the child is able to walk. The godparent goes to the house of the child, takes it outside, and holding it in one arm throws water up on the roof and lets it run down on the child. At the same time that the water is dripping down the usual blessing-wishes for the child are recited.

NAMES GIVEN CHILDREN

mother.

Outside of Half-Grebo the child is usually named by the mother. In Mano the father may name the child, or change its name if he so wishes. The name may come to the mother in a dream before the child is born. If not, she may have the naming ceremony postponed

until she does dream one. (Sapa and Tie.) A name so chosen is sure to bring good fortune, since the spirits have chosen it. Sometimes a chance remark of some elder member of the family determines the name. For example, a Mano chief informed of the birth of a grandchild said, "Ko ma." Immediately the child's name became Koma, "So we heard." Children are also named after relatives or friends; in some sections, after godparents. They may be named after desirable attributes; or even undesirable ones, in the hope that the name will produce its opposite. Some names derive from amusing incidents connected with the child's birth or from its behavior. A name equivalent to our word, "scrappy" or "spunky" is often given to a boy. There is not necessarily a distinction between the names of men and of women.

Sometimes the Palepo take the infant to the big doctor to be named, or renamed, by him. In the southeast generally the doctor is often asked to rename a sickly child or one that cries a good deal; for it is thought that the name does not agree with the child. A few persons suggested that crying might be the child's way

of protesting against its name.

The Gbunde, Loma, and Mano prefix to the childhood or "sin" 1 name an ordinal name indicating the order of birth. These are different for boys and for girls. A Mano child also has a middle name, a "story" name, which may arise from an incident occurring at the time of birth. These are strictly childhood names. Some of them are very funny, and if someone laughs about them, no one is ever offended. There are also nicknames; like Yini, denoting "quick to fight," and Kebo, literally "an extra share," meaning "greedy." A boy may have a girl's name for a play name.

Most of the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano take a "Bush" name when they come out of the initiation schools.² This may be chosen by the child himself or suggested by his parents or friends. This is a sort of surname. There are also intimate names. A "big man" will be widely known by a name that he himself is not supposed to hear. It may be connected with

some outstanding characteristic — not always complimentary. People sometimes slyly refer to this name in the man's presence, making impertinent remarks or joking at his expense in parables. If he catches on, the name is dropped at once and a new one found.

So it happens that a man may have five or six names, any one of which he may give you as his real name. Nowadays he may even have a pidgin name; such as Fine Boy, Shoes, Teacup, or Blackie.

For example, a prominent man's name is Se Doto Gbĩa Dao, or Sene Doto. Dao is his childhood name. Doto Gbĩa, his Bush name, means Doto, Jr. (his father's name was Doto). He is also Sene Doto because his mother's name was Sene. No one any longer thinks of calling him Se (first-born son). Only his equals call him by his childhood name, Dao. People of his mother's family call him Sene Doto. Strangers call him Pingala, "the blacksmith." He is politely referred to as Doto Gbĩa or Doto Gbĩa Dao. And since he is a "big man" he has still other names connected with his ritual duties.

If a son becomes famous for any reason, the father may get another name, "the father of so-and-so." Dr. Harley, whose eldest son was the first white child ever born in the Mano country, may be called Lo-duo Da, or Se Lo-duo's father. Se: Lo-duo means "first-born son, born on market day."

A Sapā father's name is prefixed to that of his sons, and the mother's to that of her daughters. Thus, Tale Ngawulu is Tale's son, Ngawulu; Kalo Puiyano is Kalo's daughter, Piuyano.

There are special names for twins; and in Gbunde and Mano the first child born after a

twin birth also has a special name.

Certain taboos must everywhere be observed in the use of other persons' names. A Sapā child does not address his parents by their names, but says, Ma (my father) and Ni (my mother). A Kpelle boy never dares call his mother by her "sin" name and hesitates to say her Bush name. He may not address his father by either name, nor use his "sin" name in speaking of him to others, but he may speak of

¹ The invention of this term for the minor name is undoubtedly the work of the Americo-Liberians, who call the uninitiated "sinners."

² Few of the Gio have Bush names — probably because their chief cults are not the same as those of the other tribes of the north.

him by his Bush name. A Kpelle man may call his wife by either name; but a wife may call her husband only by his Bush name, because "man surpasses woman." Mano of equal standing may address each other by their "sin" names or speak them to others. For children it is forbidden to utter the "sin" name of either parent. Husband and wife may call each other by their "sin" names, but do not ordinarily do so in public.

We have classified the few names recorded

by us as follows:

1. Names of parents or relatives

2. Names of good qualities or skills

3. Names of bad or undesirable qualities

4. Names denoting color

5. Names denoting an event

6. Names according to order of birth

7. Twins' names

GROUP I

. Boys Named for Parents or Relatives

Gbunde: Gaiya we, "son of Gaiya."

Loma: Kalapele, name of a wealthy relative.

Kpwede Ba, the name of the boy's oldest

paternal uncle, and also that of the uncle's grandfather. (*Kpwede* means to "fix" or "re-

pair.") This is a Bush name.

Mulba, Bush name of a smith at Zorzor whose grandfather also had this as his Bush name. Yakpwazuo, Bush name of a boy whose great-grandfather also had it.

Mano: Sene D'ro (or Doto), a Bush name in which sene, the mother's name, is prefixed to D'ro, meaning "son of."

Palepo: Pa, from the mother's name, Seyemo Pa.

Sapã: Tale Nya Wulu. Tale is the father's name; nya wulu means, "I say thus."

Kpelle: Krvou, a Bush name meaning "leopard's tooth," taken by a boy whose brother's name was Leopard.

Girls Named for Parents or Relatives

Loma: Bau, after a paternal grandmother, whose Bush name this is.

Mano: Gbiā D'ro, a Bush name chosen by the girl's mother. Gbiā was the name of the father, who had died leaving no sons. It was desired that his name should not die out and be forgotten.

Ko Zeme D'ro, "first-born daughter of Zeme." The girl's Bush name is Pewe, chosen

because it was that of a paramount chief she admired.

Sapã: Kalo Puiyano, for the mother, whose name is Kalo.

GROUP II

Boys Named for Desirable Qualities

Gbunde: Folo Mo, "to shine more." A Bush name.

Mano: Gi a kū, "clever" (literally, "he has caught

Gio: Gense, from ge, "to beg," and se, "well" or "good."

Kodie, "war spear." From ko, "war" and di, "spear." The father was a great warrior. Yeweli (from the Bassa), "I see [get] plenty

money."

Sapā: Dekonyo and Panyo. Both are titles of respect by which one is addressed when someone asks a favor.

Kladio (a nickname), "strong man."

Kolu, a chief's staff. Painyo, "rich person."

Kpelle: Bwomoron, "hospitable."

Girls Named for Desirable Qualities

Loma: Gbwolu, "fine woman."

Gio: Kei, name of the everlasting fig tree that is planted in the medicine place at the founding of a new town.

Kwa Molia, from kwa, "hand," and molia, "fine"; that is, a fine person who must be let alone (not "humbugged"). This girl's Bush name is Gate, meaning "small in person."

Palepo: Beru, "to lick clean." ("If you are given food you eat it all up and lick the dish and your hands afterwards, because it is so good.")

Sapā: Dawe, "long-lived."

Maino, meaning one who is obedient, or one who does things well.

GROUP III

Boys Named for Bad Qualities

Loma: Feleku, a name indicating misfortune. The mother had lost all the children she had borne before this one.

Gleyu, "dog." The mother of this child, also, had lost all her previous children. To deceive the spirits who might take this one, too, she said, in effect, "This is not a person; it is nothing; it is a dog."

Mano: Se: Yım, from Se:, denoting the first-born boy, and yım, "to fight." Yım is also the red tree-ant. This infant showed a violent temper.

Duo Gō, "slave man." This is a typical Mano name for a child born after all others have died. The mother says, "If I care too much for this one it will die also; I will call it a slave."

Half-Grebo (Webo clan):

Si, "go." All the other children of this couple had died. It was hoped the name would cause this child to stay.

Palepo: Geda, "undesirable." This mother had had four children, all of whom had died. To deceive the spirits, she says, by this name, "I don't want this one."

Girls Named for Bad Qualities

Loma: Li Peleku, from li, "to go," and peleku, "to come." In the inverted order of Loma speech, "They go; they come." This mother had had four children who died.

Mano: K2 Yim, "first-born girl," and "to fight."
Same reason as Se: Yim, above.
K2 Kui (or Kwi), "first-born girl foreigner."
Given by the Mano to the first white girl-child living in their country.

Gio: Kpwana, "sorrow" or "misery." All of the father's children had died, so when this one came, he said, "I do not rejoice. If I were to feel happy, this one, too, would die."

GROUP IV

Names Denoting Color

Mano: Se: Zolo, from Se:, "first-born man-child," and zolo, "red." The word is used to describe the lighter skinned individuals. Some are coppery brown.

Se: Ti, from Se: (as above) and ti, "black."

Gio: Dε Pu, "medicine-man" or "doctor," and "white-" or "light-skinned." This is Paramount Chief Towe's honor name.

GROUP V

Boys Named for an Event

Mano: Bo Go, "hog" and "hog-wallow." The child played in a hole, like a hog in a mud wallow.

Nya Gege. Nya is "second male child"; Gege, the name of a famous warrior who came to town when the child was born.

Second Third Fourth Fifth Sixth First Zeze Kpweiwu Piwu Urvu Loma boys: Woluku Bakolo Gau or Nau Loma girls: Nenn Wuo F5 Pe: Zawolo Mano boys: Se: Nya Fania Mano girls: Ko Yau Yei N_{2} Ko

Zeni, "again." The mother had borne no daughters; only boys.

Di Wai, "woman not in there." This name was given under the same circumstances as the above.

Gio: Puli Zia. Puli is a native approximation of the English word, "public"; zia means "road."
Government road was being built through the town when the boy was born.

Tiɛ: Talu, "war time."

Kpelle: Takpwe (Bassa word). The boy's father had grown up among the Bassa. Later he returned to his father's town, married, and gave this child a Bassa name.

Girls Named for an Event

Mano: Disi, "not to be taken." "[not to] marry" (literally, "to take a woman")—The negative meaning is understood from the inflection. This mother had borne many daughters who had all been given in marriage. This name is a warning that she intends this one to remain in her house.

Makwomo, a Bush name meaning about the same as the above: "No man will get her." Suoyi, "in the farm." The girl was born in the farm.

Tiɛ: Gbwa, "big road." The District Commissioner was putting through what he termed an "automobile road" at the time of this girl's birth.

Kpelle: Dro Pu, "ten slaves." This name was given to a girl in the initiation school by her mother, indicating that any man who wanted to marry her would have to give ten slaves for her.

Lapolo, "stand behind," meaning, "You can count on my support." This child had been pledged before she was born to the town chief of Maimu for his help in war. This name was a token of the father's pledge.

GROUP VI

Boys and Girls Named in Order of Birth

Ordinal names are prefixed to the names of Gbunde, Loma, and Mano children to designate the order of their birth. Those we learned are:

In Mano a seventh child by the same mother

will be called To a Nyē, meaning "names are finished." An eighth boy will be Se Peda,

meaning "Se, the second"; the ninth boy, Nya Peda, which means "Nya, the second," and

GROUP VII

Twins' Names

For twins there are special names in Gbunde, Loma, Mano, and Half-Grebo. The Sapa and Tie are very reluctant even to mention the names of twins.4 At first they declared that none had ever been born in their country.

As for triplets, our Mano interpreter said, "Woman never bo'n twins t'ree time fo' we country; only two time." An old Mano woman named Yei Y5, herself a twin child, made the same statement.

In Palepo twins are called by a twin name, until they can walk; after that the twin name is dropped, and each is given a name like any other child.

In Loma the first-born of twin boys is named Zeze; the second, Kokwe. If the twins are girls the first-born is Kolu; the second, Mau. If mixed, the boy is Sewa; the girl, Mau.

In Mano the first-born of twins is Kona; the second, Y5, irrespective of whether they are boys or girls. Two first-born girl twins will be named Ko Kona and Yau Yã. If the sexes are mixed the names may be Se Kona and Ko Y3. In other words, the ordinal names will be unchanged; the special twin names will be added. If the first children are twins, and both boys, they will be named Se Kona and Nya Y5. If the child that follows them is also a boy he will be called Pe Belle. A girl following twins will have her usual name, denoting her sequence among the girls of the family, with the special name, $B\varepsilon ll\varepsilon$, also.

Gbwe is a general name that may be given either to twin boys or twin girls in Gio. Sets of names for pairs of twin boys are Ge and Gbwe, Gubo and Die, Piwa and Ze. For girls we obtained only one set, Kwa and Yon.

In the Webo clan, Half-Grebo, the first set of twins of either sex is named Yurukuyo; the second set, Yurukuyo Obutiyo.

In Palepo the first-born of twin boys is Gibaju; the second, Gibajuruso. Girls are Nyeno and Nyenojuruso.

Sapa twin names for boys are Tobo and Maselerai; for girls, Son and Kia.

In Gbunde, as in Mano, there is a special name for the first child born after twins. Such a boy is called Se Wolo; a girl, Se Ba.

CHILD CARE

The Feeding of Infants. In the feeding of infants there is a decided difference between the tribes of the north and those of the southeast. Local and individual variations are also wide, making generalization exceedingly difficult. Mothers were sometimes seen giving their new babies foods that were declared by others in near-by towns of the same clan never to be given.

In Gbunde and Loma the newcomer is given warm water only until the mother can nurse it. To induce the flow of milk she may be given soup made of beni seeds. After the milk has come she drinks palm wine "to take the cold blood out of her stomach." The infant, too, is given palm wine "to keep its bowels moving regularly." At six or seven months it is given soft, boiled rice, cooked without salt. Salt would "shrivel and harden the gums so the teeth could not get through."

The Mano begin supplementary feeding

earlier. Once daily, for the first three days, the child is given some rice water. In addition, the mother gives her breast as soon as her milk begins to flow. If it does not come when it should, clay from the water-pot stand is smeared on her breasts, and a qualified person is consulted as to the proper course to take. After the sixth or seventh month the child is fed tender greens, well pounded and cooked.

The Gio mother's breasts are rubbed with palm oil to cause the milk to come. She does not nurse her infant until the third day. Until that time the child is nursed by some other woman who is nursing a child of her own. If no wet nurse is available the mother and her infant are given water to drink the first day, and the mother is allowed to begin nursing it on the second. If her milk fails to come she is believed to have had an affair with a man which she did not make known at the time of her confession before delivery. She is urged to

4 See also pp. 205-06.

⁸ See p. 202.

confess now, in order that medicine may be made to bring her milk. Regular feeding of the baby begins on the day when it crawls to a pot in which rice has been cooked and puts its hand in the pot, or sticks its hand into the rice dish when someone is eating. "Look, baby wants to eat!" someone exclaims; whereupon

it is given its first meal.

The Palepo midwife cooks and mashes two large palm nuts. With the oil expressed from them she makes palm-oil water. She then takes the infant, sticks one of her fingers into finely ground capsicum pods, and rubs the inside of its mouth and throat with the pepper, sticking her finger far back so as to cause it to gag. After this the child is given, and forced to swallow, the palm-oil water. Next day the mother begins nursing it. At the beginning of the second month it is fed rice flour boiled in water with palm "butter" added. Small quantities are given to it two to four times daily. One woman seen here was stuffing her two months' old child with unmashed, soft boiled rice.

In Krutown, Monrovia, we saw a child one month old lying on its back across the legs of a little girl who was sitting on the earthen floor of the hut. She bathed the child first, then from a small dish she fed it unsalted cassava paste made by boiling cassava flour with water. To do this, she took a chunk in her fingers and put it in the baby's mouth, holding its nose meanwhile so that the child would have to swallow. This, the grandmother said, was given the child once daily. She further informed us that toward evening she causes the child to gag, as the Palepo do, and gives it an enema in order to make it grow strong.

The Sapa infant is given water daily and is nursed by some woman other than the mother for a few days: three, if a girl; four, if a boy. If the mother herself nurses it before that time, "she will cause its death." To cause her milk to come "soon and plenty," dung of the pigmy hippo is rubbed on her breasts. After the ninth day, palm "butter" is fed to infants of both sexes; sweet potatoes, when they begin to creep about; rice, when the first tooth comes.

The Tië interviewed stated that from birth until they can walk, infants are daily given

⁶ It is probable that this custom has come to the southeast from the Gio.

leaves of the *pono* plant (Ageratum conyzoides) or those of a smaller-leaved one called dōbwanini (undetermined by us), beaten together with two capsicum pods. This is put into water. Some of the infusion is given the infant to drink and a little is blown up its nostrils. This is to make it become strong, live and grow powerful, and have many children.

Everywhere there is an idea that a woman must nurse her baby until it walks — which often turns out to be bad for the baby. As the milk supply fails, the baby is retarded in development, often not walking until it is two years old. At best, weaning is a very gradual process, the baby pulling at an empty breast long after it is old enough to eat. Too weak to walk, it thus establishes a vicious circle, and falls easy prey to disease.

The idea of a wet nurse for a baby whose mother has little or no milk is beyond the native reasoning. A woman with no milk is supposed to be suffering the consequences of her own sins. Sometimes the grandmother will

have a little milk to help out.

If the mother dies of puerperal sepsis, or any other cause, soon after childbirth, leaving a healthy baby behind, some tribes bury the live infant with her. Other tribes, especially in the north, try to find a nursing mother who will consent to feed the orphan; but this is not always possible. Attempts to feed the baby under these circumstances seldom meet with success. The cows are too wild and unruly to milk. Occasionally a native will consent to try, but the cow usually wins. Efforts to get the natives to use goat's milk are useless, though goats are everywhere.

Baths and Bath Water. The northern tribes have a curious custom of forcing their infants to drink some of the water in which they are being washed. One Sapā mother said that the Sapā did not have this custom, but mothers in other parts insisted that if this were not done the infants would die.⁶ Be that as it may, we observed another Sapā woman giving the bath water to a three-days-old boy, whose umbilical cord had not yet fallen off.⁷

A bath we saw given by a Mano mother to her three-weeks-old child was typical of all

lone when he passed through Sapaland in 1899. "Nothing is more curious," he writes, "than the care mothers (Continued on page 218)

A note on this subject was made by Captain D'Ol-

that tribe. From a vessel containing cold water she took a handful and threw it on the child's face and into its eyes. Then she threw handfuls on the body, and washed the child with her hand. At intervals she scooped up a handful of water, ran it into the child's mouth and forced it to swallow. The child spluttered and gasped in protest. When we asked the woman why she did this she said, "Because my mother did so, and it will make my child grow big and strong." Everywhere in the north we were given the same answer.

When the bath was finished the woman moistened a lump of white clay and put some of this on one of her legs, which served as a palette. Then she proceeded to decorate her human canvas. First the infant's forehead was streaked, next the eyelids and face, finally the whole body. When this had been done to her satisfaction she laid the child in the blazing sun "to strengthen its body."

The first time we saw one of these camouflaged mites lying before its mother's house we could not at first guess what the curious object might be. Not until we were close to it did we recognize it for a sleeping infant.

Now and then a child so exposed to the "strengthening" rays of the dry-season sun had its head protected by a covering of cloth.

First Teeth. On the subject of first teeth we know little. Mano mothers declare that they come when the baby begins to sit up. If they should come sooner the baby would be seriously ill. If the upper tooth comes first, they say, "Baby be no pusson; he be animal." In Sapā we were told that if a lower tooth came first the child would live; if an upper, he would surely die.

Infant Mortality. In an endeavor to learn something about birth and infant mortality rates we everywhere questioned women past the childbearing age. In many parts of Africa it is not good form to discuss this question. Sometimes it is even considered an insult to be asked. Many women, especially among the Loma, refused to answer our questions, or simply walked away. One Mano woman said it was considered shameful for a woman to talk about the number of children she had had when other women were present. In that town none of the women would give information until they had obtained permission from the chief.

An old Palepo man, after demanding our reasons for asking, pugnaciously queried, "Can you make the dead come back to us?"

We learned that a total of 2,089 children had been born to 385 women who were willing to give us information. Of these, 63.2% had

died — 57.9% of them in infancy.

Of 276 women who gave information concerning the sex of their children we learned that, of 1,470 children born, 722 were boys and 748 were girls; or 49.1% boys and 50.8% girls. Of the boys, 456 or 63.1% had died; of the girls, 390 or 51.8% — most of them in infancy.

As we do not know how reliable the answers were, we give these figures for what

they are worth.

The chief contributory factors to infant mortality are: appalling ignorance of the simplest hygienic measures, improper and forced feeding, exposure to the blazing sun to keep them warm, and a prevalence of malignant malaria and yaws.

THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN

Most Negro children are attractive and delightful little creatures when they are well and their bodies are kept clean and shining. In the first years the affection of parents for them is very evident. Though they are loved quite as much as they grow older, parents become more reserved in their demonstrations of affection. It is not unusual to see a father carrying his child about ("minding the baby") while the mother is busy at some task. The

take of their babes. Every morning each one washes her infant, lays it down on her lap (face upward), then dipping bath water out with her hand into a calabash she allows it to run (from the calabash) down along her index finger into the mouth of the little one. Lying with the head thrown back and choked by the

liquid, it howls and struggles in vain: the entire contents of the calabash must pass into its mouth. After this, without doubt to take precautions against the possibility of congestion, the mother gives it an enema by blowing into a small calabash whose hollow stem is inserted into the rectum." D'Ollone, 1901, p. 132.

husband who has grounds for believing that his wife would like to run away from him knows that as long as he has the child he need not

worry much about her leaving.

The mother of the north carries her baby tied securely to her back in a fold of cloth (fig. 59, c). The Half-Grebo and Sapā mothers carry their babies on the back in a boxlike affair. Fastened to this are fiber bands through which she passes her arms (fig. 45, a and 31, d). Carried thus, the baby literally sits in its box up against the mother's bare back. We sometimes wondered how it was possible for it to breathe.

As among all primitive peoples, the training of children in their early years appears effortless. Teaching is by precept and example. Corporal punishment is rarely given, but is reserved for flagrant disobedience or theft. Young children are expected to give a hand at small tasks as soon as they are old enough. They are taken to the farm with father and mother, and with their little wooden hoes and small machetes they soon learn by imitating the various occupations of their elders (fig. 45, c).

The Gio say that they do not begin to teach their children, or to expect help from them, until they are six or seven years old. Up to that age, they say, children think of nothing but food. "You tell them something, they see some food, and then they forget what

you said."

As a little girl learns to be of use to her mother she accompanies her to the farm to help clear, plant, hoe, weed, and gather farm produce, and to bring in wild fruits and other edible things. She accompanies her mother to the stream with her little pot or gourd to draw water. She carries her little bundle of wood on her head, secured in her miniature binia

Boys, left to themselves, imitate every occupation of their fathers. They make wooden toy-guns, bows and arrows, machetes, and other weapons and implements; invent puzzles, tricks, and new forms of cats'-cradles. Whatever they see they imitate. A chief or Government official carried through town is the immediate inspiration for making a miniature

hammock, in which they carry a stick of wood in and out of town.

Fathers in Mano and Loma teach their sons to climb the oilpalm. They take them along to the farm to help. When they go fishing or hunting or trapping they take the boys, too — not too far at first.

When a man goes to a neighboring town or takes a journey, the children often go along and help carry anything he thinks will not overtax their strength. One hot day we expressed pity and concern for some young boys and girls in the company of their elders, going to a town several days' journey distant. The youngsters were staggering lamely along under heavy loads, perspiration streaming down their faces and bodies. The father replied: "If they do not learn now, when they are still young, it will kill them later, when they are expected to carry for chiefs and the American palayer."

From conversations heard at home, or on these trips with parents, they early learn who are their relatives; also, whom they can marry and whom they cannot marry. On some of these journeys, the Loma, Mano, and Gio take the young sons into other parts, even to other tribes. There they are left in the care of a relative or friend to learn to do things they could not learn, or at least not learn so well, at home. When they have grown up and acquired "plenty sense," they return to their own towns and there begin to take part in local affairs. When a son has reached this stage of "sense fo' haid" (appreciation and understanding) the father will, if he finds him worthy, begin to consult with him and to confide in him.

In teaching by precept, parents usually use proverbs to correct faults in a child's conduct.8 Or they may do as the Sapā father, who often instructs his son thus: "You must not steal; you must not bewitch; you must not lie; you must not be lazy, but be strong; you must not eat too much, so that if someone gives you something in your food to bewitch [poison] you, you will not die. You must not make palaver for others. Don't curse everyone you see. If anyone curses me, your father, you curse him. If any one curses your mother, you curse him," and more along this line. If he wishes to be alone with his son while instructing him thus,

⁸ See pp. 443 ff.

he takes him away from the town and out on

the path or into the forest.

A wise chief very seldom raises his own sons. He sometimes sends them to one of his brothers in some other town not too near, but more often to another chief. This is a protective, as well as an educational, measure; for a chief's son is in constant danger of being poisoned by someone whose chances of succession to the chieftainship depend on eliminating the child.

Many Loma chiefs formerly sent sons to Pandamai (Gbunde) to "learn war" under its leaders, because this was the only town in all the northwest that had never been "broken." Even the English had once failed to take it. Since warfare was the chief end of man in that country, it was natural that sons of the ruling class should be educated, or at least "finished," in the one invincible town.

At a later time, when the Liberian Frontier Force had subdued the territory, it was necessary for the chiefs to transfer their respect to Monrovia, the center of the conquering government. Thereafter, their sons went to Monrovia to be educated. It was inevitable that these children of native chiefs should be kept in the households of Americo-Liberians, where they often had to accept an inferior status. In some instances, no doubt, they gladly accepted very humble positions in the hope that they might be allowed to go to school. Sometimes the schooling they received was all too little, and their situation amounted to what was sometimes called "domestic slavery."

It may be as well at this point to report that there was a good side to the system, nevertheless. Some of the children were allowed to go to school—even children who were held in pawn. Some of them became the heirs of their foster-parents. Some became property owners and married into the ruling class. Others are now back in the interior as chiefs of their own people, at least able to read and write English, and to a certain extent familiar with the intricacies of the "American palaver."

The restraints put upon these boys while they were in Monrovia were not in themselves objectionable from the native point of view. It was in line with native tradition that only the ruling class should receive the highest education,¹⁰ and in Monrovia even the chiefs' sons were merely members of a conquered people. Furthermore, among the tribes where the boys had formerly been isolated for long periods in the Poro Bush, under strict discipline,¹¹ it was taken for granted boys at school should have restraints put upon them.

Treatment of Twins. The Gbunde, Loma, and Mano consider it necessary to treat each of a set of twins exactly the same. Whatever is done to one must be done to the other. When the mother nurses twin infants, each must be nursed from each breast in turn. If a gift is given to one an identical gift must be given to the other. This is not without its effect on their characters as they grow up.

At a mission school in Pandamai (Gbunde) we noted that whenever one of the twin brothers there had to be punished, the other would continue to misbehave until he, too, was punished. When one was sent to fetch water the other also took a bucket and went along. When one was ill the other feigned illness until

his brother had recovered.

Intimidating Young Children. The younger children are intimidated by threatening them with awesome bogies. The crying or naughty child may be told that if it does not stop it will be caught by a cat, a dog, a cow, a tiger (leopard), the "Melika people" (Liberian Government employees — Mano), a witch, the "devil people" (Gio), or the Bush devil.

The Sapa sometimes strike the house door with a flat stick to frighten a crying child. In the north someone (usually an older boy) goes outside the house and walks quickly around it under the eaves, drawing a stick across the ends of the roof thatch as he walks. The Mano call this *Kpwai-mo-gala-gala*, in imitation of the noise produced. (If repeated and properly accented this name does much resemble the sound made.) The child is told, "*Kpwai-mo-gala-gala* will take you."

Older Mano girls taking care of their baby brothers and sisters try to quiet them by holding them upright on their knees and saying, "O peke ne le yoyo a bli ke i di a ga." This may be freely translated as, "Usually when a child has eaten plenty of good food his mouth

has done enough."

⁸ See p. 439. ¹⁰ See also pp. 466 ff.

Drastic Punishments. For repeated and flagrant disobedience a boy may be given a sound flogging. (One must see this done by a native to know what it means.) The father may administer this himself, or ask another (either a man or a woman) to do it; but never a brother or sister of the offender.

We were told by our interpreter that when a boy is to be flogged he may be taken almost naked to the forest, early in the morning while it is still cold. There cold water is poured over him to increase his discomfort. Then the chastising begins and is sometimes continued, at intervals, all day. The unfortunate boy's howls are answered by admonitions and threats.

When a Mano father is very angry, and repeated beatings have brought no results, he may send his son away to another town, or even to another tribe, there to learn obedience. In the old days he sometimes used to sell his son "for not having ears," especially if he had been persistent in disobeying both parents. This is considered a far more serious fault than disobedience toward one parent only.

Incorrigible Gio boys used to be sold to the Bassa. One old man stated that he had received for his disobedient son three copper kettles, four trade boxes (small trunks), an iron cooking pot, a sack of salt (size not stated), and a number of less valuable articles — a total value of about fifteen dollars, which was a great deal

of money to a native in those days.

Such punishments are for the bigger boys. Small children usually get off with a spanking, even for continued petty thefts. But if this fails to cure them ground red pepper pods are put into their eyes. We saw one child so disciplined who was blindly staggering about, screaming with pain. In Tie a father often puts the pepper into the rectum as well as the eyes, and then locks the young offender in the loft for a few days.

In all the tribes an older boy-thief may have a foot "put in the stick" 12 for a few days. In Loma he may, in addition, have his hands tied behind him. This punishment is kept up until he begs for release and swears he will never

again steal.

¹³ To give the son his parting blessing when he is about to set out upon a journey, the Tie father performs much the same ceremony, spewing water out of

Putting a Curse on a Disobedient Son. When a father's patience in dealing with a disobedient son comes to an end, he "puts the father's curse upon him." This is considered a worse punishment than exile. The father's bad wishes will follow him wherever he goes.

A Mano father, pointing his finger at the boy, repeats three or four times, "I lo ke tutu i lo ke fĩa fĩa!" (When you grow big you will be a poor man.) This is usually done in the presence of witnesses. The boy knows that he is now a stranger to his father. He has been disinherited as well as cursed.

A Gio father curses and disinherits a disobedient son by striking the palm of one hand with the fingers of the other, or by slapping his thigh with one hand, saying as he does so, "Forever there is nothing in my hand for you! Forever you will get nothing from me!"

The Loma can curse but not disinherit a son. It seems that in the north the curse that also disinherits is irrevocable, but in Sapa and Tie it can be "taken back," even when the son has been cursed "so that he must die." In these two tribes, if the father repents of his act, he fills his mouth with water and blows it out upon the ground, with suitable words. In so doing he "spits out the curse." In Tie he will then give his son a white fowl and a bracelet, as good-will offerings, to show that all bad feeling has "come out" of him.13

Instruction Regarding the "Things of Life." The "things of life" that the tribesman of the hinterland must know include the traditions, polite customs, and laws of the tribe, the clan, and the family. Very important are those that apply to the cults and, in Half-Grebo, to the social classes. Instruction in the professions and trades may be received from the father, or from a guild member to whom the child is apprenticed.14 In the north, outside of Ge and Gio, instruction and training in all things is given in the Poro and Sande initiation

Family history is learned from elders or parents. A son or daughter may be visited for this purpose during his initiation. Tapi, the old Gio paramount chief, stated that in his tribe tradi-

his mouth and saying: "May good fortune be yours! May no harm come to you! May people treat you

¹⁴ For example, see p. 145. ¹⁵ See pp. 274 ff.; 293 ff.

tions were handed down from father to son. He said he had always called his son (his heir and successor) to his house to instruct him.

In Sapa the elders said that when a son shows an unusual interest in "country law" (all that pertains to the history, life, and customs of his people), he is carefully instructed in all this by his father. In this instruction, whatever involves family interests or honor will have a prominent place. Personal debts and unavenged affairs of such long standing that they have become somewhat legendary must not be forgotten. The son must also remember those to whom the family or the household is under lasting obligation because of some kindness or timely assistance. Last, there is inculcated a bond of reciprocal protection between father and son, between brother and brother, between guild fellows, and between members of the secret societies.

THE EARNINGS OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS

A son's earnings were formerly limited to what he earned locally or was given as his share of war and plunder. With the possibility of getting to the coast or even leaving the country to work for wages, the sources of income have greatly increased. In general, the son gives over to his father or guardian or, in some regions, to the family head, whatever he has acquired. He is then given his share.

In Gio, when the son returns home, he calls both father and mother, if they are living. The three go to a place where they can sit down

undisturbed to talk it all over, and there he hands his earnings over to his parents.

A daughter's earnings are limited to proceeds from the articles that she can make: mats, pots, and the like; the farm produce she may have to spare, if she has a farm of her own; forest or swamp fruits she may gather; when she is old enough, gifts from men who "make friends with her." Up to the time of her marriage her earnings usually belong to her father. After marriage, they go to her husband. Part of these earnings may be given back to her.

CHILDREN AT PLAY

Imitative Play and Stunts. In their early years little girls play mother to crude but fairly realistic babies (bongo m, Gio; po ju, Sapo clan, Half-Grebo) made of a piece of raffia midrib with hair of raffia fiber. The features are defined by rough cutting and incising. In Gbunde a little girl washing a long, green plantain was heard to say, "I am washing my baby." In Gio another little girl had a "doll" of the same kind, which she was "putting to sleep." In Mano girls were using their mothers' wooden head rests for dolls, nursing them, and carrying them on the back, tied up in a cloth.

Girls gather sand or dirt in a pile, take a stick, and "pound rice." This they "cook," and dividing it into small heaps, portion it out to their imaginary husbands. A few plants of any sort do for a garden patch or a farm, to be energetically "hoed" and "weeded" with a small stick. With a potsherd or broken gourd for a vessel, and sand for water, they play at water carrying.

In this mother-imitation play the boys at first join the girls, with whom they play until they are five or six years old. After that they drift apart, and the boys begin to imitate the occupations of their older brothers and fathers. They build miniature houses, make toy implements, fashion a piece of cassava stick (sometimes, in the southeast, the leaf-stem of the papaya tree) into a pop gun (beikpa bu, Mano; begli bu, Gio; toto pu:, Sapã). For ammunition they use wads of crushed palm or other leaf. Thus equipped they make war and shoot boy enemies, or kill game in the form of spiders and flies. They fashion wooden bows and arrows, weapons and knives, for various play purposes. (We saw several choice collections of these attached to raffia screens at the entrances to the sacred groves of the Poro cult. These toy weapons had been attached to "show the Bush devil what they would do to him when he came to catch and carry them inside to be initiated.")

Small traps are made in imitation of the larger ones seen out in the forest. One form, called bi by the Mano and Gio, is made only by these small boys and is very useful in helping to rid the house of mice. It is a slab of dried clay, much the shape of a turtle's back. One end rests on the ground, the other is held up by a fiber cord and stick attached to a trigger. To this trigger, the bait is fastened. When the trap is sprung, the clay slab falls and crushes the rodent under it. Small birds are also caught in this manner.

A game played by boys and girls together, called zane za kpwei bela nga in Mano, and zaiza in Gio, is in imitation of ordeal by drinking sasswood. A line is drawn on the ground and sides are chosen by the leader of each side.

A child on one side calls to one on the other, "Polly or "parrot," kwedisa, Mano), you ate my corn!"

The second child replies, "I did not eat your corn!"

The first one then says, "If you did not eat my corn, come and drink sasswood."

Holding one foot up with one hand, the accused hops over to where the other is standing, then returns to his base. If he can do this successfully, that is, hop without having the foot he is holding up touch the ground, the "sasswood has not caught him" and he is noisily acclaimed not guilty. The side with the greatest number innocent wins the game.

Boys are fond of doing acrobatic stunts like walking on their hands, standing on their heads, and turning cart-wheels.

In GE, Gio, and the southeast boys walk on stilts at their pleasure (fig. 100, a), but where the Poro cult is found, walking on stilts is the privilege of only one grade of Bush devil. If boys of these tribes attempt it, they are quickly stopped with, "You want to be like him? Then look out or he will get you!"

Children's Games. 16 Variations of Leopard-and-Goat (go a lo bo kūpie, Mano; gwalo fude, Gio; yini m ba lo, Sapā) are played by children of all regions. The goat and the leopard are chosen from the group; then the others stand close together in a circle to form the goat's pen. Inside the circle are the leopard and the goat. Leopard sings (Mano), 'M bo wa zei? (Is my Goat here?) The Pen responds, Ba'm wa zei! Leopard runs to catch Goat; the circle opens to let Goat escape. If he is caught before he gets out he becomes the leopard and a new goat is chosen. The game is continued as long as there are any goats left to be caught.

Gio children play this game sitting on the ground in a circle, and extending their arms before them, hands touching the ground. Inside the circle is Leopard. He rubs his hands in the dirt, saying, "When a man comes to the forest Leopard fears; when a child comes Leopard catches it!" With that he tries to seize an arm of one of the players before it can be drawn away.

Sapā children squat on their haunches and hold hands, forming a circle, for this game. Leopard and Goat jump in and out of the circle over the arms of the players, as Leopard tries to catch Goat.

Black-deer-in-the-net is played in Gio in much the same way as Leopard-and-Goat in Mano. One of the players is Deer; the rest are lined up to form the net. Deer tries to break through. If he succeeds he runs away chanting, Lu bo nunga. Nunga bo duo bo, answer all the Net in refrain, as they run after him and try to catch him.

In Mano and Gio another game, called *lendi* by the former and *bole* by the latter, is also played by both boys and girls. Two leaders are named, who choose players for their sides. The first leader calls to the opposing side, *Lendio!* Geu! comes the response. The first leaders says, Ba lo e? (You going?) Opposing side answers, Bau (no). This is repeated several times, after which all the second side runs away. The first leader and his side scamper after, attempting to catch and bring back the runaways.

The Mano have a game of an instructive nature called *ledi*. This is played during the season of ripening rice by the children who are out in the farms scaring off rice birds. About noon these pests leave the fields for a while. Then two children will come together, seating themselves on the ground as though each were guarding his part of the rice farm. They begin to chant:

First child: Ba ledi. Second child: A ledi.

First child: Ma ke le nyama (I am a rice bird).

Second child: Nyama ba ledi.

First child: A ledi.

Second child: Ma ke le zei (I am a sparrow).

¹⁶ Children also play a number of adult games. See

First child: Zeī! ma ledi ma ke le dine, dine. Thus they continue, naming the different birds they know. The one who fails first in this, or whose knowledge of birds is more limited than the other's, loses the game.

Another Mano guessing game goes like this: Questioner: Ko ny \(\epsilon \) le we we we? (Our

eyes are how many apiece?)

Guessers: Le peda peda peda. (Are two, two, two — two each.)

Questioner: A gbin $m\varepsilon$ — mo? (They rest what on?)

Guessers: $A \text{ gbin} \overline{1} - mo$. (They rest [something in the room] on.)

And so on, until someone gets the right answer.

Bakagi (from baka, the musical bow, and gi, "thing" — Gbunde) is played with the aid of that instrument (fig. 78, g). Two boys go aside and make up a story that may go something like this:

A hunter went to the forest to hunt. He came upon a "bamboo" (chimpanzee) eating a nut. The hunter shot off his gun, but it made no noise. Only fire came forth. The "bamboo" fell down dead. The hunter carried it to town and cut it up. There was a nut inside. The boy picked it up, and when he cracked it open with a rock, a bullet came out and hit him in the leg.

The two boys then return to the group of players. The leader has his musical bow ready. The group now asks questions, such as, "Is there a hunter in the story?" If the answer is "yes," the leader will play a pleasing tune; if "no," he will play but one note, kpwo, kpwo, kpwo, kpwo, kpwo, kpwo By such questions and "answers" the children finally arrive at the story. Sometimes they sit until late into the night before they work it all out. This game is played only after nightfall. There is a curious belief that "one's mother would die" if it were played by daylight.¹⁷

Another guessing game, played by the Loma, is called *pote* (magic). Three raffia midrib sticks are laid crosswise on the ground. One of the players, who has an accomplice, tells the others that he can tell without seeing it done which stick is touched by some member of the group. He is blindfolded while a player touches one of the sticks; then the bandage is removed

from his eyes. By touching him on the foot, lower leg, or thigh, his accomplice makes known to him which stick has been touched.

Similar to this is a game played by the Sapã. One of the group leaves and hides, whereupon one of the others touches an object. The absent one is now called. By some sign his accomplice in the group makes known to him which object was touched.

The Gbunde and Mende have a memory-test game played by both girls and boys, called *koti zigi*. There are two players. Pebbles are arranged in heaps, the first containing one pebble; the second, two; and so on, up to ten. Player A turns his back and must not look. He chants the words. Player B handles the pebbles.

- A: Here are the pebbles we have heaped. Here is one, here is two, here is three, here is four, here is five, here is six, here is seven, here is eight, here is nine, here is ten. Pick up one.
- B (taking up the pebble which is Heap 1): I have taken it.
- A: Here are the pebbles we have heaped. Here is one... (etc., until ten, as above). Take up two.
- B (taking up one pebble from Heap 2): Î have taken it.
- A: Take another.
- B (taking up the remaining pebble from Heap 2): I have taken it.
- A (chanting as before): ... here is ten. Take up three.
- B (taking the first pebble from Heap 3): I have taken it.
- A: Take another.
- B (taking a second): I have taken it.
- A: Take another.
- B (taking the third and last from Heap 3): I have taken it.

So they continue all through the game, A saying, "Take up another," the right number of times for each heap. When the last pebble in Heap 10 has been picked up A says, "It is finished." If he leaves a pebble in one of the heaps, or if he orders too many to be picked up, he loses the game.

The game is not always played in exactly the same way. Sometimes there are irregular numbers of pebbles in the heaps; sometimes each heap has the same number. One may also begin with the tenth heap and play the game backward.

Children also play "tug-of-war" (dubwe, Gio; kiti ya kiti, Sapa) much as we do. "Hideand-seek" (do wu su, Gbunde), as played by the Gbunde and Sapa, is much like our game. Mano children play "blind-man's-buff," which they call dumpwie. There is also a kind of "London-Bridge-is-falling-down."

The Sapa have gbwe, something like "pompom-pull-away." Two leaders choose sides. Each lines up his side opposite the other. The object of the game is to catch hold of an opponent's leg. Anyone thus caught is told, "You die," and is out of the game. When all on one side have been "killed" in this manner, the

game is finished.

The "peas-porridge-hot" of the African is more complicated than the game as our children know it. When we sang it in Liberia (in the Basa and Bulu languages of the southern Cameroun), and accompanied the singing by the motions appropriate to the game as played there, the girls of the Liberian hinterland immediately recognized it and joined in in their language and after their manner. The Gbunde form seems to be the most complicated. The partners touch hands; then each touches her own shoulders, then the ground; with her right hand, clasps that of her partner to form an arch, under and above which they touch their left hands. This is all done to the perfect rhythm of the sung words. The Gio vary this by clapping hands and each touching her own elbow, and the Sapa by snapping the fingers and touching the chest.

"Battledore and shuttlecock" is called gono in Mano and bei in Gio, from the piece of vine, about two and a half inches in length, which is used to make the "cock." This piece is cut from the vine near one of its joints, so that it will be less likely to split. Into each side, at the end opposite the joint, a long wing-feather of a fowl is fixed. (These feathers are taken one from each of the fowl's wings; never two from the same wing.) The bats we saw were about twenty-one or more inches long and three and a half wide and were of soft wood. A line is drawn on the ground. On each side of it stand two boys. The side failing to keep the shuttlecock in the air loses its turn to throw.

Fay ε , as played by the boys in Sapa, is somewhat similar. The shuttlecock, if it may be so called, is made by stripping off enough oilpalm leaflets to make a small bundle, tying these at the stem end, reversing them, and again tying them at that same end, to form a sort of knob, and leave the tips loose at the other end. The players are lined up on opposite sides some distance apart. Each player has a piece of rattan fiber with a noose at one end. With this he tries to snare the brush-cock as it flies through

the air, thrown by an opponent.

Half-Grebo and Sapa boys play a game which the latter have adopted from the former, and call tei. One player has three spindleshaped pieces of iron about six inches long, flattened at one end and pointed at the other. A small hole is dug about eight inches deep. In the bottom is spread out the skin of a green banana or plantain. The hole is then filled with very loose earth or sand. One player stands back about a yard from the hole and with all his force tries to throw the iron into it. His opponent sits or squats guarding the hole, holding in each hand a stick of raffia midrib pith or of very soft wood about two feet long. These he moves back and forth over the hole, trying to prevent the iron from entering. To pierce the banana or plantain skin at the bottom of the hole is the object of the game. The player has three chances. If an iron is thrown and not completely buried in the hole, or if it pierces one of the sticks, it is counted a miss. If the iron goes into the hole and is completely buried but does not pierce the skin, this entitles the player to another throw. If the skin is pierced, the play is ended and the game begins anew, the winner getting three new chances. If he fails with all three irons he "dies," and the players exchange places.

A dancing game (so, Mano; troge, Gio) is played by both boys and girls. Sometimes they play it together; sometimes, the boys or the girls alone. The children stand either in a circle or a line. The one chosen to begin usually the recognized leader of their sports - dances toward a player in the line or circle. Then by bowing, rhythmic stamping, or graceful motioning toward the player, he invites him or her to come out. The two exchange places, the one invited taking up the dance and trying to introduce new steps and gestures. This player in turn invites another out and so the game goes on until all have had enough of it. Toys. Tops (sĩngi, Gbunde; dılı, Mano; koso, Gio; pɔbwe, Sapã) are whittled out of a piece of wood, and spun by lashing with a whip made of a stick and a piece of fiber or string.¹⁸

Castanets or "seed rattles" (gbese, Sapa) are made by attaching a piece of cord to two seed pods of Oncoba spinosa. Children often

play them as they walk about.

Slings (veleviligi, Gbunde; yodō, Mano; dini or dingə, Gio; tawwi, Sapā) are used to play at hunting or war; also to throw pebbles at birds in the rice fields. (This may be done merely to chase them away or to kill them for "soup.")

A game called "gun" or "shooting-the-gun" (kpwade, Gbunde) is played with a toy gun fashioned from a piece of plantain- or bananaleaf midrib. Along this parallel slits about an inch and a half long are cut. The skin and flesh is cut transversely at one end of each pair of slits, and the piece pulled up and bent outward at right angles to the midrib section. By closing the hand around and drawing it quickly down along the section, the pieces are snapped back into place, making a zip-crack noise—the "gun-shot."

In Gbunde children "cut out" leaves instead of paper. They also fashion "eagles" from the long leaves of Afromomum plants. We saw this done. The leaves were split along the center to about two and a half inches from the stem end. This end was then horizontally folded, which brought the split sections out at right angles. The solid part formed the "body"; the split sections, the "wings."

Cats' Cradles. Native Liberian children are skillful and resourceful in making and working out new forms of cats' cradles (diāwele, Mano; denga, Gio; tō Sapā) (fig. 100, b and c). A Gbunde girl made two: one she called "a woman's pot"; the other, "an old man's beard." One of our Mano interpreters made one he called yi kwene die kpa wi (a little water flowing under a bridge; literally, "water small pass bridge under"). A Gio boy made teni (a spear). Sapā children showed us how to make boba (the palm-oil strainer), siewei (the trap noose), bau saga (a bunch of dried ears of corn), and "Tea-Bili" (named for two people in a folktale who were inseparable).

18 See p. 160 for another type of top called sī.

Puzzles and Legerdemain. Children of all the tribes know how to make and solve a number of puzzles.

The "accordion" or "cat-ladder," a bit of tricky paper-folding, is made of banana leaf in Gbunde, where it is called wikonegi. Two narrow leaf strips are held near one end, one over the other and at right angles to each other. The first is folded over the second, and this then back over the first, continuing until only a little is left. This end is held with one hand, and the other is pulled to make the accordion.

Another Gbunde puzzle is to untie a special knot. Still another is a section of plant stem cut and made into two links in such a way that one link is within the other and the two

cannot be separated.

A rather difficult Mano puzzle is made as follows: Two pieces of palm leaf are slit to within an inch or two of the ends; one with an even number and the other with an odd number of parallel slits. One piece is then laid on top of the other. Each strip formed by the slits in the upper piece is brought through the corresponding slit in the under piece. Then the tip end of each piece is brought down and through the opening formed when the strips of the under and upper pieces are pulled in opposite directions.

Zabe is a Gbunde trick played with nine pebbles. These are put down in three piles of three pebbles each. The hands are manipulated in such a way that the onlooker thinks five pebbles have been picked up in one hand and four in the other. When the hands are opened, there is only one pebble in one hand, while the

rest are all in the other.

A somewhat similar trick is done in Mano with four pebbles. One is held in each fist and one placed on top of the bent fingers of each fist (held fingernails upward). As the fists are turned to let the pebbles resting on top fall off, the pebble being held in the upper fist is cleverly dropped into the other. In true legerdemain style, the performer then announces, as the empty fist is placed at the elbow of the other arm, "I will now blow the pebble in this fist into the other one!" After blowing hard into the fist in which the two pebbles are held, he opens it and exhibits them to the onlookers.

Another Mano trick is done with a piece of supple climbing-palm fiber or cord, knotted at one end. An identical knot of the same material has been prepared beforehand. This is slipped into the mouth and placed on top of the tongue at the same time that the other on the end of the fiber or cord is put in the mouth with the knot concealed under the tongue. The knot lying on top of the tongue is then shown.

¹⁹ Cf. our game, "Fly away Jack, fly away Jill,"

Next the tongue is raised. To the onlooker the knot appears to have passed through the tongue.

Another trick is to whiten the middle finger of one hand. It and the first finger, and then it and the third, are placed on the palm of the other hand in such rapid succession that it is very difficult or altogether impossible to detect which finger it is that has the white clay on it.¹⁹

played with bits of paper.

WAR AND WEAPONS 1

THATEVER the vocation of the primi-V tive African, his avocation was formerly war. Not, however, as war is understood by us. The forest dwellers of the Liberian hinterland conducted only a sort of guerilla warfare or a succession of raids. An encounter in the open field between bodies of fighters was unknown to them. An "army" was never more than a band of a hundred men or so. Surprise and night attacks were common strategy. If the enemy was successful the town was reduced to ashes, and those captives whom the enemy chose to spare were led away laden with the plunder. Now and then a very strongly fortified place was besieged after a number of unsuccessful attacks had been made upon it.

Town Defenses

Palisades. Because of the constant threat of attack the natives lived in towns rather than in scattered homesteads. The most important towns, generally those in which the "kings" or big chiefs had their residence, were strongly fortified to provide as much security as possible for themselves and a refuge for the dwellers in the smaller "half-towns." Towns which were likely to be the objectives of the cutthroat warriors of Pandamai in the Gbunde country and of Loma in Belleland had extra strong defenses. Walema, the first Gbande town we entered after leaving Gbunds (now an exceptionally clean place of sixty-one huts) could have been reached in a day by a fastmoving war party coming from Pandamai.

"There were no less than thirteen formidable war-fences around this town and the carriers had considerable difficulty in squeezing their loads through the narrow apertures," states Wallis,² who passed a night there in 1908. In other regions there were fewer of these palisades around a town. Old men in Sapa said that usually there was only one, sometimes there were two, but never had they heard of a

place surrounded by as many as three. Such a palisade was called g'li sa in Mano.

Detailed descriptions of this type of defense are given by Büttikofer,³ and the plan of a town so protected was drawn by Volz ⁴ in his journal, extracts from which were published after his untimely death in what was at that time northern Liberia.

Mud Walls. In northern Kpelle, and at Zorzor and several other places in Loma, we saw the remains of another type of fortification; namely, walls of sun-dried clay made by piling up stiff, wet clay and pounding the sides and top to consolidate the mass as it dried and cracked (fig. 84). It is probable that this idea was either introduced by the Mandingos or brought back by someone who had been to the sparsely wooded "Mandingo plateau" to the northwest of Liberia, where such walls were the only protection possible for a town. We first heard of these from Wuo, the Mano paramount chief, who showed us the remains of a wall that once surrounded his town. According to statements made by old men, the Mano living in what is now French territory first saw this sort of defense in Kpelle country and made similar ones around their own towns. Later, other Mano towns copied them. The walls around the towns of this tribe were called tunu.5 There never were moats around these Mano walled towns.

The best-preserved wall we saw was that around Salayea in Kpelle, parts of which are still intact. Its greatest height was 18 feet, but most of it was only a little more than 15 feet. At the base it was 5 to 6 feet thick, tapering gradually to a foot at the top. This was still well shielded from the rains by raffia-leaf thatch. The wall here, like the ones at Zorzor and Yala, had been built in horizontal layers; the lowest was 4 to 5 feet high, the five superimposed ones of decreasing heights. The wall surfaces were first pounded to a smooth hard-

¹ This entire section is of historical interest only, as tribal wars have not occurred in the interior since the Government established control.

² Wallis, 1910, p. 287.

³ Büttikofer, 1890, vol. 2, pp. 197–98.

The plan is reproduced in this report (fig. 7). Tunu is the Mano word for termite hill.

ness, and after they dried the cracks were filled with red clay; then a heavy coating of white clay was applied and rubbed in. This white clay, which served to protect the surface, was renewed from time to time. Enough of these successive coatings still adhere to form a crust more than a quarter of an inch thick. The walls were plentifully supplied with loopholes about 21/2 inches in diameter, for both downward and upward shooting. Old Katakow, the chief, explained that the upward shooting was directed at rash individuals who succeeded in crossing the moat after the outer defenses had been taken. Sometimes a number sufficient to carry the fight into the town itself would succeed in scaling the walls by hacking foot and hand holds or by the use of ladders. One or more of the invaders would set fire to hut roofs in different parts of the town and thus force the opening of the gates. The fleeing populace would then be met by bands of the enemy crowded near the exits.

At Salayea the side walls of one of these gateways standing as high as the walls surrounding the town itself, were still standing practically intact, though the two doors were no longer there. The space enclosed by the walls and doors, 8 yards wide and more than twice as long, could accommodate a sizable body of fighters. Near the outer doorway

stood one of the town's smithies.6

The moat, "so deep that the hand of a man standing in it, when he stretched his arm upward, could not be seen" had been filled in. It was the custom to plant the bottom of these moats with pointed sticks to impale any luck-

less attacker falling upon them.

Living fences of thorny acacias, bombax, and other trees were planted at a distance of 15 to 20 yards from the walls as a line of first defense. At Salayea the last-planted bombax trees of the old fence were only 2 feet in diameter, indicating that they could not have been more than twenty-five years old. We have known such trees, grown from sticks set into the ground, to attain a diameter of 18 inches in nine to ten years. The spaces between the trees in such a living fence were filled with any thorny material available.

In the sort of warfare carried on by these forest dwellers it was most important that the

attackers get within easy striking distance without arousing the suspicion of their victims. Consequently, night movements were frequent. The attackers came as near their objective as they believed possible without risk of discovery and hid in the forest. Scouts then sought out the information necessary for the plan of attack, if spies had not already provided it.

Since towns were subject to attack from any quarter, the ground around most of them was plentifully planted with long thorns or pointed skewers of raffia frond or hardwood set at an angle and cunningly concealed. These were often poisoned. Knives and iron points were thus planted in the ways leading into a town whenever there was rumor of an attack.

Arms and Dress of Fighters. The spear was the chief weapon of the warrior. That of the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano seems to have been the Mandingo type or a modification of it. The head is dagger-like, with a socket into which one end of the short wooden shaft is set. If the owner is a chief, the shaft is covered with leather work and leopard skin. The butt is a socketed round iron, the outer end of which is chisel-shaped or pointed (fig. 65, 0). The iron head is kept covered with a leather or leopard-skin sheath when the spear is not in use. Spears seen in Gio and in the southeast were of the usual lance-headed type (fig. 85, k).

To many of the Sapa war lances there was fastened a cord for drawing them back after

they had been thrown.

Big Mano warriors carried two or three spears to battle. If the first one missed, the thrower waited until the enemy stooped to pick it up, then hurled another at him. This usually went home to its mark, the old men said.

The bow and arrow were formerly used by warriors in all sections of the land, though the Half-Grebo have not employed them for a long time. Arrows were of three types. One was light, tipped with a small barbless iron head (fig. 85, h). Because it was easy to take out of the quiver, it was preferred by fighters. It either went clear through or could be pushed through a fleshy part to remove it. A second type had a barbed head and a socketed iron shaft, sometimes a foot long, set into a wooden shaft (fig. 65, s). This was the ordinary hunt-

In more humid regions of West Africa.

⁶ See also p. 137.

ing arrow. As a weapon of war, it was much more dreaded than the barbless kind. It never went all the way through. Sometimes it could be driven through with the aid of a club or

Fig. 28. a, wooden spear with an iron point; b, Gbunde chief's spear (see fig. 85, k); c, a Sapä divining spear and head; d, a Palepo clan, Half-Grebo, spear and head.

stone. If it penetrated not too deeply, it could be cut out. When it seemed advisable to pull it out in spite of its barbs, the wounded person was laid on the ground under a sapling. The sapling was bent down, the branches and top lopped off, a thong with peg-tripper attached,

⁸ It is probable that "fish" stories are not confined to America. and the thong fastened to the shaft of the arrowhead in the manner of a snare trap for catching animals. A friend would spring the trigger, and the released sapling would jerk the arrow out.

The Mano claim to have used only the two types above. Others, notably the Loma, said that they had used a third, the simple shaft of the raffia-frond stem sharpened to a point at one end, like the one hunters use for small

game, but longer (fig. 85, g).

Arrowheads to be used in warfare were always smeared with poisons, of which there were several kinds. Strophanthus, the favorite for hunting arrows, was one of them. Old Sapā warriors declared that some of their poisons were so virulent that "if one person had been hit by an arrow dipped in poison and another person took hold of him to help him, the poison would also catch and kill him!" The Tiē said much of their poison came from the kulatu tree. An arrow smeared with it they called tose.

There were probably antidotes for poisons, although we could learn nothing of them. It is inconceivable that individuals wounded in this manner could recover without them.9

Machetes, knives, and daggers of various types were carried for hand-to-hand fighting. In the north these were the same, or practically the same, as those in everyday use. In the southeast the favorites were the Kru war knife, one of which we secured in Half-Grebo (fig. 85, f), and a short bronze-hilted double-edged broadsword (fig. 85, d). The Gbunde and Loma also seem to have had a sword of this type. The Mandingo sword, typical of all the western and central Sudan, was equally important.

Knife sheaths were made of rawhide in the southeast and of rawhide and leather in the north. Those for machetes, short swords, and the war knife are of wood, covered with leather (north only) or rawhide with the hair still on (fig. 85, d). For this purpose the skin of the leopard or that of the zebra antelope (Cephalophus doria) was most sought after. To the larger sheaths were attached small pouches, powder horns, flasks, and medicines. These were carried slung over the shoulder.

^{*}For preventive medicine, see below, pp. 233 ff.

Only the Mano, Gio, Sapa, and Tie admitted having used clubs as implements of war. The Mano and Gio used the smith's heavy sledge on rare occasions (fig. 64, g). It was reputed to be one of the most effective weapons for close fighting because of its medicinal and other properties. Ochief Towe, describing the immunity of a certain warrior to gunfire and all other wounds, climaxed his statement by saying, "Not even a sledge-hammer blow on the head can kill him."

Axes were not considered arms and were used only in emergencies by defenders of their homes when fighting was carried on inside towns.

Stones were missiles of defense only. Heaps of these were kept inside fortifications to be hurled at men who attempted to scale the walls.

The sling for hurling sizable pebbles was used in war by all the Kru group, the Mano, and Gio. (It was not used in hunting, except by boys out for birds or very small animals.)

The Gbunde and Loma never had shields, according to Yekulu, a paramount chief, whose statement was confirmed by the elders. "Our warriors always trusted to their medicines and to dodging," was his final remark on this subject. The Gio said that their shields had been made from sections of hewn buttress roots. They were oblong in shape. They were carried only by leaders going ahead to intercept arrows or spears. In the southeast it was so long since shields had been made or used that they had become only a tradition. The Sapa and Tie with whom we talked had heard of them from their fathers.

The gun, it is scarcely necessary to state, was, after its introduction, the weapon to which every man aspired. It is unthinkable that any other weapon, except an auxiliary cutlass or knife, would be carried by the fortunate owner of a gun. Guns were of the flintlock type, often remade for the use of percussion caps. Somehow, a very few rifles also came into the hands of the Gbunde, the Loma, and the Half-Grebo in the early part of this century. These tribes and the Mano got many of their guns from Mandingo traders of French Guinea or Sierra Leone and a few from the coast. The Gio got theirs from the Bassa, for-

merly paying one slave for two guns, according to the report of an old war leader.

Pieces of old iron pots, iron ore, and pebbles were used as shot. Smiths also cut iron and brass bracelets into pieces suitable for ammunition. These were called *buga* by the Gio.

Powder was carried in wooden or gourd flasks ornamented to suit the owner's fancy. Those made of gourds were often elaborately carved in geometric designs.

Dress of Warriors. Special war dress was practically confined to the leaders and "big" fighters. It seems to have been designed for the double purpose of protecting the wearer and frightening the enemy. The headpiece, a sort of cap-helmet worn by many (fig. 82, c) advertised the prowess of the wearer. Writing of one of the Half-Grebo clans, D'Ollone says: 11

A man killed in war entitles the victor to wear a helmet of goat skin; for two men, the helmet is ornamented with birds' feathers [eagle or *Turacus turacus*]; for three men, with cowrie shells; for four men, a strip of leopard skin decorates it; for five, it is surmounted with buffalo horns. Each village has a war leader, and among these, rank is established according to the insignia of the helmet.

Some warriors in the southeast wore head-dresses of eagle feathers. The Half-Grebo wore a headpiece of braided raffia fibers, usually covered with some kind of skin. Strips of raffia attached to the headpiece hung down the back to protect the neck and shoulders. This was a modified imitation of those worn by the Bassa and Kru warriors. Thick rings of braided raffia fiber colored red, white, and black were worn on the arm above the elbow so that the combatants might more easily recognize individuals of their own side.

In the north the helmet was usually a ram's mane with ornamented leather earflaps. To these flaps, leather chin straps were fastened. A wide strip of leather or rawhide ornamented with leopard skin, sheep's mane, cowrie shells, and bits of colored leather and red cloth was attached to the helmet and hung down the back. A coat of sheepskin or other leather lined with cloth and often elaborately ornamented with pieces of ram's mane and feathers was also worn in the north.

¹¹ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 115.

Sapa and Tie warriors hung around their necks a skin, usually a monkey skin, to which their medicines were attached. This was considered sufficient "clothing" for warriors (fig.

85, c).

Other Accouterments. Certain musical instruments were important accouterments of war. Men went out to fight with bells, ¹² drums, ¹³ horns ¹⁴ (of cow's horn, antelope's horn, ivory, or wood), and long, wooden trumpets ¹⁵ patterned after those of the Mandingos (northwest only) (fig. 82, b). Most important, however, of all equipment for war, were the medicines, collective and individual. Some of these consisted of ceremonies rather than of material objects.

Collective War Medicines. For a town's defense some war medicines were buried in the medicine place (much in evidence in Gbunde, Loma, Half-Grebo) at the founding of the town. Some were also included in the town's medicine made at that time, ¹⁶ and these were added to as occasion arose (figs. 36 and 37). They were in the keeping of special priests.

We were told that there were no medicines to protect the fortifications of walled places. If there were those who knew of medicines for palisaded war fences and town gates, they refused to speak about them. Beside paths or in them, near the towns, holes were dug and medicines buried to prevent enemies from reaching town. Farther away, for this same purpose, medicines were set or hung up beside

the paths.

When a clan or section of a tribe was in grave and imminent danger of invasion, human sacrifice was among the medicines "made" in an attempt to avert the threatening calamity. The Gbunde fruitlessly performed such sacrifices to avoid coming under the control of the Liberian Government. One of our chief informants in Loma cited the instance of a famous and powerful war leader who had been taken, trussed, and drowned as a sacrifice upon one occasion.

The old men of the Pudu section of the Sapa said that once when the Tie were about to attack their country an old woman "heard of it"

through a dream. She told the town elders, who called a council. They called their doctor, who "lived in a hole in the Hill [of the Dead]." 17 This doctor called for a white fowl, a white goat, and a young girl. The fowl and the goat were held and shaken over the girl's head, then killed, and she was sprinkled with their blood. Then she, too, was killed. When the invaders came their efforts were repeatedly unsuccessful, even after others had been induced to join them as allies. At length, however, they succeeded in bribing the doctor to quit "holding his foot in Pudu" (aiding by his presence). He then "lifted his foot from Pudu" and went to one of the Half-Grebo clans. After this the medicines no longer worked. The Pudu began to lose, and finally had to sue for a cessation of hostilities.

Besides these collective medicines for defense there were others to insure the success of the attacking party. They might be made either before or during a campaign. One form, in Gbunde, also involved human sacrifice. Only the chief and the most important men of the town knew of this ceremony beforehand. The head doctor pointed out the victim, who was the object of special attention, glutted with good food, until the time of his mysterious disappearance. This bounty was to make him feel extremely well disposed to his executioners, so that a good report of them might be rendered to the company of the spirits when he joined them. Sometimes the sacrifice was a pregnant woman. At the appointed time the chief erected a sort of altar of elephant tusks (of which there were plenty in those times) in his private medicine place. The victim was led to the prepared spot, his throat was cut, and his spurting blood caught in a dish. The chief then entered the place naked and mounted the altar, upon which all his medicines had been laid. Putting his hand into the dish of blood and rubbing some of it on each of his medicines, he talked to them, soliciting their aid for victory. Lest he fail to address some of them, it was necessary that he turn toward the four points of the compass as he petitioned. After doing this he descended, entered his house,

¹² See pp. 112, 114.

¹⁸ See pp. 149-51.

¹⁴ See p. 154.

¹⁵ See p. 154.

¹⁶ See pp. 36 and 361.

¹⁷ See p. 329.

washed, and dressed. Then the war parties set out on their expedition.

An old Webo man showed us a large piece of war medicine which was carried on the

head (fig. 85, b).

The Mano had a "tremendously strong medicine" to insure success (fig. 76, d). 18 Around the body of it was wound a triple string. To use it, this string was first unwound and the medicine itself laid on the ground and struck with the ends of the fingers while a formula was incanted. Then the name of the enemy to be killed was called out. The string was again wound around the medicine and laced between its projecting metal prongs. Thus the victim was "tied." The medicine was then told that its possessor was now stronger than his opponent because it had tied the opponent. After this the possessor placed the medicine under a stone and went off to war assured of victory. If he came home victorious the medicine was taken out of its hiding place and a sacrifice made to it.

The Mano also had a mascot in the form of a daring boy who had shown himself a leader of his age class or his playmates to go before them into battle. He was supposed to be immune to injury, protected by medicines that had power to turn aside every weapon except spears. For spears there was no medicine.

In Sapa in the rainy season the war leader sometimes got a powerful, liquid medicine from the chief doctor. This was poured into the stream near the town to be attacked, where the war party was in hiding. Waiting until the rain fell in torrents and the townspeople were all in their huts, the raiders would attack suddenly, and usually with success. It was, of course, the medicine — not the rain — that was given credit!

A northern chief would go to the medicine in his secret medicine house and consult it as to the advisability of going to war, determining the answer by throwing four cowrie shells or split cola nuts. To the assembled elders waiting outside he then announced whether or not the time was favorable. While these preparations were going on, if those about to be attacked had knowledge of it, they made

¹⁸ Theoretically, this medicine worked equally well on an individual or a company. However, its price was so high - five or six head of cattle - that it could

counter-medicine to cause the enemy to alter his plan or abandon it altogether. (Gio.) When pressed for instances in which this medicine had accomplished its purpose, the informants made vague and evasive replies.

Individual War Medicines. There were also various medicines to make the individual invisible or invulnerable, to protect him from the consequences of killing an enemy and, finally, to make his weapons efficacious. When these medicines were portable they were carried, together with other belongings, in a skin pouch called baka (Loma), worn somewhere on the person or attached to the dress or other accouterments or even to the weapons themselves (fig. 85, b). Some medicines were taken along to be used as needed. We heard of a medicine used in this way in both Loma and Mano to make the user invisible. It was employed during the fight and also while the men were cutting a secret path through the forest to spring a surprise attack. This medicine was contained in a pad that was merely placed on the ground and sat upon whenever invisibility was desired.

Be, a Tie paramount chief, stated that his grandfather, his father, and he himself had all been great warriors, thanks to their medicine to make them invisible. They had never even been wounded. Such medicines were family secrets, knowledge of which was passed from father to son. Leaders who had them, or the medicines for invulnerability described below, could share them with men fighting under

them if they chose to do so.

It was, of course, always possible that an enemy might have medicines still more powerful that would counteract the virtue of one's own. To make provision for such an eventuality it was necessary to have medicines for invulnerability as well as for invisibility. One of this type, called zogu, was described to us by Tuu, the chief of Zorzor, who himself had been protected by it. It was procured from a doctor and sewn into a small bag. Then six other bags, graduated in size, were sewn, one by one, over the first. Strings were fastened to the outside bag so that the medicine could be tied on over the abdomen. It had power

be paid for only by a person powerful enough to contemplate a war.

"to go ahead," to make guns miss, and to ward

off other weapons and blows.

Although the above was proclaimed as potent for making a person safe in battle, the walubo (leader or commander) had one more powerful still. No walubo had ever been harmed while wearing it, we were assured. It was a collar made of the vulvas and surrounding skin of women who had been killed during a raid. This peculiar collar was attached to the collar of the walubo's war garment of ram skin or other leather.

Similar to the Loma's medicine in the seven sacks was the Mano's $ny\varepsilon$ so or "medicine cloth." This was a short shirt or blouse of homespun under which was worn a leopard

skin with medicines sewed to it.

The Mano, Ge, Gio, Sapa, and Tie stated that squirrel skins with "good" medicine sewed inside them were "fine for gun and other palaver"—to divert gunshot and cause arrows to fly wide of the mark. The medicine man who made this charm went on ahead of the fighters carrying it in the hand. The squirrel skin was used because of this animal's agility and supposed ability to dodge and escape being hit.¹⁹

A very old man seen at Gwejumbo in Sapā, we were assured by his townsmen, had "proper medicine for gun," which he rubbed over his body and then tied to his forehead. Although he was shot at several times by soldiers during the Sapā-Liberian war in 1924, no bullet ever harmed him. "Dey bein so-so [just] fall for groun'." It must have been effective against gunfire only, for he was wounded by a ma-

chete.

A Mano informant who gave us a good example of medicine against spears and gunfire said that he had paid a chicken and a cloth for the information.

The ingredients of this medicine were: the heart of an enemy slain in war, fresh or dried;

gba yıdı (Rinorea sp.), "black deer stick" (the black deer is known for its cunning); vã (Olax viridis), a small shrub eternally green and fruitful; to ta kbi, a very persistent weed, deep rooted.

Directions for its making and care: No knife or iron can be used in preparing the medicine. Break a branch of gba yidi; pull up a whole plant of vã and break in pieces; pull up enough of to ta kbi to make four small bunches; add the heart muscle; tie all together. Put dry into a pot, cover, and put over the fire until charred. Grind carefully to powder, put the powder in a sheep's horn. Tie this round and round with cotton thread; ornament by sewing cowrie shells on the outside. Rub with the fresh blood of a decapitated war victim. Wear slung by a string from the neck. Palm-kernel oil must never touch the medicine. It is to be fed by rubbing well with the blood flowing from war victims. (The specimen was secured for the collection in the Museum, figure 75, n, 76, j.)

The Mano also spoke of a medicine for protection against poisoned arrows. It was said to contain, among other ingredients, strophanthus. This protective medicine was plentifully smeared over the body. It may have acted as a sort of antigen by being slowly absorbed through the skin, thus creating a certain amount of tolerance for the arrow poisons.

As counter-medicine for those whose object was to make gunfire harmless, warriors with guns resorted to medicines of their own, the object of which was to enable the gun (not the man!) to shoot straight, to prevent its missing fire (fig. 75, i, 76, k).²⁰

The application of medicines to arrows was accompanied by elaborate ceremonials, many of which included the sacrifice of a fowl or other animal. The warriors and doctors would

not discuss the details.

When all possible precautions had been taken against being seen or wounded and against the

¹⁹ While we were visiting in the home of a woman missionary in Sapa, the subject of native medicines came up for discussion. She told us that some time before a young man had come to have her test one of these medicines for invulnerability, which had been loaned to him by his father. As no one volunteered to put it on for a demonstration of its powers, it was hung up. The woman shot and blew it to bits. Later the father came in a state of agitation and anger, de-

manding why she had "spoiled what had helped two

²⁰ Doubtless there was much need for these. We have it on the authority of a European in whom we have every confidence that he had been shot at by a native armed with a rifle who lay concealed in the dark interior of a hut of not over 5 yards in diameter. As the European was about to enter the hut, he was fired at three times and was not hit once. See p. 83.

failure of a weapon to function properly, and when the proper measures to assure success had been taken, there was still the danger that this very success would react to one's harm. A slain enemy might have a medicine so powerful that it would transcend all one's own medicines and turn on one for killing its late possessor. Such a powerful medicine was a cow's tail (Mano and Gio), a specimen of which we secured for the Museum (fig. 75, c). It was covered with dried blood of many sacrifices and bits of chewed cola nut blown on the blood before it dried, while the owner was invoking its aid.

The Military Organization. The natives had a military organization corresponding roughly to our own: a commander and his advisers, the "big" leaders or high officers (Loma), other leaders or captains, and warriors or privates.

Commanders were called ko kea (Loma), badio (Half-Grebo), jibadio (Sapã), bio (Tiē)— where these were also the paramount chiefs of the main divisions of the tribe. In Loma the commander remained at home and gave instructions to the leaders. In Half-Grebo and Sapã he accompanied the troops but took no active part in the fighting. As our interpreter put it, "He stop fo' back like gen'ral so he can tell oddah man how he mus' go do." 21

The "big" leader in Loma was the walubo. Just what his office required of him the various informants could not make clear to us. He seems, however, to have had the chief part in leading the war party.

The leader or captain was the bala f(i) in mu or sheepskin man (Loma), kula (Mano and Gio), beo (Sapã). These captains led the actual attacks. They attained to their rank because of supposed invincibility and invulnerability, and because they had killed men in war. They had certain rights, of which more will be said below. In Gio, as already stated, 22 the large, crested hawk-eagle, bwila, when killed, had to be given to the kula. In Half-Grebo we saw an old leader parading through the village wearing a headband that bound a large copper disk to his forehead. To the disk there was fastened with beeswax an iron ring, and inside

of this a smaller ring of cast brass decorated with a braidwork design. The incrustation of grease and blood gave evidence that a considerable number of sacrifices had been made to this token of his high estate. One or two others we saw had a different type of token. In Sapã and Tiã a bunch of *Turacus turacus* feathers worn at the right side of the head are a leader's sign of office, though any warrior who has killed a man in battle may wear one or more of these feathers.

One, Sanago, the *kula* of the Tapi Town region, had a most arrogantly superior bearing. When we asked him to take off his hat so we might take a good picture of him he flatly refused. When we then asked him to hold his spear with one hand, that was too much. He turned around and stalked away in disdain. On the other hand, a leader in Half-Grebo showed us his war medicines and his old weapons and even sold us one of them (fig. 85, c).

In Mano the untried warriors or privates are called gbo gih, "those uninitiated in warfare." It seems they have not yet qualified for leadership by killing an enemy. In Half-Grebo the Klaklabe, or unmarried young men's warrior class,²³ corresponds to the Mano class of uninitiated.

Slackers. All able-bodied males were required to go to war when necessary, but even among these primitive peoples there were individuals who shrank from this duty. Not every man was a bloodthirsty savage ever ready to maim and kill. Such persons were treated no more gently than they are among us.

In Gbunde all chiefs' sons had to go to war. If one tried for any reason to exempt himself he was taken by force and subjected to kpwokro. This meant being dragged around town in a strong hamper lined with thorny sticks and vines and being misused in various ways. It did not take much of this treatment to convince the objector that fighting would probably be a lesser evil.

Exemptions. In Loma an individual whose strong personal medicines were contained in a ram's or goat's horn, sometimes determined by oracle whether or not he had better take part in a war expedition or remain at home. Inside

²¹ According to Johnston, the *badia* of the Grebo, who was the same as the *badio* of the Half-Grebo,

had to *lead* the troops. Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1078.

** See p. 87.

** See p. 165.

his house he sacrificed a fowl to his medicine, smearing some of the blood on it. He then took it to a termite hill, dug a hole, put the medicine inside, and left it there over night. If the termites crawled upon the medicine it meant that he would be killed, so he would not join the war party. He would then have to pay to the commander from one to seven women or their value, depending on his social rank.

Divination by other means, such as the tossing of cola nuts and cowrie shells and the consulting of oracles was also practiced in order to learn whether or not one ought to go or remain

at home.

The only men regularly exempted in the north were the blacksmiths. In the southeast the smiths were not always excused. Cult leaders, big doctors, and elders were not compelled to go to war, but self-interest and regard for public opinion generally induced them to "join up" with the rest.

Causes of War. The primitive Liberians indulged in wars of aggression only when there was a strong likelihood that they would be profitable. Lust for property or power, revenge for accidental or intentional killings, liberation of captives who had been seized while on peaceful business, repossession of runaway wives or daughters — these were the principal causes of war. In fact, any palaver or dispute not settled peaceably was likely to lead to hostilities. For some of these disputes war was the only solution. For example, if a chief (Gio) married the daughter or wife of another chief and she ran away and went back to her own town, and then her father or former husband gave her in marriage to another man, the injured chief was bound to begin a war of revenge.

Killing by witchcraft (poisoning) seems never to have given rise to a war of revenge. It was not regarded in the same light as murder with blood bad 24

with bloodshed.24

Long-standing grievances often led to war where one party to a dispute, because of inferior strength, had been forced temporarily to accept an unsatisfactory settlement. Such grievances were part of the inheritance of a chief's son if the father died before he could rally enough assistance to risk a fight. In this

way many an ancient grudge was kept alive until der Tag.

Declarations of War. Since surprise attacks were relied upon for success in military operations, it is not to be expected that there were many formal declarations of war. The old men in both Sapa and Tie insisted that in their country a neutral town was always asked by the aggressor town to inform the enemy that an attack was imminent. This was done, they said, so that if the defenders lost they could not attribute their defeat entirely to surprise and unpreparedness. While this may have been done in some instances, our knowledge of primitive Africans leads us to doubt that it was the usual procedure. Spying was practiced by all, even as it is by civilized nations, so that preparations for an intended expedition could not well be kept secret. One has only to read a few of the accounts of early travelers to realize that incessant rumors of impending war kept the population in a ferment of terrified suspense. The question was not if but when rumor would become reality. Whatever military genius the attackers had was exercised in striking the threatening blow as swiftly and unexpectedly as possible.

In Gbunde and Loma the market place is neutral ground.²⁵ A person who brings any weapon there is considered to bear a declaration of war from his people. Being ignorant of this fact, we started out for the Zorzor market one day accompanied by our "boy" from the Cameroun, who wore attached to his belt a sizable sheath containing a native knife. As soon as our interpreters noticed this they made the boy take off both knife and sheath and leave them behind. Otherwise he might have caused a panic, although the local official himself was present and no possible harm was intended.

The Gio claimed that they never fought their southern neighbors, the Bush Bassa. Only when they went plundering into the territory of the latter were they liable to attack. This is the only instance known to us of such friendship between two neighboring tribes of difference.

ent affinities.

Time and Method of Attack. "When the moon shone bright and war threatened, no one

²⁴ See also p. 434.

²⁵ See p. 178.

could sleep, for if the town was quiet then the raiders would surely appear," said the old men of Sapā reminiscently. In Mano the young warriors would follow Ge Yumbo,26 dancing and parading through the town all night long on moonlight nights. The Gofa of Half-Grebo still gather in the moonlight to hold exclusive dances, but these have now lost their warlike

significance.

Night attacks were usually planned to take place "jus' befo' de man-chicken begin fo' talk," as that seemed to be the time when the African slept soundest. Another favored time in the southeast was just after dawn. The party stole up to an unsuspecting town, crouched near the entrances in the war-fences, and waited for the first woman — it was always a woman — to open the door and come out for water. She was seized and prevented from making an outcry while the rest of the party stormed in to plunder, capture, and kill the half-awake inhabitants.

There were some daytime attacks, especially where walled places were the objectives. Scouting parties consisting of three or four men were sent out from threatened places to reconnoiter. If they caught sight of an enemy they went back and gave the alarm. Then the town's forces came out to give battle and try to drive back the invaders. If unsuccessful, they retired within the fortifications. Crude ladders for bridging moats and scaling walls were then brought up by the enemy in an attempt to throw fire into the town, or to get inside and set fire to the houses. If the attempt to take the town by assault failed, and the attackers felt they were strong enough, they laid siege to the place. As towns were usually located on elevations at some distance from water, surrender was far more often due to lack of water than to lack of food.

The favorite season for war was when the rice was ripe or, preferably, after it had been harvested. This assured much booty if the attack was a success. If the ripened rice was still standing it could, in case of forced retreat, be set afire and the townspeople practically reduced to starvation.

When it came to open battle or to attack among the Mano, the party would advance with its boy-mascot ²⁷ going fearlessly ahead of the leader. If, for some reason, this brave mascot became frightened and ran away, it was a bad omen. All fled with him.

The Gio had a "singer," fortified with the cow's tail medicine already described,²⁸ to sing and shout defiance and derision at the enemy as an encouragement to his own party. He was a big doctor, made invulnerable by his medicines, not rated as a warrior, but rather more like a cheer-leader. Beside him went a drummer. These two walked behind the first line of fighters. As long as the singer and the drummer kept on with their encouragement the troops must continue to fight. Silence meant, "Take to the woods!"

Ending Hostilities. When the enemy captured a place, sacked and burned it, and led the survivors away as slaves, then the war was over, unless substantial assistance came from other parts in time to attack the departing captors. This seems to have happened very rarely.

In Loma, when one side or both became weary or found it useless to continue, the town-criers (dabenu) of both towns met on the route between the two places. Each brought his personal medicines, a white cockerel, a white native cloth, and two or three mats. The mats were spread on the ground.

The dabenu of the side most desirous of ending hostilities—generally the aggressor—began, "I beg you, let war finish," and con-

tinued in the same strain.

After the other side had made appropriate response, both got their personal medicines and took oath on them, ending, "Let this medicine kill me if we make war again." Each then sent to have his "uncle" called.²⁹

Upon the arrival of these "uncles" the towncriers exchanged cockerels and cloths, and each handed these to his respective "uncle." After this a sheep was bought by the representatives of both sides, each paying half the cost; or a sheep was bought by each side. The animals were killed and the blood allowed to run onto

²⁶ See pp. 164, 272-73.

²⁷ See above, p. 233.

²⁸ See above, p. 235.

²⁰ In Loma any person of importance in a town is called keke, "uncle." In this case it was the chief, or the next in authority if the chief was not available.

the ground. Then the "nephews," as the town-criers were called, took the heart and head, each getting half. The "uncles" divided the breast; the walubo (war leaders) got the necks. When the meat had been cooked and each had eaten his portion, the hostilities were over.

In Mano the party desiring peace sent its leading medicine woman to the other side with ten white cola nuts, two white cockerels, a white cloth, and a beautiful girl, to begin

negotiations.

In the southeast the native axe played an important part in overtures for peace. In Half-Grebo four axes and a white plate were taken to the enemy by a member of the peace party. This action was usually followed by a truce to discuss terms. These terms were based upon the prospects of the aggressors for victory, stalemate, or defeat. They could usually be induced to cease upon payment of one to four head of cattle and a woman. After this the leaders of each side took a mouthful of water from a vessel, blew it upon the ground,30 and said, "The war is over between us." Next, the chief of the place where the terms had been discussed brought out four white cola nuts and four palm nuts. The cola nuts were shared by the representatives of both sides, who ate together in solemn pledge of peace. This ended the war. Each of the eaters kept one of the palm nuts and planted it in his town to show posterity that peace had been made between his town and the other.

The Sapa customarily sent to their enemies, by a woman, a white cockerel and a cloth. If the enemy was inclined to quit, he accepted these overtures. If not, they allowed the woman to return home. A second attempt was made by sending more offerings, including a cow. If this failed, two guns, two goats, and two wooden basins were added to the peace offerings. This third attempt was usually successful. Negotiations were then begun and terms finally made. In conclusion there was the water-blowing ceremony, as above.

In Tie the bio of an attacking clan usually set a time limit of a few days on hostilities. The bio of the defending clan was then called in to help settle matters. If there was no time

limit, or if one side wished to terminate the fighting, an axe was laid on the path. On seeing this the opposition was obliged to quit and go home. If they "refused to hold the axe" (failed to respect it), their action meant probable death to the people left behind in their towns. It also meant that warriors of their side killed afterward could never be avenged. Even if a town under attack "put down an axe" when defense was obviously useless, hostilities had to cease. The town then had to pay a cow or a bullock. If it could not produce one after making the peace overtures, fighting was resumed. In that event the axe had no power to bring calamity to those left at home.

If the axe was respected and the warring party went home they were followed by two men of the side desiring peace, one carrying an axe, the other an oil-palm frond. When they arrived before the "big man" of the place these emissaries fell down on their knees before him and "held his foot" (literally, with both hands). In the name of those they represented they begged that the war be stopped. After this the leading men of both sides got together and settled upon the terms of peace. The Sapã also followed this same procedure at certain

times.

Of the two men sent to make the peace overtures, one had to be the son of a "daughter" (woman) of some clan of the opposing party who had married a man of the petitioning party. The other man had to be a "son" of the petitioning party. No outsider would be accepted. The axe was considered as a sort of bond. It was similarly regarded in the settlement of dowry disputes and debts.

Treatment of the Slain. Enemies slain were eaten.³¹ The Half-Grebo said that not only was their flesh good, but that rice cooked with

human fat had medicinal properties.

Mutilation was practiced upon corpses to terrify the enemy. Arms were sometimes cut off at the elbows and tied crosswise in front of the face and the corpse set up on the path in sight of town. Sometimes a goat's head and that of a corpse were cut off, each affixed to the torso of the other, and both set up for any surviving townspeople to see upon returning from war.

³⁰ See also p. 83.

⁸¹ See pp. 93 and 370.

Treatment of Captives. It is only to be expected that during the fighting, while excitement and the lust for blood and plunder were at their peak, not many captives were spared. In the north fine young girls who might make desirable wives were usually spared, as were mothers of young children. After the ending of hostilities the local need for slaves, or the market for them, was a determining factor in the treatment of prisoners.

In general, only the men who were considered dangerous were killed. The Mano said men were spared if they begged for their lives and agreed to become slaves of their captors. Women, as well as men, who made trouble for their captors were dispatched. The Half-Grebo and Sapa said that all children except infants were killed, but that — except among one or two of the Half-Grebo clans — the women were spared. Smiths were spared in the north. In Half-Grebo and Sapa they were held until the end of hostilities, then released. In Tie only the bio was safe; the smith was treated like any other individual.

When a Tië town concluded that further resistance would be useless and "laid down an axe," none of the inhabitants were killed, provided they could pay the peace price mentioned above or negotiate all grievances satisfactorily. When, however, peace was not sued for in this manner and the town was finally taken, then all adult males, possibly women and infants too, were butchered. Only fine-looking girls and small boys suitable for slaves were spared and carried off.

Raiders from such nests as Pandamai seem to have been exceptionally cruel. Near the entrance to that town is a gully at one side of the path where, people said, there used to be a heap of skulls, gruesome reminders of former butcheries of captives.

Chiefs taken captive in the north generally fared ill. If they were allowed to live, there was the danger that they might some day be sufficiently strong to begin a war of revenge. In fact, this was the feeling about all men of importance. In some sections the older boys were also considered dangerous for this reason.

In Loma only the bala fili nu had the right to kill a chief or other important person.

The Mano stated, "We killed the chiefs because they would have been of no use if kept

alive." (They could not work.) Therefore, before sending out his warriors, a chief might say to them, "I only want to see his [the opposing chief's] hand [or his head]." This would be brought back as evidence of his death. An exception was sometimes made when the enemy chief was not believed to have been the cause of the offense. Orders might then be given to the war party to bring him back alive. A cow's tail would be promised them for a feast if they did so.

In the southeast captured chiefs were said to have been treated like other men; but here as in the north expediency determined their fate, and it must have been expedient in most cases to put them safely out of the way. Even when they were permitted to live, some accident was likely to befall them later when it would cause less of a stir.

Division of the Spoils. Smaller domestic animals taken by the victors were usually killed and eaten on the spot. Cattle escaping death were driven off as booty.

In Loma everything brought in was taken to the ko kea (commander) — whether human beings, cattle, or valuable goods. The last included large pots, cotton, yarn, cloths, foodstuffs. Less valuable things were destroyed or left. The commander gave to the warriors according to what each had taken. If, for instance, a man's booty happened to be several captives he was given one of them for himself. If he brought in only one captive he got a present of some other kind. The rest of the prisoners and booty were divided among the ko kea, the chief, and the town elders. A big feast was made for the victors.

To assure himself of a worthwhile part of the loot for which he had risked his life a warrior not infrequently kept and hid a prisoner, or part of the goods he had secured, and delivered only a portion to his commander. This practice was not confined to Loma.

In Mano everything was brought to the chief, who, in council with the town elders, divided it. In Half-Grebo spoils had to be taken to the house of the *badio*, who held the responsibility for making a fair division.

In Gbunde and Loma prisoners might be redeemed by relatives or others upon payment of the price demanded. If the other side had also taken prisoners an exchange might be made. This was also the practice in Gio. If one side had taken more than the other the balance could sometimes be redeemed. Superfluous prisoners were usually sold as slaves to the Bassa, eventually reaching slave ships on the coast.

In Half-Grebo and Sapã, if the war had been between neighboring clans of the same tribe or between factions of a clan, any woman could be redeemed on payment of two head of cattle. Men were flogged and sold. If the war had been against outsiders both the men and women were sold.

"We wanted no stranger slaves. These would learn all about our country and lead their own people back in case of another war," said the old men.

Under these conditions the life of the hinterlander was formerly not unlike that of the hunted animals of his own jungles and swamps. These natives are now sincerely grateful for the peace brought by the Government, though at first, quite naturally, they considered the American-Liberian colonists as invaders from a foreign country.

DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

PRACTICALLY all we know about death and burial customs is what we were able to observe. Very little information was obtainable concerning the beliefs underlying various practices. One idea that appears to exist among the better-informed tribesman is that there was no death in the beginning; it came later.

Neither death nor what may follow seems to cause the mature tribesmen much concern. He is more disturbed by the possibility of trial by sasswood. In the aged, this attitude is easily accounted for by the fact that many gradually reach a condition of mental numbness.

Warnings of Death. Warnings of approaching death are firmly believed in. "Whenever the plaintain-eater (*Turacus turacus*) is heard talking at night, we know that a chief is to die. If we hear an owl at night, someone else will die." (Sapã.)

"When someone is about to die, the spirits of the dead that are living at Dula [a wide place in the Cavally] 1 can be heard drumming and singing by those living near by. The spirits of relatives already living in Dula can be heard telling that person's people, 'Your son [or whatever the relationship is] is coming.' When this is heard, one knows that within two or three days the one named will be dead." (Tie.)

A person may also be informed in a dream of his own or another's approaching end.

Or a person may have an unaccountable premonition of his own death. He will tell those about him not to use up any of their substance in having medicine made for him, because it will be no use. As an instance of this our interpreter, Pepper Cooper (fig. 37, a), told of one of his brothers who had died some time before. "I will be dead at about three o'clock this afternoon; I feel it," this brother had said in the morning. As he was apparently in good health nobody believed him, but he firmly insisted that "someone told him so." He called in a number of people as witnesses and in their presence made a verbal will, disposing of all his property and his wife and children in favor

of Pepper, who was away at the time. Near three o'clock, he called for water to bathe himself, after which he called for three mats to be placed on the floor. On these he lay down, expiring soon after.

After Pepper had told this story, several Sapa present cited instances of this kind.

Another instance was related to us in Gio. A well and sound man was sitting resting in his house when suddenly he felt a pain in the back of the neck. "Ah! What is the matter? Some people are putting a big rope through my head and body into the ground. They want to pull me and the house upward!" he shouted. "I shall soon die!" Persons present asked if he had been drinking palm wine or gin. This he denied, then pleaded to be carried outside so that he and the house could not be pulled upward. After he had been taken out and set before the hut, he lingered for a short time and then died.

Allied to this matter of premonition is the certainty of death felt by individuals who know that they have not fulfilled a vow or that black magic is being practiced against them. Death sometimes results,² thus giving further credence to such beliefs.

The Dying. "A dying person sometimes sees a number of spirits not visible to others, waiting to escort him to the place where they live. He may even refuse to take anything that might cure him, saying that it is his desire to go to be with them. But if he knows that he has been a bad person he may try to rise or sit up. In great fear he will take hold of someone near by, pleading, 'Cover my eyes! Hold me! I see many spirits coming. Some are trying to get hold of me and take me!' Those present try to help him, but it is no use. He dies in much fear." (Southeast.)

The last desires and requests of a dying person are respected, because there is always the possibility of his avenging himself upon disobedient survivors. In so far as possible special foods or drinks he craves are given him. For the same reason the heirs are scrupulous in carrying out instructions regarding family

¹ See pp. 328 and 329.

² See also p. 385.

matters and the disposal of property. There seems, however, to be no fear of him while he

yet lives.

"No one fears a dying person unless he looks fierce." (Gbunde.) "We never fear to be near the dying." (Mano.) "If the dying person is known to have bad medicine, or if he is suspected of having made witch, we fear to go near him. This kind of person may do us bad if we go near him at that time. Others, we do not fear." (Half-Grebo and Sapã.)

In Tië the more important men, when they are about to expire, are carried outside the house on a mat, which is put upon the ground. Their wives and other interested persons come, each bringing a gift. Any cloth they bring is later put into the grave. Money, ornaments, and other things are given to the grave-diggers.

Fowls and rice are cooked for them.

In the southeast mourning does not necessarily wait until a person has expired. Whenever it becomes apparent that the end is approaching, relatives, neighbors, and friends gather around the sick man and begin to wail as though he were already dead. The same thing is done when a person is passing through the crisis of a severe illness. Whether this practice exists in the north, we cannot say. We have witnessed it many times in the southern Cameroun. The effect produced, especially on a person who has reached the crisis of a disease, may readily be guessed. By dispersing mourners and applying psychology, as well as restoratives, we have more than once saved the life of one for whom such premature mourning was made.

Proof of Death. Experience has taught the tribesman not to be too hasty in declaring a person dead. When persons who have not been sick die suddenly, there is always the possibility that they may have been "bewitched into unconsciousness." There is the instance of an elderly woman named Zezede of Wozuma (Gbunde) who had supposedly died. When everything was ready for her interment she suddenly revived and lived for two years longer, though she was never afterward able to talk above a whisper. She later claimed to have met her dead mother as she was engaged in pounding rice in a mortar in the spirit land,

who asked her, "Why do you leave your children to come here? You must go back to them." So she returned.

"One must not bury people too quickly. One must first see if the mouth spoils and the tongue hangs out," say the Gio. When death is established the person is pronounced $g\varepsilon$ kpw ε (dead absolutely). They say, a te a lo (his breath is gone out); and, a zo a bwi (his heart lie down).

The Gio also accept other proof of death. "When the mourners are seated around the corpse, lamenting his death and crying out in their sorrow, 'O my ——! Why have you left us!' his spirit (mi zu, the thing that goes to the spirit land) will occasionally appear to them in various forms. Sometimes it is merely a red blotch or a flame or a little person. It may also be an infant. If it takes any of these forms, then one knows that the dead has been a witch person. But if it takes the shape of a tall white thing or person, the dead one was good [according to native standards]."

The Mano expressed the same belief. "The thing that goes out of them, the thing that does not die, is seen leaving the body. At times it resembles a child; at others it will be big like that stick yonder," informants said, pointing to a flagpole in the court before the house.

A person recently expired is often regarded as still alive for the space of a few hours during which his spirit remains in such relationship with and proximity to his body that he can be talked to as to one still living. If there is no response, this one-sided conversation is given up and the decision pronounced: a ga (he is [really] dead), as nearly as we could understand the explanation. (Gio.)

Announcement of Death. Announcement of the death of a man of any social standing (chiefs excepted),⁴ is usually made by firing guns in proportion to the amount of powder available to the family. This may also be done for a woman of importance if the husband feels so inclined.

The news is sent around to neighboring towns by runners—or by the drum telegraph⁵ where this is still in use. After this the wailing, which in some sections may have begun before the public announcement of death, is intensified.

³ See pp. 321 ff.

Upon the death of a householder, in Half-Grebo or Sapa, the set of potstands is removed from the central hearth and taken outside the house through the main door and broken before it. The broken fragments on the ground announce the death. When a woman dies the small potstands from the side or secondary hearth are broken.

Mourning Customs. The correct mourning period varies in different regions. It is governed by the age and social standing of the deceased, the relationship of the mourners, and the degree of sorrow they feel. A Tie sage remarked reflectively, "A man mourns for his wife until his heart is made glad again by a new woman to take her place." In any event, the mourning is over after the funeral feast has been made and eaten.

In Gbunde it is taboo to mourn before the funeral:

"There must be no lamentation for the dead until the day of burial. If there is any loud crying and the corpse 'sleeps' in town overnight, bad fortune resulting in deaths will follow. So if anyone is heard wailing before the day of burial the corpse is carried out into the jungle. Men watch over it till morning, when they carry it back to town. If this is the morning of the day of burial, wailing may begin."

Gbunde and Loma widows bewail a late husband early in the morning for four to six days after his interment, crying, "O my mother! O my father! I have no one to help me now." This grief is short lived. A widow in these tribes may have intercourse whenever and with whomsoever she may fancy and is soon com-

In Mano mourning may begin at once, and it continues at intervals after the burial over a period of a few days to a week for infants, and from one to three months for adults. It is said that only the Big Devil can mourn the death of a zo.

While the Gio bewail their "small dead" (unimportant people) and sub-chiefs before interment they make no lamentation at the grave. It is resumed when the mourners have returned to their homes.

In the southeast it is good form to bewail the dead whenever one feels inclined. In Sapa and Tiế a dead man's wives run about the village uttering cries; the louder, the better.

When any member of the Kwi men's cult dies, the big man of the cult in that locality comes to the house and remains for four days "singing" the lamentations for the dead. No woman may enter the house during his stay.6 (Sapã and Half-Grebo.)

In Tie a mother must not wail for a dead infant. The infant would hear and feel sad and decide to be reborn to comfort its mother; but an infant reborn under these circumstances could live only a short time. Then it would

die again and "stop dead fo' true."

When a woman has borne two or three children all of whom have died as soon as born, or very soon after, live coals are put on the body of the second or third child as it is interred. The belief is that the application of hot coals will prevent the infant's spirit from being reborn yet again to "humbug" the mother. The infant spirit will say, "That place is not fine; it is too hot. I have no desire to go there again." The next child will be the incarnation of another person who will not cause sorrow.

A Mano mother on the death of an infant quits her house for that of a friend for a day or two, then "washes" (purifies herself) and returns home. The Gio mother likewise mourns

a few days.

Since sorrow is measured pretty much in terms of volume, wailing is prompted largely by caution. It may, of course, be an expression of genuine grief, especially when a son mourns the death of his mother, but the comment of a Mano interpreter reflects the general attitude: "We all cry plenty at a death. If we do not we may be suspected of having caused it."

In Gio we were told:

We must cry plenty loud. If we do not, people will say, "So, you have a witch! You are a witch person! You do not feel bad about this death. Perhaps it was you who killed him."

We must say, "Why did you die? Why did you leave us? Come back and take me with you."

If you are a child or a wife of the deceased you "go like you die" [go into spasms of grief]. Then people near by will come and hold you so you will not die of sorrow. Mourners often refuse food for a day or two.

Sometimes a person before he dies says, "When I go, no one must cry for me. You will make no noise."

See also pp. 310 ff.

As a sign of extreme grief, a relative or close friend may throw himself violently upon the ground and roll in the mud or dust, crying out his sorrow at the top of his voice until he is hoarse.

A week before our arrival in Palepo a woman of a town in that clan had been killed by a leopard while working on her farm. During our stay in that town, waiting for carriers, a number of women from another clan came to bewail their dead "sister." They had set out as soon as possible after hearing the news of her death. For a time they walked about the town as if distracted, loudly wailing. After a while they stopped, entered the house of the dead woman, and walked back and forth inside, going from door to door and peering out as if expecting her return. As they walked and looked about they talked and called to her continually. On the floor of the house a group of local women sat wailing and calling. These had gathered as soon as the mourners from out of town made their appearance.

The Sapa and Tie abstain from eating rice for a period. The Sapa do not eat it for a week or two after the death of a child of the household or for about a month after the death of an older person. What the period is in Tie, we

did not learn.

There seems to be no special mourning costume, except that Gio women wear no outer clothing during the mourning period. However, a shaved head is frequently a sign of mourning. Widows and widowers shave the head in Half-Grebo. The Gio shave it for any near relative. A Tiế widow may shave her head or wear a raffia-fiber bracelet. Mano widows cut a portion of hair from the right side of the head. Those of Gbunde and Loma wear their hair loose for possibly two weeks. Children shave the head for parents in Half-Grebo and Konibo; in Gio and Sapa they shave it only above the temples. The Tie shave all but a tuft near the forehead when the first parent dies, and shave the head completely on the death of the second parent.

A Gio husband confines himself to his house for three days after the death of a wife, leaving it only to perform the functions of nature. Gio widows are kept in for four days. When it is necessary for them to go outside they are "carried"—led and supported on both sides by friends. During this time they may not wash or bathe. When it is over they are "carried" to the waterside, given medicine, and washed with it to become purified. Men are similarly purified.

In Tiã also the widows are confined to the house (theoretically) and forbidden to wash until the funeral feast has been made. This may be a few weeks, possibly as long as two months, after the burial. Women previously widowed wait upon them, cook, and bring food to them. After the feast is over they are led to the waterside by a widow or widower and pushed into the water. They bathe, return to town, and seat themselves beside their late husband's house.

An old medicine woman now comes with a quantity of the puffball mushroom chewed fine. Some of this she rubs on the face and body of each widow. Next, a mat is placed upon the ground. The three large potstands are taken from the central hearth and carried outside. A pot is set on each of them, a fire kindled, and rice cooked in the pots. The widows are told, one by one, to sit upon the mat. As each one is seated she is asked to name the man she will take for her new husband.8 This is a formality. All arrangements have been made beforehand. The man who inherits a woman may keep her; or he may arrange with another to take her — for a consideration, of course; or the woman herself may come to an agreement with some man. However this may be, the man who is to be the new husband will be on hand for this occasion. When the man has been named he seats himself beside the woman and they eat out of one dish some of the rice that has been cooking.

Severing Connection with the Dead. "As soon as an older person dies all his brothers and sisters, those who are of the same father and mother, tie a cotton cord around their necks. If they do not they will be killed by the spirit of the deceased to accompany it to the spirit world. If a husband dies

7 Noting the tuft of hair on the back of a Palepo chief's head, we inquired the significance. "It is to keep my head balanced," he said. "If I were to cut it

off my head would hang forward." Later we learned it was a sign that both of his parents were living.

* See also p. 416.

and leaves a wife a string is fastened to his corpse and one end of it tied to one of her wrists. When this string is cut, all relations between the two will be severed and he cannot harm her. [We saw this done at Pandamai, Gbunde.] This is also done when a child dies. A cord is tied to the child's and the mother's wrists. [If the mother is dead, another relative is substituted.] This is cut before burial.

"When a child of one or two years dies, the faces of all the other children of the place are blackened so that the dead child cannot take them to keep it company in the spirit world, where it arrives a lonely

stranger.

"When a small infant dies, if there are other infants of about the same age in that quarter of the town, one must say to them, 'Your companion has gone to cut a [medicine] leaf,' or, 'Your companion has gone to get goods to buy food for you so you will grow quickly to be a big person.' These sayings will deceive the infants and prevent them from wishing to join the dead child." (Gbunds.)

Children up to about seven years of age must not look upon the dead, because the deceased might have a witch that is still active and can harm them. (Gio.)

Preparations for Burial. Formerly, only chiefs and big men were washed after they died.

In Half-Grebo the corpse of a warrior who died from the effects of a gunshot wound was taken to a stream and washed. In both Half-Grebo and Sapa, the shot was extracted in order to prevent his being reincarnated with a wound.

Now, all the dead are washed. The corpse is then laid on a mat and rolled up in it. With the corpse are put some cloths, the number varying with the rank of the person. (Mano.)

In Gio the procedure is much the same, but a man is dressed in a shirt and cap. Gin or rum is poured into the mouth and rubbed on the body "so he no can spoil quick." If possible, burial is on the day of death, but it may be postponed until the next day if relatives must come from a distance.

"The person we see is ready to die, we wash. Sometimes he asks to be washed before he dies. Sometimes people expire while we are washing them. When they are dead and washed, we lay them on a mat and wrap them up in it. If it is

a small baby that dies, the mother herself must do everything. She must also carry it to the grave and bury it. No woman who has not borne children may carry a dead baby and put it into the grave. If she does she can never bear children." (Sapã.)

It is the general custom to put something into the hands of the dead, more especially infants and children who are believed to have been killed by someone. This is done to give them the means of avenging themselves upon their slayers. Favorite objects are a stick, some capsicum pods, and a knife. The dead child is told, "Beat and kill the one who killed you. If you cannot kill him, throw pepper into his eyes so we may discover him." If the child who died was too young to walk, the Sapā mother mixes strong medicine with the peppers to catch and kill the witch. Another object used for this purpose in the southeast is the native axe, or merely the handle of it.

From our Half-Grebo interpreter we heard: "We get w(h) ite man fashum fo' we country. All man he fit get money, he get box like w(h) ite man [has a coffin made in expectation of his demise]." We saw them in a number of houses in the different clans making up this

tribe.

It is the custom here, as among the Grebo and Kru, to preserve the corpse of a father, if his son is absent, until the latter returns. This may be months or even a year or longer. Upon the return of the son, regular burial occurs. Informants stated that the permanent grave must not be in the same hole in which mummification took place.

Autopsies are performed on the dead to ascertain whether death was caused by poisoning or whether the deceased had a witch.¹⁰

The Watch over the Dead. A woman usually sits by the corpse and keeps away the flies by waving a fly-brush or the end of a palm frond back and forth over it. While the corpse of a woman is lying on its mat awaiting burial, friends come in.

Each gives the woman fly-chaser three cola nuts, saying, "I am sorry —— has gone. I hope she goes well. Here are three cola nuts for her"

⁹ See pp. 275 and 276.

¹⁰ See pp. 251, 385 ff.

These the fly-chaser takes, opens the hand of the corpse, and says to it, "—— has come to salute you. She is sorry you are dead. She hopes you will go well [fare well on the jour-

ney to the spirit land]."

She then takes the nuts again and puts them into a basin standing ready to receive them. The relatives take as many of these as they wish. When burial is to take place, all the nuts remaining in the basin are interred with the body. (Gbunde.)

During a wake, in Gio, all the women of the assembled company must lie on the bare earthen floor. It is customary, for the men especially, to drink palm wine and gin, "so their sorrow

will not hurt them too much."

In Tië a woman is buried the same day she dies, unless she dies after sundown. Her corpse is not allowed to remain in the house overnight, because no husband can be certain that his wife is not a witch person. If she is, and her remains are left in the house, she will humbug him so that he has no peace. "She comes to him. He sees her. He yells, jumps up, and runs away. No one can help him."

Cemeteries and Graves. The closest approach to cemeteries in our sense of the word, we found in Gbunde, Loma, and Half-Grebo—especially in Gbunde; also in parts of Kpelle. In Gbunde and Loma these were along the ways leading into, and just outside, the towns. Immense bombax trees were a feature of most of them. Those we went to see in Half-Grebo were in the jungle near town, along a side trail that branched from the main way leading to another town. Nearly every one of the older graves had sunk in from 1 to 2 feet below the surface of the surrounding earth.

At the north entrance to Zorzor (Loma), just outside of where the clay fortification wall formerly stood, at the right of the way as one leaves town, is the cemetery where only zo women may be buried. Men's graves line the other side of the way. Besides these, which appear to be more or less public, there are also

family burial places.

Paramount Chief Wuo of Mano had us come with him to look at the burial place of his ancestors in Zuluyi. Along the way, at about 200 yards from the town of Busi, was another family burial place, which was for male members only.

Near a swamp quite close to Peledai (Mano) we noticed what appeared to be a Poro grove, but our carriers said it was an ancient burying ground. For this reason none of the trees might be cut down. A man did once fell a tree there, because it was convenient to do so. Soon after, the townspeople began having so much misfortune and death that they "broke" the town and went across the border into French territory. A spirit then appeared to the chief in a vision, telling him that the cause of all the town's misfortune had been the cutting of that tree. A tree should never again be cut there, as the spirits did not wish their graves disturbed. Thereupon the chief and his people returned, made proper sacrifice at the graves, and rebuilt their abandoned town. There has been no such trouble since.

At Pandamai (Gbunde), there are three public cemeteries—one at each entrance to the town—for the burial of persons who were born elsewhere. Such persons must be buried in the cemetery at the entrance by which he first came into Pandamai, "because one goes to the spirit land by the same route one came from it." Natives of the town are buried in family burial places.

It is permissible to inter people anywhere within or without a town. In town a man is usually buried near his own house, or at least in the quarter where his family lives. "We bury the man where he has asked us to bury him. It may be inside his house. It may be in the ground. It may be in the bush on the ground; (the coffin is left standing on the surface)." (Half-Grebo.) Travelers tell of having seen coffins thus. In one case a coffin was on top of a large rock.

"We formerly buried the men behind the house, where water dripping from the eaves could not fall upon the grave. Now they are mostly buried on the edge of town, the place where our women have always been buried."

(Sapã.)

"A rich man may be buried inside or near his house. Poor men, and those who are young, may be buried in the forest or at the edge of town. Big, big women, too, are buried at the edge of town, but all other women we bury out in the forest. Sometimes a person's corpse is carried to an abandoned town site. Burial always takes place where the family council decides unless the person himself has chosen

some place." (Tiɛ̃.)

Infants are laid in shallow graves, which may be near the mother's house or a short distance back from one of the ways leading out of town. When the grave has been filled it is covered with sweepings and rubbish. Very young infants are buried in termite nests in order that they may not return to humbug people by carrying away other newly born infants. (Gbunda.) The Tiã often bury them in rub-

bish heaps.

In Gbunde, Loma, and Mano stones set up or lying flat usually indicate the spot at which an important person is buried (fig. 37, g and b). The grave of a very important person may be entirely enclosed by stones. It is first surrounded by set-up stones, and upon these, large flat ones are laid. These stones serve as seats. They are also convenient for whetting knives and machetes. We even saw the chief of Busi (Mano) sharpening his razor on such stones in preparation for a head-shaving. A few of the newer graves of big men are enclosed in fences made by driving sticks into the ground a few inches apart. (Mano and Tiē.) These take root, growing from 2 to 3 feet high.

The graves of chiefs, able warriors, and other important men are usually dug out at one side to form a niche in which the body is laid. Those of others are simple oblong or (in Gio

and Sapa) circular excavations.12

In Gio we saw no graves. Informants there said that interment had been practiced by their tribe only since the country had been subdued.

"Graves are not dug by any special persons. Anyone may dig them, but slaves used to be called to do it." (North.) "Any townsmen of the dead can dig the grave. (Half-Grebo.) "Men of the family of the dead person's mother are summoned to dig the grave if it is possible to call them in time." (Sapā.) "A man's grandsons are supposed to dig his grave and fill it in. If he has none, then his near relatives and family people." (Tiē.)

So far as we could learn, there are no special ceremonies in connection with the digging or

filling in of the grave.

¹² See also death of a zo, p. 375.

"The diggers wash themselves after they have finished. Then they eat what has been

cooked for them as a sort of pay for their work. The fowl is killed over the grave and blood is let run on it. After the diggers have finished eating, a bit of the flesh and rice is left on the grave, and the pots in which the cooking was done are broken and also put on top of it." (Mano.) We noted these objects on two new graves, together with fowl and duck feathers and, on a piece of bark, sand that must have been brought from some distance.

Burial Rites. For men and women of standing, it is desirable to give as fine a burial as possible. If the spirit is offended by too small a show of regard it may come back and avenge itself upon all and sundry. On the forest trail between Bedezea and Vonejesu (Gbunde), the spot was pointed out to us where a circumcising 20 of that region "had come back and caught and killed Poro members because they had not given him a respectable funeral. His name was Bama Ngafui.¹³ He killed people only on the day the American palaver [Americo-Liberians] call Sunday."

It is impossible, with the limited information at our disposal, to generalize about the ceremonies at the grave, but we have from eyewitnesses accounts of particular funerals, which we submit below. We ourselves had the good

fortune to witness two.

We are also able to present some information on the burial of warriors and of persons who, because of evil-doing or misfortune, are denied the usual rites.

The burial of chiefs, which has its own customs and ritual, we shall consider last.

Burial of a Big Man of the Mano.¹⁴ An old man named Geti died at Ganta. His home was two days' journey away, and he had with him no friends or relatives except one woman. She said that he was a big man in his country on three counts: he was a sand-player and a zo of the Leopard Society; he was a blacksmith; ¹⁵ he was a warrior. The boys at the mission, having never been to the Poro Bush, were unwilling to bury him; but Dao, the blacksmith, because he was a fellow guild member, agreed to perform the necessary rites appropriate to his rank.

Dao sent the woman for a plantain. When

¹⁴ Information from Dr. Harley. ¹⁵ See p. 145.

she had brought it she stood in the doorway of the house, and addressing the dead man

directly, said:

"Geti, when we were at home the people said I witched you and made you sick. These people said that. Now if it is true that I witched you, then when I go home and the people give me sasswood to drink, let it kill me at once. Let it kill me at once. If I did not witch you, let me get clear. Let me get clear. You have plenty of children. You have many children. You have many children. You have many debts. You have many debts. You have many debts. Let it be so that when the creditors come with their claims, we can pay the debts. Let us pay the debts. Let us pay the debts. When you were sick, all the things you asked me to do, I will explain to your brother. I will explain to your brother. My part is finished."

(The woman asked to be allowed to pay the dead man's debts, because it is believed that a spirit frequently prevents his survivors from paying them, thus causing endless palaver be-

tween them and the creditors.)

Dao arose, uncovered the face and left hand of the corpse, which was covered with a cloth, and holding the plantain above the face, said:

"You and I have not the same home. The customs at your home are one thing; our customs here are another. The woman tells me three things about you. One only I understand — the blacksmith palaver. You were doing many things at your home. These things I know nothing about. [Here Dao put the plantain in Geti's left hand.] If a person who has children dies leaving the children orphans, they will have nothing to eat but plantains. [He gently withdrew the plantain.] All your children — this is their food. Let them be satisfied. All the things you used to do, may your children do likewise. When a man has children, they can do as he has done. You must go forward. You must go forward. This American doctor has come to make medicine for all the people. God has called you. The bad palaver you used to do, let your descendants avoid doing. The American man has come here to make medicine for us all. When any person comes here for medicine, let him get well. Let him get well. Now you must go. Now you must go. All the things you used to do, your children who are left, let them do the same."

(If this burial had been in a native town, some seed rice would have been put into the man's hand just as the plantain was. When it was taken out, it would have been distributed grain by grain to be thrown into the various "kitchens" of seed rice, so that the next crop would

be bountiful.)

The head was covered again, and the corpse was carried to the grave, which ran east and west. There were two mats on the grave, and a corner of each was now split with a knife. One mat was spread in the bottom of the grave. The second was fixed upright at the head end in such a way that one end of the mat would be tucked under the head. The corpse was then lowered in by the hands and feet, with the head toward the west. The second mat was folded down over it and tucked in all around by a man who got into the grave for the purpose. He carried a small stick in his mouth so that he would not catch any sickness. With both hands and feet he pushed the corners of the mat in place, even stepping on the corpse to push the mat firmly down around the edges. The dirt was then pushed in. The man who was in the grave came out and threw back into it the stick he had been carrying in his mouth. Then the laborers rapidly filled up the hole, packing the dirt with their feet from time to time, and made a slight mound. Last, a bucket that had belonged to Geti was brought, a hole was punched in the bottom, and it was turned bottom up directly over the head of the corpse.

According to custom, the laborers who had dug the grave and handled the corpse were given a chicken and some uncooked rice. The blacksmith begged a shilling for his part in the burial. The woman retained the plantain, which she was to carry home and divide among all the man's children. Each would eat his

portion.

Burial of a Member of the Snake Society at Belevela. At Belevela we were told that a local member of the Snake Society had bound himself by oath to the "snake," 16 swearing implicit obedience in return for which it was to

¹⁶ See also pp. 353-54.

help him and make him wealthy. While this man was working on the Du River plantation of the Firestone Company, the snake had come at night to demand the man's mother as a sacrifice. The man, who had already "given" the snake two persons, hesitated to fulfill this last and most difficult demand. He kept postponing the offering until the snake made him ill. Continuing in this state for some time, he finally obtained permission from the company to go home. There he was gradually consumed by the insatiable reptile until "there was nothing left in him." He expired just before we reached the town.¹⁷

We heard that a fowl had been cooked and symbolically given the dead man "to pay his passage across the river." (The natives' ideas about this river were unobtainable.) This passage-fowl was eaten by the man's paternal uncle. A grave a little more than 3 feet deep had been dug beside the way leading from the Gbunde country and had been lined with a big mat. Farewell had been taken of the man in the usual manner, with requests for his good will and beneficial influence, messages to the dead, and so on.

When we arrived at the grave, the corpse lay on a mat near by, covered with a blue trade cloth. Over this, feathers pulled from the passage-fowl had been plentifully sprinkled. Where the cloth was lifted, near the head, we could see that grains of cooked rice and palm oil had been put on the mat all around it. The tofa stalk that had been used during the farewell rites lay beside the corpse.

When at last everything was ready for the interment, a brother of the deceased, a stalwart young man, who had charge of the affair, got a small glass and a bottle of trade gin from a hiding place in the grass. The cork was drawn, some gin poured into the glass, and a sip taken by the brother. The rest was poured into the mouth of the corpse. A second glassful was then poured out and given to an old man standing near, said to be an uncle. He drained the glass. Now all those who had helped dig the grave were given a sip. After this the cloth was replaced over the head of

the corpse and it was picked up, with the mat, and lowered into the grave.

The man in charge of the proceedings then got into the grave and tore from the blue covering cloth a 4-inch strip. This was given to the old man, who kept it. After the cloth had been well tucked in all around, two mats were placed on top of it. (It was stated that these had been cut beforehand, but we failed to see where; nor had we seen any tears in the white shroud. It is possible that a mere nick may have fulfilled the requirements.) ¹⁹ The grave was then filled in.

Finally, the bag in which the deceased had kept some of his personal medicines was produced from somewhere and its contents shaken out. These proved to be a few rings of various metals, an iron bracelet around which medicine had been wrapped, and a few cowrie shells that constituted his gambling equipment. The medicine was shaken from the bracelet and laid on the ground, together with the other objects except the bracelet. This was kept by the man who had charge of the funeral for his own personal medicine collection.

Burial of a Member of the Za Ze Society. While we were at Pandamai (Gbunde) we witnessed part of the ceremonies in connection with the burial of an elderly member — perhaps a leader — of the Za Ze Association. Unfortunately, our interpreter failed to notify us in time to see the beginning of the ceremonies, which included the sprinkling of medicine from a bucket.

Earlier in the day we had been witnesses of the "mourning" made by a large group of women who were crowded into a house belonging to the chief. We had also seen the Za Ze women dancing in and out among the houses of the town, holding small pans or basins in their hands for the reception of whatever small gifts people might feel inclined to give them. These gifts were for the Za Ze Society, not for the "grave."

The sound of chanting and of calabash rattles came to us as we walked toward the place of burial. When we arrived there we noted that the grave had already been dug

²⁷ This man may have been the victim of his own imaginings, or he may have been poisoned by the Snake Society. See also p. 301.

¹⁸ This is customary for men only. Palm wine or rum may be used.

¹⁹ See below, p. 259.

at the side of the path leading out of town toward the southeast. The chorus of Za Ze women was seated on the left side of the path. Eight of them were holding calabash rattles of various sizes. Back farther, but near them, were most of the men who had helped dig the grave and some zo men. Two men had guns: one, a worked-over flintlock to be fired with percussion caps; the other, a tremendously long-barreled flintlock — several inches longer than he was himself. At the right were the women mourners and a few zo women. The corpse, covered with a new, white cotton trade cloth, lay on a mat on the mound of dirt at the side of the grave, which was about 4 feet deep. A woman leader of the Za Ze stood at the head of the corpse and addressed it, calling it by name, giving it presents of cola, Kisi pennies, and small money that others had brought for their dead friend. These she placed under the cloth of the corpse.

The Za Ze head woman having finished her speech, an elderly man arose. With a genial smile on his face and a tofa stalk in his hand, he began talking to the corpse: "Don't look back; don't come back to town; stay with your husband. Get good luck for your children and grandchildren. Don't cry. Go well." At the end of each admonition, he struck the corpse with his tofa stalk. At the same time, a woman seated near by helped to emphasize his remarks by lifting the calabash part of her rattle in its net and letting it drop down against the beaded strings. There followed a recital of the virtues of the deceased - which, it was hoped, she would practice in death as she had in life, and not return to torment the living.

A second man then took up the discourse. His remarks were also emphasized by the calabash rattle. Then the speakers, acting together, tied one end of some raffia strands to the wrist of the deceased's youngest child, a young woman of twenty-one years or more. The other end they tied around the wrist of the dead mother. The daughter's arm was concealed by a white cloth of the same sort as the one covering her mother. After a few more remarks the daughter jerked her arm, which pulled her mother's hand from under its cover. Next the man cut the cord saying:

"The tie between you and your daughter is cut now. You are finished with her. Don't come back to her again." And he gave her a last good-natured swat with his tofa stalk.

After this, the old Za Ze head woman put a large double white trade cloth on the daughter's head — a last present from her mother. The head woman remarked that the tie binding the youngest child to the mother is said to be the strongest, as "the mother loves her last-born most." With this the girl started along the path toward town, wildly lamenting, the cloth trailing from her head along the ground like a bridal veil. An older daughter, present as a mourner, had her hair all undone and standing out stiff in all directions. She, too, left after the leader had torn a strip from the cloth around the head of the corpse and given it to her.20 Some of the other women followed her, one bearing a bucket of medicine and a leafy twig with which she sprinkled the medicine about.

While these proceedings were in progress, men were busy lining the grave, first with mats, then with white cloths — both trade and native. Needing more to complete the lining of the grave, they took one of the two trade cloths, about 2 yards square, from the shroud of the corpse. This operation revealed the ends of a trade blanket, once white, and a native cloth under the two trade cloths wrapped around the corpse. All were again carefully tucked in.

The grave now being ready, the corpse was lowered into it. At the moment of lowering the two guns were fired, reloaded, and fired again several times. Owing to the scarcity of powder, loads were light, so the noise was not great. At this point the chorus left.

After the corpse lay in the grave, the native and trade cloths which had been in a five-gallon brass kettle were put around the corpse. The wrapped head was turned toward the town (northeast); the brass bucket was fitted over the head and two small enameled basins placed near it; then a one-gallon iron cooking pot was fitted over the feet.²¹ Two mats were folded separately and put on top of the few pieces of money, "Kisi pennies" and cola nuts which were put in the grave. These mats and cloths were not cut or torn before

²⁰ See below, p. 260.

For further details, see below, pp. 259-60.

being buried, but after most of the mourners had left, we saw an elderly man produce a small rag of native cloth in which he made three tears before throwing it into the grave.²² The iron and copper bracelet of the corpse had been removed at the grave before we arrived and was being held by the chief woman. It was to be buried at the head of the grave. Earth was now thrown in the grave and compactly tramped down.

A glance at the graves along this path showed the headstones all to be at the northeast end. Upon inquiry we learned that the head of a corpse must always be turned toward the

rising sun.23

BURIAL OF A SAPA MAN. Since material on this subject is scarce, we may quote from D'Ollone an account of the burial of a Sapa man. D'Ollone writes: 24

We had the good fortune to assist at the interment of a man. As soon as he had expired, his wives ran about the village uttering cries for the dead. . . . The men came together and fired a number of shots.

The next day the people of the surrounding region brought their condolences. The interment took place on the third day. Each inhabitant offered a bit of stuff with which a band for the body was made. This was then wound about and covered from head to feet. Then, in a mat, it was carried to the grave, a meter in depth, dug at the edge of the village; the women walked ahead, wailing and chanting, the warriors behind, firing their guns; each person held a branch. . . .

[Before the corpse was lowered into the grave, an autopsy was performed to see if the deceased had been

poisoned.]

The hut of the deceased was demolished after this, a wise measure to prevent the huts from becoming too old and tumbledown.25

BURIAL OF PERSONS DYING UNNATURAL DEATHS. Suicides 26 are buried naked and without ceremony where they died, except in Tie. There, they seem to be buried as any other person would be, but no mourning feast is made for them nor is any palm oil or wine put inside their mat-shrouds.

The sudden, unexpected death of any per-

son, including strangers passing through a town, always gives rise to a suspicion that he was bewitched or that he himself had a witch that caught and killed him. In Gbunde there is also the possibility that a ninegi 27 may have flogged and killed him. Such persons are buried in the same way and in the same places as others; but persons known to have been caught by witches are buried like witch people.²⁸ In Mano, formerly, a town chief might appoint slaves to bury strangers.

The remains of a person killed by an animal are carried to a path and buried beside it in the usual way. (Gbunde, Loma, Half-Grebo, Sapa, and Tie.) The Gbunde line the graves of these unfortunates with leaves. The Tiế put nothing into the grave. The Sapa make an exception of persons killed by elephants, because the elephant "mashes and tears people so that they look like cut-up meat. Since one cannot find all the pieces, it is better to bury them without ceremony where they are trampled."

The Mano and Gio bury such dead naked wherever found, if in the forest; beside the path, if near town. In Gio they may be buried like warriors, with nothing on the grave, because they died "like one killed in battle." This is most likely to be done when an animal thought to be the dead person's familiar 29 is killed about the same time, though in another

place.

Persons killed by such accidents as the limb of a tree falling on them, or a gun bursting or accidentally discharging, are buried beside the path near the scene of the accident. If they have been partly eaten by wild animals they are buried where they are found. (Gbunde, Mano, and Gio.) The Half-Grebo and Sapa always bury them where they are found. The Tie carry them home and bury them not too near town. In the southeast they are left in whatever clothing they may have been wearing, but in the north they seem to be buried naked. "Plenty things are put in and on the grave. A big feast is made." (Tie.) These are offerings to appease the spirit of the

²² See also below, pp. 259 ff.
²³ See also below, pp. 258 and 259.

²⁴ D'Ollone, 1901, pp. 132-34.

While we learned nothing about such demolition

Tollow it is probable that of huts, except in case of smallpox, it is probable that

other tribes in eastern and southeastern Liberia do the

²⁶ See also below, p. 252.

²⁷ See p. 342.

²⁸ See below, p. 252. 2º See pp. 355 ff.

deceased, also Nyesoa,30 so that the same acci-

dent may not happen to another.

Regarding one such death, Mr. Allersmaier wrote to us from Nyaaka on the Cavally River in 1929:

We recently had a case of accidental death here. As it was that of a mission boy, the usual tribal customs in such an event did not come into play. The youth was in a canoe upon the river; he paddled to an island where he intended to hunt wild hogs, and there got out of the canoe. His gun, which he held by the muzzle, he half dragged behind him. Its trigger caught on a vine, the gun went off, and the shot killed him instantly. Had he been a "heathen" he could not have been buried in the ground, as this would have been considered a "bad death" (akom butie, Webo dialect), a Divine judgment upon him. "Heathens" dying in this manner are carried to the deep forest and there buried in a hollow tree, as it would make the earth unfruitful to bury such a one in it. A bullock must also be killed in order that its blood may run onto the ground and "wash out" the human blood that has "spoiled" it.31 This washing away the blood also takes place when a person has been accidentally killed by a falling tree or by an animal. In the former case, too, the unfortunate one is buried in a hollow tree. There were two instances of the latter the past year, two hunters having been killed by elephants.

A suicide is also considered as having been killed by a Divine judgment. In addition to the blood to wash the ground free from his blood, some of the dung from the entrails of the bullock must be put at the foot of any oil palms standing in the vicinity of the scene of the deed, in order that these, too, may again be fruitful. Should such a death occur when the time for the rice harvest is at hand, some of the dung must be taken to and scattered in all the rice farms of the people of

his town.

In Gio it is customary to consult a diviner to learn whether or not an accident is the result of bewitching. If it is, and the person who has done it is located, he must pay as heavy a fine as a murderer.

In Gio persons killed by lightning are buried naked where found. In Half-Grebo and Sapa they are buried like those killed by other acci-

dents.

Drowned persons are buried beside a path by the Gbunde, and the corpse covered with leaves before the grave is filled in. BURIAL OF MURDERERS AND WITCH PEOPLE. Corpses of murderers are said to be burned by the Gbunde. In Mano, Gio, and Tië they are given burial like other people "because they have paid" (made a satisfactory settlement for their killing).

If a wife who persists in having relations with other men, despite her husband's repeated entreaties and warnings, is killed by her angry husband, the spot where the murder was committed will be cleared and the woman buried in it. Thereafter, all who pass by pluck a leaf or two, saying as they do so, "See, that is where —— was killed for her adulteries." (It is our opinion that sex murders are com-

paratively rare now.)

Witch people whose guilt has been proved by their death from ordeal are burned, unless they belong to a family of high standing. In that event the relatives may request that the "witch" (spleen) be cut out and it be given trial. The request is granted, the corpse opened, and the "witch part" cut out and dropped into some water. If it floats, the victim was innocent; if it sinks, he was guilty. In either case the body is given back to the relatives, who bury it in the usual manner.

The Mano, according to informants, used to hack to pieces the bodies of witch people proved guilty by ordeal and burn the pieces. But on one occasion, a Gio hearing this statement remarked, "Yes, you hacked them to pieces, but you cooked these and buried them in your bellies more often than you burned them." We were also shown certain streams where witches were thrown. No one could drink, bathe, or fish in these streams.

The Gio were quite frank about having eaten witch people. "Those suspected of being witch people were killed by ordeal. None were ever burned. Most of them we ate. Now and then, one was thrown into a stream. This last we now do always since the American palaver has come to our land. If witch people died a natural death, we cut them up and threw the pieces where the ants would eat them."

If, after proper burial, it is somehow discovered that the deceased person was a witch, the remains are exhumed and burned "to end him." Burning a corpse, throwing it into

³⁰ See pp. 317-18.

⁸¹ See also p. 433.

water, or burying it in a termite hill are said to be sure ways of making an individual harmless and powerless after death.

Shortly before we reached northeast Mano a chief there had died. The father of one of his wives accused her of having bewitched the chief to death. A doctor "took hold of her feet, whereupon she fell down dead." This woman's corpse was said to have been carried into the forest and thrown into a swamp.

The Half-Grebo bury their witch people with the usual rites but in a special place. The Sapa and Tie bury them naked in a swampy place if they have been killed by ordeal. The Sapa pin the corpse to the bottom of the grave with forked sticks.

Burial of Lepers, the Insane, and Slaves. Lepers are usually carried to the deep forest and there buried in a termite nest. The Loma sometimes throw them into a hole close to water. This makes them unable to return and afflict others with the disease.

The insane are buried "decently, like other people" in Loma, Mano, Gbunde, and Gio. In the southeast they are buried naked in the deep forest. The Sapa do this as soon as ever a grave can be dug. In Half-Grebo it must be done at night only.

Slaves, when they were not eaten (their usual fate in Mano and Gio), were usually carried into the forest and left lying on the ground. However, if they had pleased their owners they might be given a decent burial. When this was done in Gio, the little finger of the slave's left hand was first cut off and thrown away in the forest.

Burial of Warriors. The burial of dead warriors in former times depended upon where and under what circumstances they died.

The Mano buried a warrior killed in battle, if possible, where the enemy would be least likely to find the corpse and eat it.

If the Gio could not bury a slain warrior properly and were unable to carry away the remains they cut off his head or a hand, which they took home and buried beside a path near town. The rest of the corpse was left for the enemy to eat if he desired, since it had been rendered useless to him for medicinal purposes.

⁸² See below, pp. 254 ff.

When a Gbunde war leader or great warrior died, all the town's forces, sometimes augmented by those of a neighboring town, donned war dress and accounterments. They were divided into two parties, each under a leader. The corpse was laid in a hammock, carried and defended by one side, while the other tried to take it in a sham battle. Whichever side had the corpse when the battle ended had the privilege of "throwing it down" (abusing it). They would say, "We could not do this to you in life, but stop us now if you can! See what you have become now!" The winning side then took "prisoner" all relatives of the deceased upon whom they could lay their hands. The other side had to ransom them by making a small payment for each in turn. After this, the corpse was carried to the grave. Two stalks of the tofa plant (Zingiberaceae) were laid beside it. These served as brushes to keep the flies away, and were used for other purposes as well in the burial ceremony. Words of farewell were spoken to the corpse by a mature son or an older brother. An intimate friend gave a recital of the warrior's life, stressing his deeds in battle. Another gave a eulogy. All present then gave messages and greetings to be conveyed to the spirits of departed relatives and ancestors. At last there followed the burial, much like that of chiefs,32 in a grave hollowed out at one side.

When a big war leader killed in battle had been buried in foreign parts his remains were later exhumed and brought home, even after the lapse of years, if permission was obtainable. The remains were then reburied with the ceremonies customary for one who had died at home. Two permits for the exhumation of important warriors had been granted at Pandamai (Gbunde) some time before our arrival there.

The Sapā and Half-Grebo buried their fallen warriors when possible as they did their suicides—naked, in the forest, after pulverized charcoal had been rubbed on the corpse and assurance given it that it would be avenged by the death of others.

The Tië buried those fallen in war preferably on the trail over which the war party had come. All shot was first extracted.³³ Be-

⁸⁸ See also above, p. 245.

fore the interment, a brother, one who was a good fighter, presenting to the corpse his gun in one hand and the extracted shot in the other, would say, "With this gun and this same shot that killed you, I will kill your killer. If I am a man at all, you will not be unavenged."

According to informants these avengers not infrequently wrought themselves up to such a degree that they would make their way straight from the grave to the place where the late fighting had occurred and there kill the first person they met. The right hand of the victim was cut off and brought back to be buried in the grave of the one avenged.

Burials of two warriors witnessed by Dr. Harley are here described as they were related

to us:

When a great Mano warrior recently died he was laid in a hammock as though alive. All the other warriors and people gathered around and began to "play," throwing their spears into the air and catching them. The spear of the dead warrior was put into his hand, and after he had apparently held it for a while, it was delivered to his son who thereby inherited his father's position as warrior and held his spear in his stead.

The other burial, witnessed by Dr. Harley in 1926, was that of Sergeant Boise of the Liberian Frontier Force:

Boise was an old soldier, a native man, with some English education, and a member of standing in the Poro cult, employed and buried by the Government. The natives were interested in the burial but they were not allowed to use the full native ceremony.

There was a plank coffin and a large grave. Chiefs were present, Government messengers much in evidence, big pots of rice cooking, and a general air of holiday-making with the firing of guns all that night

and the next day.

A procession went to the grave located at the forks of a road. Two men spoke a few sentences in Mano, and Chief Wemagofa rose, stripped off his robe, and made a most impressive address to the departing spirit, saying, "If anyone made witch for you, got catch him. If no one made witch for you, go about your business and do not humbug anyone."

During the first part of the ceremony six or eight wives of the deceased stood along one side of the grave and threw in handfuls of earth at the last. These women became the property of his brother, who told them they could go home to their fathers if they were not satisfied to belong to him. [The reason for this

was twofold. First, they had not all been paid for, and the heir was not willing to undertake fulfillment of bargains unfamiliar to him in their beginnings. The second reason was that some wife among the number might have had a hand in his brother's death, which had probably been accomplished by poison. If so, she would appreciate the opportunity of getting out of the locality without subjecting herself, to suspicion. To take up life with these wives just where his brother left off, might invite a similar fate. This I had from the brother himself.]

The third morning, the brother made sacrifice at the grave, the head wife of the deceased assisting, together with other relatives. A sheep was thrown on the ground at the head of the grave, ready to be killed. Some plantain leaves were put under its head and shoulder as a matter of cleanliness. Before the throat was cut, the brother and the wife each said something to the sheep, to the effect that if anyone had made witchcraft to cause the death of the man, that same witchcraft should catch him. "Let no innocent person suffer." The sheep's throat was then cut, the blood running onto the leaves and then to the ground. Part of the blood was smeared on the dead man's spear, his knife, and his personal medicine. These three things had always been smeared with the blood of any chicken or sheep sacrificed by the deceased. They were all medicine. The rules for the care of such medicine were not known by the heir, who was nominally a Christian. Another relative, who understood their power and the proper care of them, was to take them and accept their powers for good or evil. If they were not properly cared for, the one guilty of negligence was in danger of death.

The spear had been his war spear, made, at the direction of the diviner, out of iron to which both gold and silver had been added. It had killed many people. Such spears are held in great veneration.³⁵

The sheep was then eaten by the family. After thirty days a general feast would be given as the final ceremony.

BURIAL OF CHIEFS

Burial of Clan Chiefs. The death and burial of a clan chief is an event of importance to the entire community. It is involved in much ritual and surrounded with mystery. In all the tribes of the north, and most of those of the southeast, the fiction is maintained that a clan chief does not die. One may say that he is sick, but it is a big palaver to say that he is dead—at least until all the funeral arrangements are completed and public announcement is made. The contradiction between this fic-

⁸⁴ See the Ki-La, pp. 304 ff.

³⁵ See also pp. 362-63.

tion and an impressive public funeral does not trouble African logic, and the effect is to make easy the transfer of authority from the old chief to the new.

For the safety of the clan and the prosperity of its members, it is essential that its clan chief or "father" be buried within its territory. A Loma headman stated that if the paramount chief should be buried abroad, or his remains dug up from his grave and carried to another place, the new place would be increased in strength while his own town and clan would be left leaderless and defenseless. So strong is this belief, that the whole clan would "follow the grave" if the remains should be removed to another place. This has sometimes created difficulties in border districts where certain clans have members living on both the French and the Liberian sides.

One of these is the big Ziema clan of the Loma. When we were staying at Zigida, the "capital" of the Liberian section of this clan, all the approaches to the town, as well as the grave of the deceased chief, were being guarded night and day, because the clan brothers in French Guinea were scheming to get possession of the corpse.

A similar instance was reported to us by the commander of the garrison at Zigida. According to him, there lives in voluntary exile at Zigida the son of a paramount chief who refused to become French when the French took possession of that part of Loma where his ancestral home is located and where his father lies buried. Ever since he came, he and his followers have been scheming to go and rob the grave and bring the remains to the Liberian side so that the rest of the clan will come over. To prevent this the French officials keep the grave constantly under guard. "You can go there at any time and see the guard," he said. "I have seen it myself."

Possibly this story is exaggerated, but none the less it shows that official precautions are being taken to prevent the region from becoming depopulated.

If a clan chief dies away from home his remains are brought back secretly. If he dies at some distance the corpse may be mummified by smoke-drying, or it may be temporarily buried and the bones dug up and brought back later. (In the southeast only the skull is

brought back.) The temporary burial place is kept as secret as possible. In the north they say this secrecy is maintained so that the chief's remains will not be dug up and carried off. In the southeast they say it is to prevent workers of black magic or diviners employing the water-gazing method from eating parts of the corpse or otherwise using them as medicine. (Why this one class of diviners was singled out, we could not learn.)

Death and Burial of Loma Clan Chiefs. From a man who witnessed the death and burial of a Loma clan chief, we have the following account of the proceedings:

When it is apparent that a chief's last illness is upon him, he is taken to the sick bush. This may be only a temporary structure built for the occasion behind his own house or inside or near the compound. A strong fence surrounds this to keep people at a distance. No one may enter this sick bush except the chief's head doctor and his advisers. A consultation is held to decide which of the chief's older wives is to come in to care for him. The one chosen is made to swear on the most powerful medicines that she will reveal nothing of what she sees or hears under penalty of severest torture and death.

When the chief is dead, the soft organs are removed from his body. The assembled old people and doctors keep such parts as they decide upon; some to be eaten, some to be put into strong medicine of a beneficial nature. The rest are interred secretly. The body is then laid on a scaffold in the hut and mummified over a slow fire.

The death is kept as secret as possible. If anyone inquires where the chief is, he is told, "He has gone walking to another country." Formerly the war leader often ordered a "small war" to be made so that when the time came for an announcement of the death it could be said, "He went to war and died."

(Among the Mano the saying that the clan "father" has "gone into the water" is not unusual. There is a Mano tradition concerning the aged father of Gompa who disappeared one day. Three days later his knife and chain were found at the edge of a deep pool. To this day a huge bombax tree is pointed out as having grown from the stick that was planted in his honor at the entrance to the Poro Bush, in lieu

of the growing stick customarily planted on the

grave of a big man.) 36

During the time that the death is being kept secret, the paraphernalia for the big funeral feast is being collected — cattle, sheep, goats, dried game and fish, gin, foodstuffs, and powder "to make a noise of mourning." This may require anywhere from a few months to the better part of a year. When everything is in readiness, the people are awakened one morning by the "startling" news that the chief is dead. Thereupon the populace go wild with grief and abandon themselves to lamentation, each trying to outdo the others.

The funeral follows later in the day with much ceremony. No details were given us, except that the chief is buried in a straight position in a niche dug into the side of a deep grave some distance from the bottom. The niche is closed up, and then the goods to be buried with the chief — bottles of gin, cloth, utensils, and other things — are placed in the grave.

Burial of Gbunde Clan Chiefs. The following information on the death and burial of Gbunde clan cliefs is reproduced as nearly as possible in the words of our informant.

When a paramount chief ³⁷ dies he does not die, for no Gbunde paramount chief can die like ordinary people. He dies in war. In order that this may appear so, cause for starting a war will be given by one of the chief's sons or nephews. ³⁸ He will go to another town or clan — preferably the latter — and cut with a machete a relative of the big man [chief] there, a family head, or even the big man himself, or he may set the town afire. It is necessary to keep the death a secret so that the town chiefs may be sounded out before this provocation is given, as to whether or not they will give their support in the coming war. Also because, if the neighboring clans learn of it, they will be expecting war and making ready to meet or even forestall the invaders by attacking first. When the provocation has been given, war follows.

When peace has been established and all is ready for the big feast, the Big Devil of the Poro comes to town. All the women hide themselves. The cult members come together. The Big Devil laments for the deceased and plays the cult music for its dead at his bier. Then the Poro master goes back to his Bush.

Upon his departure shooting begins and the towncrier announces the death of the chief. Everybody rushes to the chief's compound, begins to cry and

³⁶ See also pp. 337.

³⁷ The natives use the term "paramount chief" ra-

ther loosely to indicate any clan chief. For the distinction, see p. 168.

wail and dance the death dance for big chiefs. The news goes to other towns, whose people also come rushing to the place of death and join in the mourning.

In the case of which I speak, the grave was about 12 feet deep, with a niche scooped out at one side [as noted above]. This niche was lined with cloth, the corpse laid in it, and the opening closed in front. In the bottom of the grave were placed about a hundred cloths, clay and iron pots, utensils, cola nuts, and food. Next, timbers were set up in the bottom of the grave and mats placed on top of them to form a roof to keep the earth from falling into the space below, as the grave was filled in. This space is called the chief's house. ["Palace," our informant first put it.] In this palace-chamber, the chief's spirit stays until the seventh day, which is chicken-killing day, the day of the small funeral feast.

On that day, each relative comes to the grave with a fowl - preferably a white cockerel. All these relatives stand in a circle around the grave, each holding his fowl. The head of their family (which is also that of the dead chief) cuts the throat of each fowl in turn, lets some of its blood drop on the grave, then throws it on the ground behind the person who brought it. As the fowl is not yet dead, it staggers and flutters around before expiring. This is a very tense moment for the one who brought it, for if it dies feet upward it is a sign that the clan father's spirit has accepted it and that all is right between the spirit and the giver. But if it dies in any other position there is something still to be settled between the spirit and this relative. All present begin crying insulting taunts at him [our equivalent for "Shame on you for coming here when you know you have sinned against him"]. He must pick up the rejected fowl and take it home, where he tries to appease the offended spirit. Then he comes back with another to sacrifice. When all or nearly all have finally been accepted, the relatives return to their homes and dress and cook the fowls as part of the funeral feast.

If one or more cannot get the spirit to accept their fowls, it is considered necessary to go to another grave, or sometimes more than one, to try there, as it may be some spirit other than that of the dead chief which is offended. If the fowl is accepted by the other grave, then one comes back to that of the chief. [Our informant had seen an instance in which this had worked well.]

It is not necessary for the unlucky one to make all these attempts on the day of the funeral feast. But one must keep on finding fowls and trying until one's offering is accepted by the paramount chief's grave.

On this feast day the stones are set up on and

^{**} This information must be understood to apply to the days before the Government was in control of the hinterland.

around the grave. Under the one at its head is buried a spear or a gun that belonged to the chief.

I have never seen nor been able to learn that people were killed and buried with a paramount chief to accompany his spirit to the next world. Nor have I heard that any living were buried with him.

In these times, if the body is to be preserved for only a short time, the soft organs are removed and gin is poured in the nostrils, mouth, and body cavity of the corpse. If for a longer time, he is given a temporary burial by setting him in a hole in an upright position. But the old way was to remove the soft organs and smoke-dry or mummify the corpse."

Death and Burial of Gio Clan Chiefs. The following account came from an elderly Gio town chief for whom we paid a fine in order that he might be free to tell us many things for many days. He never came back after that first morning!

When a great paramount chief is in his last sickness, no women are allowed to see him. Only zo people, his oldest son, and his oldest brother can go near him. If he wishes to show his son his strong medicines and tell him their secrets and how he got rich, all others must leave. He and the son will be alone. When he dies it must be kept secret. There must be no mourning. Even if all his wives find it out they must mourn quietly to themselves; they must be careful not to let others see or hear until all the people are told of his death. If he dies outside his own town in a farm or half-town he is brought in secretly. If necessary a fence is built around the place where his body is kept in order to keep people away. If the funeral is not to be held for some time, people are told that he has gone to another town on a walk.

We heard from other men, assembled in Paramount Chief Tapi's palaver house, that the grave of a clan chief must be long, wide, and deep, with a niche dug into one side at the bottom. This niche must be of a size to allow the chief's remains to lie on his bed, if he has one patterned after those of the coast. Otherwise, the niche must be able to accommodate "plenty" cloths laid on the floor and leave enough room for the spirit to flutter about.

Death and Burial of Tie Clan Chiefs. When the last illness of a Tie clan chief or bio, is upon him his head wife and one of his brothers go into his house to take over full care of him. If he has no brothers the head of his family assumes the responsibility. All other persons must keep out. When it becomes apparent that he cannot live much longer, three of the town's

chief men are called. They remain with him until the end. After he has expired they lay him on a mat and cover his corpse with a clean cloth. Then one of them sits at the entrance to the fence surrounding the house, another at the door, and the third inside the house. The town's elders are secretly called and asked to send runners secretly to buy powder for the shooting at the announcement of his death and to get materials for the funeral feast.

Meanwhile, the three old men continue to sit at their respective posts throughout the day to greet any passer-by or inquirer as to the bio's condition. The man inside the door, imitating as nearly as he can the voice of the deceased bio, makes faint reply, giving assurance that all is going as well as may be expected with one of his years. From time to time the head wife pounds her mortar to help in the deception. "They are making medicine to rub on him," the gate-sitter blandly tells the world. On the morning of the fourth day after his demise, the people are awakened by shooting and drumming. The town-crier announces the death, as in the north. On this day a small feast is made, followed by the big one six to eight days later, if possible.

The burial, inside the house in which he has died, takes place secretly at night before the public announcement. The grave is stamped very hard and all traces of it effaced as nearly

as possible.

Burial of Town Chiefs. From the same Gio town chief mentioned above we secured the following information of the burial of town chiefs.

"A town chief is buried at night. He may say where he wants to be buried. If he does not ask to be buried outside he will be buried inside his house. This house then will be kept in good repair. It will be a refuge for anyone fleeing from any kind of palaver, even for a murderer. Anyone who follows the fugitive inside the house or lays hand on him in there must pay a fine of an animal. [The kind was not stated; it probably depends upon his ability to pay whether a goat or a sheep or a head of cattle is exacted.] This must be sacrificed to the spirit of the chief at the grave in the house. The town's big men will eat the meat. It is the same with the house of the big clan chief."

The father of the present chief of the town of Zorzor (Gbunde) was buried in the house in

which he had lived and on the bed in which he and his wives, each in turn, had slept. The present chief lives in that house, which he may never leave for another. If he were to do so "his father would come to him and ask, 'Why did you leave me alone?' Then he would be troubled very much." A fire is always kept burning in the house so that the dead chief "will never be cold."

Town chiefs in Tie are usually buried beside their houses. We saw one such grave there and another in Konibo. Each was surrounded by a low fence of stout hardwood sticks.

Burial of a Mano Town Chief. The following are the particulars regarding the sickness and death of a powerful and influential Mano town chief.

Wemagofa was a big chief and warrior. He fought against the Government during the war of subjugation, but because of his ability he was pardoned and left in power. He became ill and was ill a long time in a small shelter to the north of his compound. Various zo people made medicine. They carried him to a neighboring town where they made further medicine. When he saw that he got no better he asked his people to take him home to die.

They took him home and for two days he lay in his own medicine house, inside his own compound, and died there. Only the Ki-Gbuo-la men, the big men of the Ki-La Society,30 of which Wemagofa was a member, were allowed inside the compound. No women could even come near. Ordinarily, women could enter the enclosure, but not this hut, which was Wemagofa's medicine hut. All women were herded into the chief's other house, the "big house." They could not even come out to cook or to wash - only to go to the toilet. His own son could see him only by permission of the Ki-Gbuo-la men.

His death occurred at six in the evening. He lay in state for twenty-four hours, during which time only society members knew he was dead. He was buried secretly the next evening, as we later learned. Then it was announced to the Government official at Ganta that he was dead, and the hour for the funeral was set for noon of the next day. When all the people had assembled, we were told that Wemagofa had been buried the night before. There was much palaver over the inheritance. There were about forty women, most of them paid for. Few had any children.

His son and heir could not give us permission to see the grave, but he asked permission of the old men. They finally agreed to let us see it.

The grave was inside the medicine hut, the spot

where he had died. It was level with the floor and covered with mats. A fire was burning in the center of the hut. Three chiefs went in with us, besides the heir and the oldest son. They took up the mats and showed us the outline of the grave, barely discernible as a flat, recently tamped, rectangular section of the floor at the west side of the hut, about 6 by 2 feet. The hut was otherwise empty. Externally, it was the same as the other huts. There were two doors, one facing south, one north toward the palaver kitchen at the center of the compound. It was said that the old men would always keep this hut in perfect repair and that no woman would ever go near it.

One of Wemagofa's sons who was away at the time of his father's death could not return until the fourth day, because there must be no wailing until the fourth day. Four months later, there was a big public feast and what we would call a celebration.

Funeral of a Sapa Town Chief A note on the funeral of a town chief in the Pudu section of the Sapa was given us by a missionary who was present.

The people were assembled at the grave, which extended east and west. The body was lowered with the head at the west end so that it could see the rising sun. If it faces west, the spirit will go from whence it cannot return, become a sort of Wandering Jew that can never be reborn and come back to earth. [This is also said to be the belief in Half-Grebo.] A doctor then addressed the spirit of the dead chief, not at the grave, but at the Hill of the Dead, which he faced. All the virtues and remembered good deeds of the departed were recited; the spirit was implored not to return and do mischief, or take anyone to its abode on the Hill. The goods to accompany the spirit were then put into the grave and it was filled in.

If a Pudu town chief dies in another country, he need not be brought back home to be buried. In Tie it is necessary to bring the body home, according to an old man to whom the paramount chief referred the question.

Position in Burial. The extended position seems to be the general one for burial in all the tribes, though for particular reasons the flexed seems occasionally to be employed. Both the Gbunde and Loma maintained that the latter is the manner in which the dead of the Kisi tribe are "put in the ground."

According to a nephew of the paramount chief whose seat is at Zolowo (Loma) it was formerly customary to tie the legs and lash the

30 See pp. 304 ff.

arms of all but important persons close to the body "so that the grave-hole could be made as small as possible." A few of the Mano claimed to have seen this done, the bones (joints?) of the corpse having first been broken, the limbs flexed and tied, the corpse then buried in a sitting posture, facing eastward.⁴⁰ Néel ⁴¹ states that the Loma living in some sections of French Guinea are reported to break the lower limbs (joints only?) of the dead in order that they might be laid on the upper part of the body, thus making the digging of large graves unnecessary.

Throughout the north the long axis of the grave runs, theoretically, east and west, so that the feet of the deceased may be at the eastern end. In practice, most of the graves seem to be dug in the direction which is best suited to

the locality.

According to informants in Half-Grebo and Sapā both sexes were formerly buried alike, either lying extended on a mat or sitting on a stool or native chair. (Some of the wealthier Gio men were also buried in the latter position, as were the chiefs.) A "house" of sticks closely set together — often in wigwam shape — was erected over the body, and the sticks well covered with leaves to prevent the earth from coming in contact with it. Sometimes the "house" was formed of hewn Musanga smithii slabs supported by sticks. (Half-Grebo.)

A number of tribes bury their dead lying on the left side. The Sapa say that "when the person is reborn the right arm will be weak if lain upon in the grave." The Mano and Gio say the

right hand must be left free to use.

"The right hand is the hand used for work, for eating, for holding the knife and weapons. It must be free so the person can defend himself in the grave. The left hand is used only for so-so work — for blowing the nose, for holding leaves when one goes to the latrine, for holding the penis while urinating."

The Tië and Konibo also bury their dead in this position, but they could give no reason for doing so. The Half-Grebo bury them flat on

the back.

Objects Put in and on Graves. Grave furnishings buried with the individual or put on top of his grave depend, naturally, upon the

amount of his possessions and the position he is expected to have in the spirit world. To secure influence there, he must bring along a fine display of goods.

Sometimes a man specifies before his death what he wishes to have with him. A grave we passed in Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) had a tree growing on it, with a brass kettle standing near by. Both had been placed there as requested by the deceased dur-

ing his last illness.

"If a woman has borne many children to her husband and has helped him much, she is given plenty cloth in her grave. If not, and she has humbugged [made trouble for] him besides, she may get only one or two cloths and mats,

or only mats." (Gio.)

Custom seems to vary with regard to the mutilation of articles put on the dead or buried with them. The Kpelle say that all garments given the dead are "killed," which means they are torn. Similarly, in Mano: "Everything put on the dead and all that is given to them in the grave is killed [by breaking or cutting] so it can go to Go pa [God's town]. If they are not killed they cannot get there. Then the person for whom they are intended will be poor. This will anger him so much that he will see to it that all he has left is spoiled or destroyed and lost to his heirs." (Women were not considered by informants to be able to avenge themselves for such neglect.)

On the other hand, Paramount Chief Wuo and his assembled elders affirmed that "one cannot cut or break things to 'kill' them."

The Loma also cut or tear cloth and clothing buried with the dead, but they assert that this is not done to kill it.

At the burial of a woman in Gbunde, we saw no evidence of such a practice. Neither the cloths nor the mats had been cut or even torn a bit at the edges. Nor were the cooking pot and two basins broken nor holes made in them. We did not see the bottom of a brass kettle, but so far as we could judge, this vessel also was intact. The Gbunde stated: "Whatever is put into the graves of the dead is not broken, torn, or cut. We do not kill things; they have no spirit. But what is put on top of graves we do break or tear, so that the things will not be taken by strangers."

⁴⁰ See also, above, p. 251. ⁴¹ Néel, 1913, p. 458.

⁴² Westermann, 1921, p. 191.

Several explanations were given in Gio:

"All things put in and on top of graves are killed so they can go where Abi [old Gio term for God] is. If they are not killed they cannot reach there. But this killing is different from the killing of persons. It is killing in the sense of tearing or breaking. Of killing persons, we say ye mɛ̃ zɛ [he person kills]; but of things put in or on graves, we say: ye so ps [he cloth tears], ye se ps [he mat tears], ye bo wi [he pot breaks]."

"If we do not cut, tear, or break the object, some people who are poor and naked, who cry because they do not have these things, will be approached while they sleep by the spirit of the dead one, who says, 'Why you can do so? Why you no go die? Look me, first time I get not'ing, but de time I die, dey give me plenty clothes. You no see dem on me?"

At Towai Town (Gio), they said: "If the things are not cut, torn, or broken, the spirit says, 'They don't want to be rid of me; these things are the same as I had. They are not cut or broken so I cannot take them. If I go to Abi's town with them, I will be asked? "What you doing here? You have things still as you had. Go back."' So the spirit will hang around troubling people."

In the southeast the idea of killing is absent,

so far as we could learn.

"When we spoil thing on graves," the Half-Grebo told us, "we say wi [to break] or tschena [to tear], never olale [to kill]." The Sapa make the same distinction, saying wa [to break] or tschena, rather than doba [to kill]. The Tie say that they cut only cloth put into graves. "This

is not to kill it but to prevent theft."

In Gbunde and Loma all cloths to be put on the dead or interred with them are first examined and the number of strips counted. If the number is even, one strip is cut off to make the number uneven. Otherwise the spirit cannot go to the spirit town of the freemen but must go to that of the slaves. (The basis for this belief could not be explained.) If the deceased is a young person, the parents keep this strip to make a bracelet for the next child born to them. "When the spirit of the dead child sees this on the infant's wrist he will recognize the cloth for his own and will not kill and take the infant."

If the parents of the deceased are not living the strip is kept by the oldest paternal uncle or by a brother or sister. When a mother dies it goes to a daughter;43 a father's strip goes to his heir.

The Half-Grebo and Sapa tear a strip from the piece of cloth used to bandage the eyes of the dead. This is given to a hunter, who uses it as medicine. When he wears it "no animal can

see him."

Besides the objects placed on graves at the time of burial, others, of a sacrificial nature, are placed there later from time to time. The graves of chiefs and big men seen in Half-Grebo were the best examples of the former; those in Gbunds, of the latter. The few graves we saw in Sapa and Tie had little on them, possibly owing to the disturbances of the last few years. Since in most instances we had no means of distinguishing what was put on at the time of interment, and what later, we merely note some of the objects seen on graves in different sections (figs. 36, g; 37, f, g, h).

Gbund ε . On an infant's grave we saw everything that had belonged to the child, including clothing and the pots in which its food had been cooked. According to Gbunds and Loma informants, this is customary in the case of all infants. A hunter's grave had a small headstone with Kisi pennies stuck into the ground on each side of it and a small elephant's tusk half-buried in the earth. On another grave were pots (whole ones) "for the spirits to take."

Loma. From Zorzor to the last Loma town we visited, many of the graves along the ways near the towns were surrounded by logs of Musanga smithii. On graves seen at the town of Bokesa there was an abundance of Kisi pennies stuck into the ground near all the foot and headstones. Two newer graves, each with only a single stone, also had such "pennies"; in addition, one had a pot, the other a basin. Both vessels were old and worn and useless. The mounds of both these graves had a heavy covering of sand mixed with clay, and a plentiful supply of feathers from recently killed fowls.

In the town of Nekehuzu there was an oval grave of some 12 by 20 feet. (Several persons were said to lie buried in it.) Stones were set upright all around the edge of it; flat stones covered the enclosed surface (fig. 37, g). (There

⁴⁸ See also p. 250.

was a similar but smaller one in the first Gbunde town we saw.) Outside, around the upright stones, was a brown clay bank rubbed with white clay, which served as a seat for the local men. Lying on the stones were the lock and barrel of a gun, a smith's anvil-hammer; a quantity of Kisi pennies twisted together to form bundles.

Mano. A young man had had his mother buried in front of his house. Upright stones surrounded the grave, and around the stones were logs. "I loved my mother plenty, plenty, so I put the logs there to sit on and think of her," he explained. In another Mano town we saw similar logs put around a grave for the same purpose.

At the town of Busi, there lay on the new grave of an old man an old pot, some food, his fly-brush, and powdered bark of the sasswood tree. This last was to catch and kill the person who had brought about the old man's death by

bewitching him.

Half-Grebo. Here and there we saw graves of important people at the side of paths not far from town. Thatch roofs supported by slender posts had been erected over them. Cloth stretched between the posts formed side and back walls; the front was left open. These structures and their contents were strongly reminiscent of booths at a fair.

Inside a typical booth of this sort in the Palepo town of Kana there hung from the front roofplate a white enamel basin, a mirror, a top hat, and a plate. Farther back hung a cloth, a raincoat (directly over the grave mound), a hand towel, a bath towel, and a head of trade tobacco. On the grave mound was an old galvanized bucket with a hole in the bottom, and before the mound stood a trade chest. This was covered with a cloth, on which lay two decomposed bananas, a snail-shell snuff container, a perfume bottle, a small empty tin, pieces of broken mirror, a saucer, a bottle full of colored fluid, and the canine tooth of a monkey. Before the chest, half imbedded in the ground, were seven empty gin bottles set in a row. Parallel to this was a second row made up of a drinking mug and a broken cup flanked by empty gin bottles. Four more empty gin bottles formed a third row. A powdered substance we could not identify was strewn over the ground.

Taking Farewell of the Dead. Farewells are said twice, the first at the place of mourning, the second at the grave (except in Half-Grebo). Tië informants had never known farewells to be said for a woman.

The first farewell is informal. The children (especially sons), the head wife, the head of the family, bosom friends, and cult members who were intimate with the deceased, express their devotion and sorrow and give the corpse any messages they wish conveyed to the land

of spirits.

The parting words at the grave are more formal. They are spoken by the head of the family before or after the corpse has been lowered into the grave. If the deceased has been a person of any consequence in a cult, a fellow cult member may assist. (Members of the Kele in Tië come to take farewell of a brother, but they do not seem to conduct the ceremonies.) The remarks are similar to those at the informal parting, with petitions that the deceased use his influence in behalf of the survivors. He is reminded of how kind and good they all were to him during his life and is asked not to forget them.

"Whoever killed you, hunt him out, come back and kill him. But if no one here has done it, then do not return. We are going to make a feast for you; a cow will be killed. [There may be only sheep or goats available, but an apology can be made later.] After we have eaten it, we will search out the one who bewitched you and avenge you. Help our crops to grow. Help the women you leave, whom we are to inherit, to be faithful and fruitful." This and more in the same strain is said.

The extent of this oratory depends upon the person's station. An elderly Tië man told us: "A poor man has not much influence in the place where forefathers are, because he had so little here; so our words to him are few."

The Funeral Feast. It is customary for the family to go to a woman's grave three days after the burial, and to a man's on the fourth day ("two sleeps" and "three sleeps," respectively) and there announce to the departed that a funeral feast will be given. For ordinary persons this is set for the seventh day following. A small sacrifice is made on the grave at the time of the announcement. The feast for a rich man may be promised for the next new moon.

In this event at least three or four fowls must be killed over his grave, and their blood permitted to fall on the ground at the base of the headstone. The very well-to-do may take sheep and goats, besides the fowls, and do the same with them; then go back to town and kill a bullock. This is necessary in order to release the spirit from the necessity of staying in the grave. 44 Since all of these offerings are eaten after they have been thus sacrificed to the spirit in the grave, the occasion amounts to a small feast to placate the spirit until the formal feast can take place. It is often referred to as the "small feast."

Before this first feast is eaten the host often apologizes to the spirit for its meagerness, even when there is a bullock and much rice and palm

wine or gin. (Gio.)

The Sapa say that neither they nor the Bassa eat rice as part of this feast, because "rice makes people laugh [feel happy]." We did not hear of any other food being taboo for funeral feasts.

In the north this feast is eaten in the quarter or section of the town in which the deceased lived; in Sapā it is held in the place where he died, if possible. In Half-Grebo a feast for one killed in battle was given outside the town. The feast is always accompanied by some "play" — drumming and dancing — to let the spirit know that it is being honored. "This will make it feel happy and well inclined toward people." In Tie the gle [leader of the Gle Association] 46 lines up all the men present on one side and the women on the other, and dances between them. The others may then dance as they see fit.

In Sapa the bawwes comes and makes medicine, some of which is strewn on the paths near the town, to prevent the spirit from troubling

neonle

If anything remains from the feast a bit is put on the grave. The rest is taken to a cleared space in the forest and there thrown away where no one will be likely to find it. (Tie.)

"For further information on the religious significance of the feast, see p. 327.

cance of the feast, see p. 327.

The custom of making a public display of the personal property of the dead man in connection with the feast, as was formerly done in the southern Cameroun, seems not to be known among these people. The possessions are brought out later, on the day

This releasing feast must be given for each individual; collective feasts cannot be made, even though a number of people die at about the same time. If such a feast were collective, how would the dead know for whom this or that had been killed or cooked, or to whom it was offered? They would quarrel among themselves, disputing as to which part was for each, and each claiming all. That would be hard on the living, who would in the end be greatly troubled by their dead. (Gio.) The second, or big feast may sometimes be collective.⁴⁷

THE BIG FEAST. The second or big feast, with its accompanying "play," is a final leave-taking, a celebration to speed the parting spirit, and at the same time to wind up all its earthly affairs. When it is over, the spirit can go to its

own county to stay.48

Though this feast is promised to the spirit on a given day, usually not later than the next new moon, it may in fact be postponed for any length of time. The feast for a big man is delayed in proportion to the importance of the occasion. Since family pride and honor are involved, it must be as big as the relatives jointly can make it. In Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\) it is customary for the head wife of an important man who has died also to make a feast, to which she invites all the other women of the town if possible. If there are too many she invites whom she wishes. Months may be required to assemble and prepare the food which is used for these grand celebrations.

Women and children, being of less consequence, usually receive smaller feasts than men. But for a big women's cult leader ⁴⁹ or the head wife of a rich man the feast may be as elaborate

as any.

For the poor householder, not only the relatives, but others "who have a good heart" will contribute. In Tiế fellow members of the Kele cult 50 who are not related to the dead man may duplicate whatever the relatives contribute, regardless of what it is — perhaps four or five goats or a bullock.

when the division of the inheritance is made. See p. 421.

** See p. 314.

** See p. 314.

⁵⁰ See 313.

⁴⁷ See below, p. 263. ⁴⁸ See also pp. 327 ff. ⁴⁹ For burials of two cult women, see above, p. 249 ff., and below 263 ff.

Sometimes it is years before a poor family can get a feast ready. An instance was reported to us in Gbunda of a certain warrior who had been a great fighter. He had made war against another town and been defeated and was forced to pay damages. When he died leaving the debt still unpaid, his son continued to make payments as he was able. By the time he had finished paying the debt, and had in addition assembled what was considered necessary for his father's big feast, he was an old man.

We encountered another instance of long delay at Pandamai (Gbunde). The chief, a man between fifty-five and sixty years old, had just made the big feast for his mother who had died when he was a young man. The exact location of her grave was not even known to him, or to anyone else. The feast had to be given at the spot where the grave was thought to be!

The evening before the celebration is to take place the proper person goes to the grave to pour a libation upon it and to give notice to the spirit to be in readiness for the occasion. The next morning a sacrifice of boiled rice, fowl, and meat is put on the grave. After this the big feast and its accompanying revelry may begin. This may last for several days. "The people sit on the path beside the grave for two days, eating and drinking and making big play."

Unlike the small feast, the big one may be a collective affair in some of the tribes. Some time before our arrival at Pandamai one such feast had been made for all the town's dead who had not yet been so honored. The Tië said that they also made collective feasts. The Sapa and Half-Grebo, however, had never heard of this being done. A special collective feast may also be made for spirits of the poor who have little or no expectancy of individual feasts. This is apparently acceptable to the spirits.

Sometimes an old man, feeling that he is about to die, will call a $d\varepsilon$ man (doctor) and pay him to summon all the spirits of relatives killed in war or by animals or accident or other means for whom no feast has been made. These spirits are then harangued to "stand behind" the household or family totem. A "fine sacrifice" is made for them, which takes the place of the two feasts customarily made. (Gio.)

MA bucket or an iron pot or a goat is equal to one

THE FUNERAL FEAST FOR A Zo WOMAN OF MINOR RANK. The following account by a native man of his mother's death and burial is just as he told it to us. We include it here, rather than under "Burials," because of the detail with which the funeral feast is reported.

A man was cutting my father's farm. One day he said my father did him bad. He called my mother; they went to the French side. [Neither was a native of French territory.] I do not know why my mother went with him. They were there one year. My father went there to talk the palaver. When they finished talking, they agreed to return, but my mother said she wanted to cut a farm on the French side so she could supply herself and her "man" with food. My father reluctantly agreed, because he did not have rice enough to feed them. He thought I would not agree.

So my mother said, "Let me go and talk to my son to see if he agrees." I did not agree, but suggested that my mother and the man come to live in Gompa to make their farm. My mother did not agree to come to Gompa. My father finally agreed for them to live another farm season on the French side. Then I went to Monrovia with a white man.

When I returned, two weeks passed when my father had news that my mother was sick. He came and told me to go to see her. I went the following day. She was already dead — had died the night before and was buried before I got there.

She was not sick long. The people said that one day her leg hurt her; the next day that leg was well, but the other one hurt. Her heart hurt her. Then she broke out with smallpox. (Smallpox was present in the town.) The vesicles did not break but were absorbed; then she died. She had a constricting pain in her chest. I think the people lied, because smallpox vesicles are not absorbed in two days. I think someone poisoned her as soon as they saw that she was sick. They had already buried her when I arrived.

I accused them of poisoning her and demanded that the man pay. That is the way we do. If people entice a person away from home they are liable to pay, just as a husband pays for his wife's death — twenty cloths or one cow or four pounds. The man said he had no money. He wanted to go and stay with my father and become a pawn and work for him.

He came to stay with my father and said, "If I go anywhere, you may bring suit for debt," binding himself thus to my father. He stayed three weeks, then ran away to the French side again.

My father said, "All right, let this year finish before I go there." At present, he is there; has been there three months. He will sue the man through the chief in whose territory he has taken refuge.

cloth or four shillings. See also pp. 414-15.

We made sacrifice at my father's home. You see, when a person dies away from home, he [his spirit] doesn't stay there, he goes home. A man stays in the place he dies three days; a woman, four days—then goes home.

My mother was a small [unimportant] zo. Two zo's and all the women [Sanda initiates] went into the house to sing.⁵² They beat tortoise shells and sang all night long. It was in my father's house. The house my mother lived in was broken. One woman sang, "He long yi;" all answered, "He long no yi." The meaning of these words is a secret of the woman's [Sanda] society. They sang other songs I do not know.

The next morning when we killed the goat all people could see. They assembled in the public space in my father's quarters in town. One place where my grandfather made some medicine and put it in the ground, marking the place with several stones—one big one like a headstone, other smaller ones in an oval joining it. No one is buried there. At this place, in the center of a courtyard surrounded by the houses, we made the salə [sacrifice].

My father's big brother stood and talked the palaver. He said, "Anything you had here, we will take care of it. If you go, and we do not kill anything, you will say, 'Oh, I have no people, they killed nothing for me!' I will kill a goat, a duck, four chickens. While we live here let us see good palaver. Let our crops grow well. When we cut farm and plant something, let it grow well. Whatever things we need, let us manage to get them."

Then turning to the women present, he said, "The palaver reaches you. Do your part." Then the women went back into the same house and talked with the spirit, but no man could hear what they said — only women initiates [Sands].

When the women finished, all again assembled at the place of worship. They killed the goat and duck and four chickens, letting the blood run into the oval enclosed by stones. The older men of the family brought their own medicines (not the private medicines that no one else may even see), such as *yini* [smith's hammer], some medicine tied with string,

52 See p. 288.

some in black-deer horns, some in goat horns, some in small elephant tusks. All the medicine was placed on a fanner on the ground beside the stones. Each man took some of the mingled blood on the ground inside the stones and smeared his medicine with it, addressing the medicine as he did so, with some such remark as, "We must see good palaver," or "Let us prosper." Then they cooked the meat and plenty of rice. All people were invited to eat, including strangers. We called the drummers to sing, dance, and fire guns.

When the food was cooked, before any was divided to be eaten, a portion of each was taken and mixed all together with some of the palm oil, and my father's sister's son took it and sprinkled it over the stones and over the medicine, saying, "Here is your part of the food." A certain leaf, wē la [Piper umbellatum], was cut and laid in the road at a short distance from town—at the spot where the traveler first sees the town when approaching it. They call this spot the "road head." My father's big brother's son took part of the food and put it on top of the leaves in the road. Addressing the departed spirit, he said, "Here is your part of the rice."

When this ceremony was finished they began to divide the rice and all persons ate. Drummers were present who sang and danced.

I fired guns and danced and so on. My mother's people were present and brought plenty of rice and two of the chickens. The people said, "This palaver we made today is small. When one year passes we will make a really big sacrifice." They will probably kill two goats or a sheep.

Not long ago, a Gbunde paramount chief demanded contributions in cash or goods from all chiefs under his authority to make the big "good-by play" for his mother. Instead of contributions he got from all the reply, "You are not yet a man if you are not able to do this yourself for your mother." Here again, we see a breakdown of the old authority. Not long ago, none would have dared to refuse — to say nothing of the insulting taunt.

RELIGION: THE CULTS

NATIVE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

FOR THE tribesman, religion includes not only the mysteries of life and death, of God and man, and the visible universe; but also spirits good and bad, monsters, totems, and other occult forces like witchcraft and magic that may operate through animate or inanimate instruments. Expressions of these beliefs are seen in numerous cults and societies; and in the use of oaths, ordeals, oracles, and divination, and of endless medicines for assistance in all of life's undertakings.

We may state at the outset that in all of these concepts the Mandingo influence is notable in the north. In the southeast, which for so long a time has been in touch, directly or indirectly, with foreign ideas from the coast, it would be strange if some of these had not permeated and become a part of native cultural

concepts.

On all these matters, our information is so meager and inadequate that we are reluctant even to attempt to deal with them. It should be remembered that the tribesman is as reticent as we are about making known his innermost thoughts, feelings, and experiences. He will do this only when his heart glows with friendship and esteem, when he feels, "Here is a person who understands and can appreciate; who knows our language and customs; who is even as one of us." Then, one day, in a confidential mood, he will reveal his soul. It can readily be seen what an almost hopeless task it was for us to get at the facts through the medium of interpreters. They themselves did not sufficiently understand the English language to comprehend our inquiries, even if those who had the knowledge had been willing to share it. Some gaps in our knowledge have been filled in by missionaries we met along the way.

For the Kpelle tribesman, as Westermann says:

Religion is . . . not a sphere separate from, or transcending, the rest of life's activities; rather does it stand on the same level with these, working through the same agencies and striving for the same ends as his other activities. His world of being does not separate itself into a sacred and profane realm, but is a unit in the sense that he does not know of an essential difference between the profane and the religious. All his activities are directed towards the promotion of his existence; towards keeping at a distance that which, according to his daily experiences, can cause him harm. For us, the means employable for this purpose separate themselves into the natural and the supernatural, but in the concept of the tribesman there exists no such demarcation. . . .

If we realize the fact that for the tribesman there exists no boundary between the reasonable and the unreasonable, between the natural and the supernatural, even between the possible and the impossible, his religious activities will be intelligible according to our understanding. If he seeks to gain the favor of a person by means of friendly persuasion or exhortation, we can comprehend it; but when he attempts to do the same with a tree or a stone, then it is nonsense for us. If he catches a leopard in a trap, we call that sensible, but when he seeks to appease the dead leopard by means of a sacrifice, that appears irrational to us. And this irrationalism we call religion, or at least the first step towards it. The tribesman does not separate the two ways of procedure; for him both are equally sensible and purposeful, both equally self-evident.1

The tribesman sees all things, including people, as either helpful or harmful. He treats them much as he does his medicines: the helpful must be kept favorably inclined by respectful and considerate treatment and an occasional gift; the unfavorably inclined are to be got rid of if they cannot be won over. Also, since the dead are still part of his society, he treats them in the same manner as the living. The "good" dead, who may be helpful to him, are humbly spoken to and petitioned as living superiors would be; gifts are made to them; food and drink set out for them as for guests. The "bad" dead are disposed of - made harmless by destroying their bodies in various ways.2 Animals and plants are treated in the same way as human beings, to make them either helpful or harmless.

Again Westermann says:

The religious means or tools of which the tribesman makes use are sacrifice and magic. . . .

¹Westermann, 1921, p. 174.

^{*}See p. 252.

All these practices and convictions have not arisen through his meditation on higher things, but out of his daily pressing needs and troubles. They combat the enemies which the Negro has most to fear: hunger, sickness, death, and their cause: living and dead people. They seek those things which are for him the greatest possessions: bread, health, and long life. What lies outside of this sphere is of small concern to him, and therefore does not become the object of his religious activities. . . .

The religious practices of the tribesman are entirely cult rites. They have either no connection with morals,

or only the very loosest sort. . . .

The tribesman well knows of moral duties towards family and clan members — duties made sacred by their ancient origin and by general conviction, but these are in no way connected with religion. The only point at which religion and morals come into close touch is in the concept of God: God is good, he punishes the evil-doer and interests himself in the defenseless; he does not love the person who does evil. One often hears these opinions expressed, but gains the impression that they are not deeply rooted and that they scarcely ever influence action.

We have quoted Westermann at length because of the apt way in which he has stated the primitive African's attitude toward his religion. The tribesman's concept of God, as stated near the end of the quotation, is similar to ideas we heard expressed in Gbunde, Loma, Mano, and the southeast. We are of the opinion that these ideas have come to the hinterlander through Mandingo and Christian influences. Similar ones are current in other parts of Africa where they were entirely unknown until very recently. What we wish to stress here is that the tribesman's conduct is influenced only rarely by any moral concept. If he sins, it is against the community, against other people, or spirits who can be appeased or even deceived — not against God.

Some individuals in a group will be of a more mystical nature than the rest. They will be the most interested and diligent in cult affairs. They are the ones to whom Christianity makes its appeal. Then again, communities as a whole are not equally religious. The number of medicines and places of sacrifice constitute an index to the religious fervor which exists in any

locality.

THE CULTS

We shall deal first with the cults, since it is in these that the religious life of the tribesman centers, is fostered and developed, and given

opportunity for fullest expression.

While generalization is necessary in considering the cults, it should not be forgotten that here, as in other matters concerning native life, there is local variation. Also, there is variation in different parts of a big tribe. We were told, for instance, that in Mano and northern Kpelle, the Poro is the same; but in southern Kpelle, it differs somewhat from that farther north and in French Guinea. We have heard men in our own land, discussing the fraternal order to which they belong, tell how much easier and less expensive it is to join the lodge of some particular order in this or that town; how the initiation ceremonies are less severe, or "things" less strict in one place than in another. This is equally true of the local lodges of the Liberian hinterland cults. In this connection, we may mention the town of Kolon-wi on the ManoKpelle border in French Guinea. This town was founded by Mano refugees from the Poro's vengeance.⁵ Here the initiation rites are reputed to be farcical and the discipline extremely mild.

The leading men's cult of the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano is the Poro; that of the women of these tribes is the Sande. These are the great cults. The Ge and Gio have cults corresponding to these, but they are much less severe in discipline and in their requirements. In this respect they seem to be more like the tribes of the southeast.

Both the Poro and Sanda cults have been studied by men who have had better opportunities than we, and more adequate time, to secure the necessary materials. Westermann is valuable both for his findings and for his able summary of the writings of others. We merely give such notes as we were able to obtain. Our informants were either themselves members, or had "inherited" the information. Several were

³See also pp. 344 ff.

Westermann, 1921, pp. 175-77.

⁵ See p. 24.

persons of high standing in the cults. Others held office by hereditary right. A number had become Christians. But whether Christian or not, the very fact that these persons would give any information at all about their cults is evidence (especially in the north) of the decreasing authority and influence of these institutions over the present generation. It is one more evidence of the breakdown of the old order.

THE PORO

During a discussion of the Poro, an American on the commission surveying the Liberia-French Guinea boundary, remarked: "This is Masonry! Masonry pure and simple. In its organization and division of offices, its degrees and lodge within lodge, the Poro is Masonry. All the secret societies here are lodges within the Poro." Probably his impression was essentially correct.

The first question we posed to the best educated of the Liberians with whom we talked about this cult was countered with, "Are you a Mason?" We replied in the negative, and he remarked, "Too bad. If you were, I could tell you everything. I could take you step by step and show you the parallelism between the two organizations and many of their practices and rites."

His definition of the Poro cult is: "Poro means 'earth' — of the earth, pertaining to or having to do with the earth or ground. Just as Masonry conveys the idea of working with trowels, bricks, stones, and mortar, so Poro has to do with the earth." This is practically the same definition given by our Loma informants. It is an elaborate modification of earth-mother worship.

The Poro was called "Polo" by most tribesmen. In Gbunde its full name is Polo gi zu ("Poro thing [society] in"; that is, "in the Poro society"). In Mano it is called the B5; or sometimes, when speaking of the women's cult, Bw5. The term means "to cut" or "a cutting," and refers to the circumcision and excision done in the Bush. This is also the name for the men's and women's cults in Ge and Gio, as given us

by informants there. That the Mano still retain this name for the form of Poro that they have taken over from the Kpelle is evidence that they, too, once had only the tribal initiation rites or circumcision camp. The Poro is much more than this.

According to an informant who himself was a zo, there are two Bushes or grades of the Poro initiation school in Mano country (and probably in Gbunde and Loma). The first is called K'le B5, the circumcision Bush, where the Big Devil is neither seen nor heard. A boy who has merely been through this ceremony is still gbolo (uninitiated). The second is called $G\varepsilon$ B5, Devil's Bush, the big Bush, the Poro; here the pupil's skin is cicatrized before the Big Devil is seen.

In Ge and Gio country they do not have this second Bush. After a boy has passed through the circumcision Bush he is a full-fledged initiate. Of this, more will be said below. The term, "Bush," or "Bush school," is derived from the sacred grove in which the novice spends his period of initiation.

The Poro's color is red, which is called the devil's color. It is the color of blood. For outsiders, it is taboo. When one of the missionaries at Ganta (Mano) was about to sew red trimmings on the dress of her child, she was requested not to do so, since it might be misunderstood.⁶

The symbol of the Poro and Sande is the tofa plant (Loma), (a species of Costus of the Zingiberaceae family) and the fringed raffialeaflet curtain (zaba, Loma and Mano; mene, Gio). The tofa is used in different positions by the two societies. (Gbunde informant.) The Poro stretches a vine to which tofa plants and smaller or larger sections of the fringed raffia curtain are alternately attached; the Sande lays tofa plants on the ground. These are the "Keep out" signs of the two societies.

A Loma man explained the meaning of these symbols as follows:

"The Sande have the tofa because its juice is very sour. It is not used by the Poro in our country. Woman makes life sour for man. The palm — both the raffia and the oil — is the symbol of the men. It signifies wine [palm wine].

⁶This attitude is being modified by outside influences. Wearing of red caps by soldiers and messengers

This makes man [feel] strong. It is a strong thing. It is stronger than all men and overcomes them, as the man is stronger than the woman and overcomes her."

This is probably not the true symbolism, but

it is interesting.

The initiation rites are called *Polo gi*, "the things of Poro" (Gbunde). The uninitiated are called *kpwoa*, "outsiders" (Gbunde); *kpwolo wai*, "sinners" (Loma); *gbolo*, "shadow" or "image" (Mano). The members after initiation are called *Polo nui* (Gbunde); *kpwea* (Mano); zu ni (Loma); ke nai (sing.) ke nanu

(pl.) (Mende and Loma).

Women may be admitted to the Poro under certain rare conditions, but not into every lodge. The chief and elders of Pandamai (Gbunde) maintained that none could be taken into the cult in their section. In other sections, as in Loma and Mano, it was said that only one woman, with the standing of a zo in the Sande cult could be taken in. In Gbunde, such women are then known as po kpwa; in Mano, as wai. These individuals are no longer women, but "men." They have legendary powers. "They can plant an oilpalm nut in the morning and in the evening can cut ripe nuts from the tree that has grown from it," and work other such wonders!

The Devils of the Poro. The various Poro and Sande leaders are called devils; sometimes country devils or Bush devils. There are men's devils and women's devils. These terms apply to different classes of secret leaders, of which there are a good number. Who they are, is known only to initiates, because they never appear in public unmasked. The principal leader, who may be thought of as a grand master of the cult, is designated as the Big Devil. His authority not only extends over all the lodges of a region, but is incontestable in civic matters when he chooses to exercise it.⁸

There seems to be, in addition, a sort of supreme grand master with still wider powers, who is over even the Big Devil. One hears little about him. We learned that the "big, big Poro devil" of both the Gbunde and Loma tribes lived at Lifiza in Gbunde. "He pass'

Zigida devil [the Big Devil of the Loma] plenty fo' big!" Unfortunately, we were unable to ascertain exactly the relative standing of these two mortals. According to one of our best-educated Loma informants this all-highest is called the bele mele nafui (the ram's horn nafui. "He is the man and teacher of highest degree. He makes the highest sacrifices for the society's welfare and its protection from prying outsiders. He knows most about ju-ju and all the society secrets." The official dress, outside the Bush, of this bele mele is a raffia-leaflet garment that conceals every part of his person. To make his feet invisible, raffia leaflets are tied about his ankles. The garment is covered with the blue and yellow feathers of the great crested touraco (Corythaeola cristota), the big plantain-eater. He wears a wooden mask over his head.

The Big Devil. According to Gbunde informants the Big Devil is the oldest initiated member of the Poro in any region, provided he has attained a sufficiently high rank. He is sometimes chosen for the office by competition.⁹

Theoretically, he never leaves the Bush. Actually, he is a townsman who, like the other devils, goes about his own business when he is

not acting in an official capacity.

By the Gbunde, Loma, and Kpelle the Big Devil is sometimes called namu. His real name is nafui so (so meaning "to catch"). This is usually shortened to nafu when he is spoken of, or when his name is used to swear by. This devil sometimes carries a stick to one end of which are fastened three or four curved hooks. (These are much like the hooks used by some members of the "human leopard" cult, 10 but attached to a longer handle (fig. 75, 1). The instrument is called the nafu zengi, "the nafu's finger nails" (Loma). It is his iron hand, the hand with which he seizes offenders who are to be punished by the Poro. To outsiders it is a thing of terror. It is probably owing to this instrument that the Gbunde call the devil nafui so, the "catching devil." Similarly, kondobo, "the seizer," is the name by which Gbunds and Kpelle women call him, his other name being

⁷ Cf. Alldridge, 1901, p. 133.

⁸ See p. 171. Also cf. Kwi ba, below, p. 310.

⁹ For competition of two smiths at Zigida, see p. 145. ¹⁰ See below, p. 297.

taboo for them, according to Westermann.¹¹ The name may also refer to his function of catching and "carrying" the candidates for initiation into the Poro grove.¹²

If a Gbunde woman utters the devil's name and is heard by a member of the Poro, she is seized and forced to pay a heavy fine.

The Mano sometimes call the Big Devil nyamu, but more often the general name for any devil— $g\varepsilon$. According to some Mano informants, the Big Devil is $g\varepsilon go$.¹³

When the townspeople fight among themselves this devil comes in to stop them. He tells them they have broken the law and imposes a fine of rice, a sheep, or money. If the people bring money, they must also kill a sheep. All fines must be paid the same day or, if the trouble occurred in the evening, paid the next morning. When all the fines are paid the big people of the town eat together the feast provided by the fines.

The devil also comes out of his Bush for the funerals of chiefs and other important persons whom he chooses to honor.¹⁴ Only his mournful music is heard, after which he departs, leaving the ceremonies to others. (The more important of these ceremonies, it appears, are performed before he comes.)

When meetings are held by Poro members the Big Devil will be present, but he may leave early if the matter is not of sufficient importance to require his presence throughout the session.

The Big Devil must never be seen by anyone except the initiates, not even by the boys in the Bush school until he is "revealed" to them. Exceptions to this rule are men who are born into zo families, 15 even though they may not have been initiated. For example, one of our informants whose parents were both zo's had seen the nyamu, though he had never been initiated and did not intend to be, having accepted Christianity. We understand that this is also the privilege of individuals who are "born to be zo's." 16

On graduation day in the Bush, when the devil reveals himself to the boys, he says: "I see something today I have been looking for

for a long time but have never seen until now. God helps me today so that I can see it."

His companion devil in the ceremony, asks, "What is this thing?"

He answers, "These boys. They are all my sons now."

Prior to this, the boys have often heard his voice near by in the Bush, but they have never seen his face. They now see him as a man—someone they have known all their lives!

If the boys wish to talk about the Big Devil during the time they are in the Bush, they do so away from water, for "he can hear whatever is said about him when one stands near or in water."

The ge is said to "come out of the Bush" at night only, but occasionally he comes in the daytime. His "walking" may be local or he may go on a visit to other lodges. When he goes on such visits he is said to "move fo' small time." He is not always a welcome visitor, because he and his retinue must be generously entertained by the honored town. When, for example, the devil at Zigida started out to make the rounds of his lodges some time before we came to Zorzor, the chief sent him "big presents" with the request that he stay away from Zorzor on this "walking."

We saw several of the quarters he occupies when he goes on tour. At Pandamai the devil's house is on the edge of the town about 200 feet from the nearest hut. He lives here also when he comes out of the Bush at the close of the Poro and Sande initiation schools and turns over the initiates to their parents. His quarters at Zorzor are described below.¹⁷

His coming is announced by messengers. Every woman and uninitiated male must hide. To make certain that he will not be seen, he is surrounded by a group of initiates to whom he has made known his intentions. (He informs only persons whose services he needs, of his comings and goings.) The blowing of the cult flutes, whistles, or horns and the noise of the oncoming party announce his approach even before the advance messengers clear the way.

The representative of the commissioner of District No. 2, whom we met at Gbanga, re-

¹¹ Westermann, 1921, p. 250.

¹² See below, p. 282.

¹⁸ See also p. 271, and Harley, 1941b, p. 19.

¹⁴ Cf. gs 20, below, p. 280.

¹⁵ See below, pp. 374 ff.

¹⁶ See p. 375. ¹⁷ See p. 375.

lated that he and the commissioner had both wished to get a glimpse of the devil, or at least of his entourage, as such a party passed the Government post; but that they had been forced to enter a house and shut the door. We met a cola-buying French trader in northern Mano who had been in a Mano village when a party came along. He was warned to hide. When he refused to do so, the party turned back, for fear of what the Government might do if the trader should see too much and cult members should deal with him as their ritual required.

In Kpelle, at Zienshu, we experienced the power of the devil to tie up the country on such occasions. No one could move, because he was due to bring out the boys who had ended their schooling in the Bush. Fortunately, times have changed since the old days, or we should have waited longer than we did for

carriers.

Here and there it was said that the Big Devil was naked all the time he was in the Bush, but the best-informed persons said that he went naked only upon special occasions and for specific rites. We could secure no reliable description of what he wore when he came out. Apparently, he wears no mask, but a replica of the mask that is his symbol is kept in the space behind the fence at the main entrance to the Poro grove. "This is the first thing of the Big Devil that the novice sees when he comes into the Bush." 18

The uninitiated know the devil only as a voice. He talks with the voice of ritual either at night, with a cloth over his head, or from inside a house. The voice is high pitched and thin, with a wavering, unreal quality produced by speaking in falsetto through a "blowing-drum," with a rolling, throaty burr. It is only a rare individual who can do this. The ability is said to run in families. The drum is a small, wooden tube with membranes of spiders' nests glued across windows in the sides. The effect is similar to the artificial voices of Punch and Judy in the old-fashioned roadside shows. This is the devil's talking voice.

He can also sing. This singing is not actually done by the devil himself but by three to five assistants, each blowing on a pottery whistle

(fig. 93, h, i, j, k), like blowing across the mouth of a bottle. These whistles come in sets pitched on a musical scale very nearly chromatic or in fourths, selected by trial and error. They make very sweet music, always at night, to the accompaniment of a resonant base note produced by blowing on an eland's horn in a pot (fig. 93, k). This deep, bellowing note is always referred to as the "old woman" or the "devil's wife." Instead of pottery whistles, the flute is sometimes used. The tunes, very short,

are played over and over again.

Sometimes one hears the devil singing in a town half a mile away; then, almost immediately afterward, coming down the road quite near. Another few seconds, and the sound comes from some distance beyond, as though the devil has passed unseen. Finally, it will be heard in the next village, perhaps a mile away. This singing is done by several teams to give credence to the legend that the devil can fly through the air. Sound travels well and far in the quiet of a West African evening. All over the country side, women and children hearing it, cry out, "There he flies!"

Often the devil comes from the Bush heralded by a peculiar call. This is produced by one or two cows' horns with holes in the sides covered with spiders' nest membranes like the blowing-drums. These horns are called nike mela in Gbunde. The bull-roarer is another of his voices (bele wola, Gbunde). Still another

is the imitation of a night bird.

There are undoubtedly several other voices, and one who knows can tell what is going on by the voice used on any occasion. Sometimes there are calls to assemble cult members for special functions. There are probably different calls and different voices for the different devils. These voices are not made by the man functioning as the high official, but by his escorting assistants — except for the speaking voice of the Big Devil.

Ability to fly is necessary to the Big Devil, because he must "spin the rope" when the boys come out of the Bush, and he must build the suspension bridges.¹⁹ We saw one such rope in Kpelle, some miles distant from the Mano-Kpelle frontier, where the boys had recently been "brought out." We were curious to know

¹⁸ See below, p. 277.

why a vine, to which various leafy twigs and parts of plants were attached in the manner of decorations for a lawn fête, should be stretched across the path; also, how it could have been fastened so high up on two giant bombax trees. We were told that the Country Devil could fly and that he spun a web sometimes. Later, at Pandamai (Gbunde), we were shown two great bombax trees, standing some 80 yards apart, between which the rope is spun when the boys come out of the Bush. Although no one would tell us how the devil's assistants "fly" up these giants, we suspect it is done with the aid of a belt such as is used in climbing palms. We noted no notches hacked into the trunks, such as the natives make when they climb the trees to take young parrots from their nests.

"Spinning the bridge" would be a more appropriate term for the building of vine suspension bridges over streams, which the Big Devil is said to make unaided (fig. 32). When one of these is to be built, repaired, or rebuilt, the Poro members secretly cut and collect the necessary vines. Sentinels keep the women away from the vicinity, both because of the fiction which must be kept alive and because of the nudity of the men, who must frequently be in the water. If a Bush school is in session near by, the boys, too, must help in the work of collecting and building. Care of the bridge is the responsibility of the men of the nearest town. Towns farther away may be called

upon for help in emergencies.

The Big Devil must never be offended. The trader mentioned above told us an instance of punishment meted out to a man who did so. One of this trader's employees had ridiculed the whole cult, including the Big Devil. The next morning he was missing. Later in the day, a man out in the jungle near the village found him as he was about to expire. The bones of both arms and legs had been broken, each in a number of places. There is a legend of a French trader who had offended local cult leaders in several ways. According to this legend, he was told that on a certain day a limb of a certain tree would fall on him and kill him; and on the day named, the prophecy was fulfilled. Part, at least, of the legend is true. This trader was killed by a falling limb.

For that matter, it is dangerous business to offend any devil. Shortly before we arrived at Zorzor, an old woman of the place approached a lesser devil who was doing his stunts there. She scolded and poked fun at him, saying: "You are the Bush Devil! Why don't you stay in the Bush? The Bush is your place, the place for the Bush Devil. Why do you come here to annoy us? We have work to do."

"She is only an old woman," the devil later told our informant. "She has nothing. It would be wasting medicine [poison] to punish her, so we merely put her in the stick.²⁰ Now, if it had been a man and he had been wealthy, or had at least something, that would be different." The fact that the headquarters of the assistant District Commissioner of District No. 1 are at this place, probably determined the lenient treatment in this case. In the old days, the woman would have been instantly killed.

In the Ge country the $g\varepsilon$ $g\flat$ has a house in town near the blacksmith's shop. ²¹ Sometimes there is a loft over the shop itself that belongs to the devil. There all the devil's appurtenances are kept. In any case the blacksmith is the keeper of the devil's property. In his custody are all the devil's ritualistic make-up and similar ritualistic property of the zo who circumcises the boys. (The blacksmith himself may be this circumcising zo.) ²² He is responsible for loss, breakage, or exposure to the public eye.

There is a close connection between smithing and the things of the devil. During the building of the blacksmith shop the devil comes and makes a screen of mats all around it. The women must stay in their houses. This devil "talks" during the entire time that the shop is being built. When it is finished a big feast of

chickens is cooked.

When the Big Devil dies he is said to be buried with a crown of bombax thorns around his head (Gbunde). If he has used his office to harm people or has made medicine with intent to do so, the thorns will pierce his scalp and torment him continually. If, on the other hand, he has helped people by making medicines or sacrifices on their behalf, the thorns will become soft and will be unable to hurt him.

Other Poro Devils. Information regarding the names and functions of some of the other

²⁰ See p. 433. ²¹ See p. 361.

²² See, below, p. 278.

Poro devils came to us from a young man, himself a zo, of the Mano-Ge border country where, as in Gio, the Poro is less awesome than in the other tribes of the north. Most of the devils he lists appear in Mano and Gio as well as in Ge, and probably in Gbunde and Loma. This information has been carefully translated as follows:

These are the kinds of devils I know in Ge country: Gbolo ge. He may be seen by anyone, whether he has been to the Poro Bush or not.

Wai ge. He may be seen by all. His specialty is strong-man stunts and slapstick comedy. He has a big mouth and carries a native whip. Wai means "mon-

key"; he does "monkey thing."

Kpa lu ge. He is a long-legged devil [fig. 86, e]. He walks on stilts up to 10 feet long. He is a professional dancer and entertainer like the two preceding. He has a very fine "face" [made of woven netting]. He is not a Mano devil, but he may come here to dance from another "country."

Dai kpa bli (in Gio country, pito nu). He wears a raffia skirt, cloth shirt, and a short mask colored black, white, and red. He can become very tall and then resume his shorter stature, the tiers of his skirt overlapping and concealing the method of varying his height.

 $G_{\mathcal{E}}$ lo $k_{\mathcal{E}}$ lo. He is an entertainer and dancer. He

may be seen by all.

Dia mi da a ga ["He who sees will not pass by"]. A very fine dancer with a very finely made mask. It is said that a person starting to go to another town and seeing this devil dance will be so enthralled that he will sit down to watch and will sit all day. When the dance is over he will recall himself and say, "Oh! This morning I started for that other town."

Bie ka [elephant's house]. He is an entertainer.

Kie ge. He is the small boys' play-devil [fig. 86, a and d]. The boys make a dress from banana leaves. He has no mask. This is a Mano devil, not known in the Ge country.

Zai bo lu. He catches boys who have never been to the Poro Bush and carries them there. Sometimes, when a boy is reluctant to go to the Bush, the parents give their consent and arrange with this devil to come and carry the boy away by force. He also comes to town begging food for the people in the Bush. He goes from house to house, telling each woman that her small baby has eaten all his rice—"Please give me a little." Thus he will collect a large amount, for no one dares to refuse him. It is his task to cry and shout before the devil [Big Devil] to clear the way, and to cry around the Bush to warn women away. He seems

to be a sort of right-hand man of the Big Devil. He lives in the Bush, does not wear a mask except when he comes to town as an entertainer. When he comes to town to collect food or catch the boys, he comes after dark when he cannot be seen. To outsiders he is only a voice. When the Bush is not in session, he may take refuge in a certain house in town called a zo house, owned ostensibly by a zo. No woman is allowed there. No one may go inside. He may speak from inside the house.²³

Vu ni. This devil "plays" only in the Poro Bush. He talks in a heavy voice. He uses a bull-roarer. His only function is frightfulness. When the Bush pupils walk about at night he talks in a loud voice so everyone can hear and get out of the way. He is not seen by the uninitiated, or even by boys in the Bush until they are ready to come out.

 $G\varepsilon$ $n\alpha$. He sings on the day of graduation. He is considered the best singer of all the devils. He has no

mask

Fa $n\bar{i}a$. He is not seen by the uninitiated. He is a Mano devil, not known in the Ge country. [Fa $n\bar{i}a$ is a girl's name.]

 $G \circ g \varepsilon$ (leopard devil). He talks in imitation of a leopard's growl. He is not associated with the Human

Leopard Society.

Si ge (hawk devil). He goes with Zai bo lu to look for food and to bring the boys into the Poro Bush. He has a mask.

The order of importance of these devils was not made clear, but from the importance of his functions, vu ni seems to be of very high rank.

This is not a complete list of all the Poro officials in Mano.²⁴ We heard of one called ge yumbo, whose function seems to be entertainment. "If we wish to see him dance, we must cook chop for him and all his followers. Then he will come at night. No woman ever sees him."

Like most of the other devils who come at night, ge yumbo is neither masked nor an individual, but a voice and a ritual in which several people participate. He is represented by three elaborately dressed young men with high raffia bonnets, raffia capes, and long raffia skirts that sweep the ground as they dance in single file through the sleeping town. Each carries a stick like a rice pestle. With it he beats a rapid thumping tattoo on the ground, using it like a miniature pile-driver and making the ground rumble. Behind these dancers come a few horns and drums, then the entire age group of young

²⁸ See below, p. 273; also p. 375.

²⁴ See also Harley, 1941b, pp. 13-19.

warriors of the town,²⁵ in single file, each carrying his sword, all stomping the ground in staccato unison. They approach town from the forest with warning blasts of the horns and drums. Then, when all the women are inside and the doors tight shut, the long snake-like procession rumbles through town to the central clearing.

There the leaders dance to music. Occasionally one of them will hop-skip-and-jump over to a house to catch someone peeping. Then away the procession goes through the town and around about for half an hour or so. Then another dance, and they all go back to the forest.

The original idea was to keep the band of young warriors on the alert and armed. A fine of three chickens was imposed on anyone who failed to fall in line or came without his sword. Now that intertribal wars are a thing of the past, the custom survives to keep the leopards away from town; also to keep alive the idea that the Country Devil is likely to make his presence known at any time or place—especially on a fine moonlight night when the girls are planning a big dance and the town fathers think it is about time they were calmed down a bit. By the time the ge yumbo has gone back to the forest, the women are sleepy.

Later, the young men steal silently into their houses. No one ever asks, "Where have you been?" The men all know anyway. The women are never supposed to dare even to want to know.

An exclamation one sometimes hears when somebody does a clever trick is, "Ge fwi! fwi!" It is translated by the boys as "short-legged devil," and probably refers to a devil who is a sleight-of-hand performer.

Of the ninety-nine degrees of the Poro, the following were named to us by an educated young Loma man, a Poro member who had accepted Christianity. Each appears to have its corresponding devil or devils. Since we could not learn for a certainty whether or not these degrees (or devils) were given in order of their rank, we set them down in the order given:

Polo fegi [the first or the beginning]. The beginners.

Sine(b) [fighter]. The one who has fought with and finished fighting the Big Devil.

Kolba. Runner, guide, messenger, advance guard, or scout.

Polo kpwa [strength, the strong thing, the support]. The backbone of the Poro, the doctors of the cult. They make medicine to keep everyone well and to have all go well while the school is in session, or at such times as there may be a prolonged meeting of the cult's members. They are also the doctors [leeches] when anyone becomes ill in the Bush school or at these meetings.

Wei zumo. The one who calls the boys to the Bush school, the high messenger. A number of men of this class catch and carry the boys to the Bush. They can come and carry them off so fast that one cannot see them go. [They are said to correspond to the Weni (birds) of the Sande.] ²⁶

Bele bole [pumpkin to swallow]. Those who put the novices in the pumpkin for the Big Devil to swallow [get them ready for the ceremony?].

Vogbwo [beggar]. Those whose work it is to go through the towns to beg food or other things for the boys while they are in the Bush.

Kpwa kolo gi [kpwa, strong; kolo, to rule; gi, thing; those who are strong to rule]. They dance on important occasions and at ceremonies in connection with the death of important chiefs.

Kagafui [ka, to dance, and (n) afui, the Big Devil; the "g" is for euphony]. Very high persons who dance during the day.

Yomo [path, road; (I am) the road]. Can be seen dancing in town on special and important occasions. They never come out in the daytime.²⁷

While he was making some statements about the Poro, prior to giving us the above information, our informant suddenly stopped to remark to a man squatting near us: "Yes, I see you. Go on, make your signs. I am not afraid of you." Then he continued. We have a strong suspicion that the signals continued to come in; for suddenly his memory failed him and he could remember no more. Nor could he remember anything later when we were alone with him and reopened the discussion.

The Zo's of the Poro. A Poro or Sanda doctor (in the sense of a person of advanced accomplishment in a certain field) is called a zo. There are other zo's, in the guilds, and so on; but our concern here is with the zo's of the Poro. Westermann 28 states:

^{**} See also p. 165.

** See below, p. 307. It seems probable also that this devil corresponds with the devil zai bo lu, above, p. 272.

²⁷ Cf. the ge yumbo of Mano, above, p. 272.

²⁸ Westermann, 1921, pp. 238 ff.

A zo is any person who is initiated into the religious secrets and who practices these customs. The zo may be of either sex. This term is also applied to diviners and magic doctors. It denotes especially a leader in a religious association or secret cult. . . . The zo's are the teaching faculty of the Poro school, a spiritual council of elders, which meets on all special occasions and participates in all official activities and in instructing the boys.

The same individual member of the Poro may be both $g\varepsilon$ and zo (Mano, G ε and Gio). In his own town he is known as a zo. He may even be known as a big man in the Bush, in which event he may be called a Bush zo by the townspeople. But he will never be called $g\varepsilon$ by anyone who sees his face, nor will he be recognized as such by the uninitiated. Only when such an individual appears in a mask is he called $g\varepsilon$ or devil. Unmasked $g\varepsilon$'s are never seen, only heard.

From a comparatively well-educated Americo-Liberian, who laid claim to being a Christian and who was a member of the Poro, we have further information about the cult and its object and something about the zo's, besides some other matters. Because of the information concerning the zo's we give it here, without attempting to fit in the other matters where they logically belong. It is reproduced as nearly as possible from our informant's oral statement.

The Bush school or Poro is an institution for the education of young people. It is at the same time a secret society with death as the penalty for the betrayal of its secrets. American universities, composed of many schools grouped together, are to civilization exactly what the Bush schools represent to the tribal culture.

The Bush schools have their graduation exercises, presided over by the *nyamu* of the Poro ²⁹ and attended by all graduates. The president makes a formal address which is responded to by speeches from several of the big men present. The speeches are worded with great care and are oratorical in the best sense of the word. The exercises last all day and are tremendously impressive. In these and all ceremonial rites, the spectators stand in certain places according to rank. The graduate wears the marks of his attainment scarified on his skin. The master washes and blesses each boy. He wishes him prosperity in life, valor in war, friendship in peace. It is a graduation

ceremony – a farewell to the Bush school which he is never again to enter as a boy. From now on he is a man.

As he now goes out into daily life, he is subject to certain rules of conduct, enjoys certain privileges. If he has learned a trade he is naturally subject to the regulations and privileges of its guild. Even if he has not learned a trade he is a member of a particular group; there are certain things he may do, others he may not do. Anyone seeing him dance can tell immediately to which group he belongs, even if he is in the country of an enemy tribe. Some men do not sit down to eat. Some scratch their skin only with a knife or stick — never with their fingernails. Only those of a certain group may carry hammocks. Some may carry loads only on their shoulders; others may carry them on their heads.

A student is required to pass through courses of instruction prescribed by the different schools, but has considerable latitude in specializing in his particular profession. For instance, a man who expects to be a weaver is shown all the herbs and medicines, but since he does not intend to make medicine for other people he does not remember the details of their preparation if you ask him about them some time later. The girl who expects to be his wife learns in her Bush school to spin and dye thread, so that she may help him in his work.

One may come back for a sort of graduate work, and by so doing enter professional groups, each with its own prestige and power. These groups are arranged in order of importance, and here we must recall the parallelism to a secret society - to the Masonic order in particular, with its thirty-three degrees. These Bush schools have in all ninety-nine degrees. Only a few in the history of the country (150 years) have taken all the degrees. Only three or four now living have attained half the possible number. The standing of one's family in this respect determines largely the height to which one may aspire, just as membership in the guilds is an inherited privilege,30 though not compulsory. Comparatively few men may go as high as thirty-three degrees. Those who do are called zo or doctor. The zo cannot be buried, or even prepared for burial, by any except his peers. There are marks on his body, very small and insignificant, two in number, which no one may see. They identify him as a zo.31

The Bush school may have a general organization that does not correspond to tribal limits. There is, for example, one Bush school for Mende, Gola, and Vai. The fundamental form and function is identical everywhere. With small differences of detail the whole thing is intertribal. Mano, Kpelle, and Loma are closely related; Gio, Ge, and Bassa form another group.

²⁹ See above, p. 269.

³⁰ See p. 121.

⁸¹ Cf. the Leopard Society, below, pp. 296 ff.

The novice is taken into the school for a period of years - usually three; the Loma term was formerly five years; the Vai is a year and a half. The undergraduate does not see the Big Devil, the nyamu, until graduation day, though he hears his voice constantly. There is an imitation of the Big Devil's mask just inside the entrance to the Poro Bush. 32 The real mask never leaves the secret place of the Bush. In this place there is a house containing masks of historical persons, such as that of the founder of the Bush [this particular grove and lodge] and his associates and other locally great men and warriors. These images were originally true likenesses and were monuments to the memory of great men. Each was called by the man's name. These are never taken out of the Bush. Those seen elsewhere are made for pastime or for sale.

To return to the secret place of the Bush. There is a stone in the highest Bush, the supreme grand lodge of a region, upon which the founders of the Bush of that region were initiated. An imitation of this stone is made for each daughter-society. One such stone was stolen from the Gola and sold to a white man who carried and sold it to a museum in Germany, where it was on exhibition. The man who stole it was at once put to death, and such an insurrection ensued in Gola that the Liberian Government sent to Germany and had the stone brought back to the State House in Monrovia, where it may now be seen by the public. [It was there when we were in Monrovia, though we did not see it. It is supposed to be a crude representation of a frog or toad.] It is not the entire stone. The entire stone was tremendous. The fragment was broken out by the thief. The entire stone is essentially a carved piece, perfectly square.

Each Bush has a number of undergraduate departments: 33 first, Porters; second, Bringers-of-Rope; third, Stick-Bringers; fourth, Thatch-Bringers; fifth Builders or Architects. The mud-carriers are apparently of equal rank with the porters, and include those who are too stupid to learn. The novice is promoted from one department to the other. When be becomes a builder he may begin to take his degrees. The builders may enter the "Leaves" [school of medicine]. The Leaves' studies include herbs for medicine, for poisoning, for mummification. (Medicine and poisoning are also taught in the Sande.) Other studies he may complete in their proper order; such as the control and use of lightning for frightening or killing his enemies,54 the courses of rivers, the wind blowing in the trees, and so on. Last of all is Frightfulness, or the art of the devil himself, which is really the whole thing. When you know that, you know all.

The mark of a man's standing is on his breast. Seeing him, one knows at once how to shake his hand. Certain gestures also reveal a man's standing: perhaps the way he walks into the house; always, the way he sits down, crosses his legs, and folds his hands, or waves the cow's tail that he holds.86

White cows' tails are emblems of authority. They may also be carried by the girls while dancing. Brown, red, or black cows' tails, when carried by Poro members are symbols of medicine. This term includes magic and drugs, some of which are, in cases of extreme necessity, used as poisons. Each herb has its use and its secret sign-name. Cows' tails are carried by both men and women.

The elephant's tail is carried only by those in high authority. The horse's tail is very rare, and is carried only by the warrior-chief or his wife. It is seldom carried at all except in time of war.

A man of high standing in the Bush, when traveling in a strange country, may enter the Poro school and be immediately received according to his rank. The one in charge of the school will put him through his paces, degree after degree, until one of the two drops out. The person outranked will throw the cow's tail to his senior in knowledge. If the visitor is the senior he will return the cow's tail, turning it around handle first, and making a slight motion or a pretense of handing it over twice. The third time he actually hands it over. This seems to be a polite way to hand something to somebody.

The study of medicine [leechery] is common to both men and women. Both learn the use of certain herbs for sickness, headaches, rheumatism, sores, fainting, fits, childbirth, embalming. The medicine cult is the only one open to women.

The standing of women in the intertribal organization is denoted by the ornaments they wear: leaves tied in their hair or chalk marks on their faces; by the steps taken in dancing, or even the manner of walking into the house - to say nothing of the scarification marks. A woman's marks are always on the back. They may be on the back of her neck, or on her back either high or low, the position varying in different tribes. Some marks are between the legs [on the perineum] but never on the chest, like the men's.

Mummification is taught only in the Poro. Certain herbs are collected, dried, and mixed with oil. Some, at least, of the viscera are removed. This medicine in oil is put into numerous stab wounds, being blown in with a hollow reed. The grave is dug. In it a platform is made about 3 feet above the bottom - a latticework of sticks laid at right angles, the same number of sticks in each layer, and exactly square.37 The body is laid on this platform, covered with a layer of sticks, then a layer of earth, and on top of this a fire is built. The fire is kept burning until the body is mummified. The

³² Cf. mã gε, below, pp. 277-78.

⁸⁸ See also p. 221. See below, the Gb5 Association, pp. 303 ff.

⁸⁵ See also p. 284.

³⁶ See the Ten Ki, below, p. 304.

³⁷ Cf. the square stone of the Poro, above.

tissue fluids ooze out through small slits made in the skin. A body so preserved can be kept indefinitely.

If a boy dies in the Bush school, he cannot be buried until the school has closed. He is mummified. No one outside is told that he is dead. After the Bush is closed, perhaps months or even years after his death, the body is delivered to his parents for burial. This process of mummification is probably limited to members of the Vai clans who attain high degrees in the society.

The Bush or Sacred Poro Grove. The Poro grove, called Bɔ̃ kpɔa in Mano, is usually located near some older town that is held in high esteem because of associations or near the town of the clan chief. Most important of the factors determining the location of a grove are these: It must have been found favorable by divination. It must be convenient to water and to both oilpalms and winepalms. There must be arable land. Preferably, it should be not too close to town. The site once found is thereafter a sacred grove unless and until declared no longer "alive" by the Poro. This occurs when it is no longer used by that cult, and the sacred influences have "died out of it." Such a "dead" grove is on the Ganta mission property.

Profane things must be kept as far away as possible from a sacred grove. The Firestone Plantation Company, when clearing for their rubber plantation, entered into an agreement with the tribesmen to respect their groves and leave them intact. We passed one of these, standing out like a forest-island in that exten-

sive cleared and planted area.

The teacher of a Government school at Gbanga (Kpelle) where we visited, in apologizing for the condition of some of the buildings, remarked that little had been done recently to keep the place in repair, since a new plant was to be erected on a new site. Inquiry brought out the fact that every one of his predecessors had either died himself or lost his wife. The location was "bad." We subsequently learned from our interpreter that the fine stand of natural forest near the school was a Poro grove and that for this reason the school site was "bewitched." This is all in accord with what we heard wherever the Poro is established; drastic measures are often taken to preserve the sanctity of their groves.

There is a report current that a certain overseer of road work being done for the Government in the Kpelle country was warned not to cut through a certain grove, but did it nevertheless. Although he succeeded in forcing the workers to cut jungle growth, none of them would touch a big tree that stood in the way, so the overseer himself felled it. Its sap was "red like blood." He died soon after.

Some time before the initiation school is to begin, the clan chief gives orders for the cult members to make ready for the session. There is clearing to be done; for the grove has been deserted since the previous lot of boys left, and everything has become overgrown. There are new houses to be set up; for houses are usually burned at the close of a course or, if not, are allowed to fall into ruin.³⁹

The huts are either square or rectangular, not round like huts in town. Their walls are of sticks without a coating of clay. The roof thatch is of any material easily secured in a particular region. There are huts for the neophytes, one for the Big Devil, one for each of his assistants, and a palaver house. The huts are said to be built around a large cleared space in which the various dances and ceremonies take

place.

All the approaches to the grove, or trails that might possibly lead one to it, are well posted with tofa plants or other "Keep out" symbols of the cult. The main entrance (fig. 87) where the path branches off from the public road is screened by a strong fence of sticks and palm branches set between a row of old dragon trees (Dracaena arborea). This tree grows well from cuttings and is admirably suited to use as a "living" fence. The large clusters of red berries it bears are probably one reason for choosing it, for red is the devil's color. A quantity of the raffia palm leaflet curtains (fig. 94, e) are fastened to this fence to form a thick thatchlike wall. Individual fancy and inclination seems to rule in the decoration of these fences. The most elaborate and impressive ones we saw were at Pandamai and Walema in Gbunde and at Belevela in Belle.

That at Pandamai was near one of the town's cemeteries located near the entrance to the

build the houses for its leaders and the girls who are to be initiated.

40 Cf. square stone, above, p. 275.

⁸⁸ See also p. 245.

³⁰ The men also clear the Sands cult's grove and

town. This cemetery was itself a remarkable place. Its offering-strewn graves were beside the path under immense bombax trees, whose thick foliage kept the place gloomily shaded even when the sun was shining. At the grove there was first a row of dragon trees - large, old, gnarled ones. About 40 feet behind this was a second row and then the entrance fence. Each end of this fence was made of raffia curtains, fastened as noted above, and raffia midrib mats 41 such as are used for the walls of Kru houses. Between these end-fences was a wall of square blocks of the root-infiltrated turf cut from a raffia swamp. (The fence at another Gbunde grove was almost entirely made of these blocks, with fringe curtains hanging only near and over the entrance.) Attached to the fence were broken wooden swords and spears; also a number of images more or less crudely made from masses of the same turf as the wall. The hair of these images was made by removing the earth and suitably arranging the roots. Between the two rows of dragon trees there were set into the ground some 2 dozen sticks of various lengths, the longest being about 4 feet, with broom-like attachments at the top. These may have been merely frayed lengths of raffia midrib with the pith removed and the bast fibers left. We were not allowed to go close enough to examine them, and the men accompanying us refused to say anything about them. All that our interpreter, a cult member, would explain about these blocks and the images and broomsticks was, "They look fierce and last long." Their purpose, apparently, is to generate feelings of mystery and fear among the women. For this, they are eminently fitted, standing as they do in the gloomy shade beneath the dense, overspreading foliage of giant trees. We are reminded of the words of Seneca.

"If you come upon a grove of old trees that have shot up above the common height and shut out the sight of the sky by the gloom of their matted boughs, you feel there is a spirit in that place, so lofty is the wood, so lone the spot, so wondrous the thick, unbroken shade." 42

Some distance behind the entrance fence to each grove is a small cleared space that serves

as a meeting place for the Big Devil and the older cult leaders, whenever there is any important secret matter to be discussed. This is usually, but not necessarily, something directly affecting the cult.

In Gio the groves are less elaborate if we may judge from the ones we saw — merely fencedin spaces on the edge of town. They may be not far from the houses, as at Tapi Town; or they may be in the near-by jungle. There are usually shelters for shade. Little besides circumcision and the ceremony connected with it takes place here. Neither the boys nor the doctors sleep in the enclosure, but go to their own homes after dark and leave again for their Bush before daybreak. This precaution is taken to prevent their being seen by women until they "come out" at the end of the term. Both the boys' and girls' Bush are called Bɔ kpəa(n) ge (the cleared space of the Bɔ cult).

 $M\bar{a}$ $g\varepsilon$, the Big Medicine. The supreme medicine of the Poro is a mask, the symbolic emblem of the devil himself. It is the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits, man's contact with his ancestral gods. The Mano call this $m\bar{a}$ $g\varepsilon$. "It is a devil; not a person, but a wooden face." (That is, $m\bar{a}$ $g\varepsilon$ is not a cult member in the role of devil; it is a mask.) The Loma, who say this mask is "what the Bush devil used to swear upon," call it $kpwade\ pa$ (gun kill [me]). The Ge and Gio also have it.

The $m\tilde{a}$ ge rests on the ground just inside the Poro entrance while the school is in session. According to the Mano, it is placed on a rice fanner. From descriptions we conclude that it must be made like a mask we saw with two legs at the back to prop it up, like a picture frame.

The mã ge is cared for by the old man who cooks for the boys. It is carried into a hut when it rains and taken back to its place when the rain is over. When the rice fanner wears out it is replaced.

The boys coming into the Bush must all swear upon the $m\tilde{a}$ ge at a certain point in the initiation ceremony.⁴⁸ Visitors must also take an oath upon it.

Visitors may include initiated men, and those women who have entered the men's society. 44 They must first swear that they have not had

⁴¹ See pp. 125–26. ⁴² See below, p. 280.

sexual intercourse the night before. "If the visitor has had such relations he cannot come in, but must sit on a chair on the other side. If he should come in it would cause the boys' sores to get big." A visitor must also swear that he brings no "witch" into the Bush, saying, "If I have brought any witch, let it catch me now."

Any palaver in the Bush is also sworn to on the $m\tilde{a}$ $g\varepsilon$.

Split cola nuts are cast before it to ask its decision on important questions, reflecting the authority once exercised by the founder of the Poro as supreme judge over his people.

Every zo carries with him wherever he goes a small replica of this mask, called mã (fig. 91). It may be only z inches long. This small mask is a part of the zo's equipment. Other Poro initiates who "know how to take care of them" may also carry such masks. This implies knowledge of some of the higher degrees in the Bush. An ordinary initiate does not know the palaver.

A boy may inherit a mã mask from his father, as our informant had. This will be held in trust for him until he is ready to be trusted with it. Like its prototype, it is an object of great esteem, not to be looked upon by the uninitiated. "It is the devil himself, the worst of all. It is the mother of devils."

"Every month," according to our informant, "the zo must cook rice for his mã.45 When new rice is harvested the zo cannot eat any until four days later, though other people may eat it at once. After four days the zo takes some fine new rice, mixes it with palm oil, puts some on the little mask, saying, "Today is new rice day; we will eat new rice today." The zo himself does this. Other initiates may be present as onlookers, but the uninitiated may not see it.

"When a journey is to be undertaken the mask is rubbed with palm oil. The owner talks to it, asking for good luck. If he fails to do so, bad luck will follow him. When a big palaver is to be held the man may offer the mask rice, saying: 'Here is your rice. When I go to the palaver you must stand behind me so that I shall weigh heavily in the palaver; so that I may not be lightly looked upon by any person.' A

small fowl may be shown it: 'This is your fowl. When it grows up I will sacrifice it for you.' Such a fowl is known to the community as a sacred chicken or zo fowl, dedicated to the mask.⁴⁶ It may appropriately be killed on the day of eating new rice."

Circumcision and the Circumcision Bush. In Gbunde and Loma all boys must be circumcised before they are taken to the Poro initiation school proper. This may be done at any time from infancy to puberty. The operation is performed by a doctor, who may also be a blacksmith.

Infants are taken behind a house in town. (Loma.) There is said to be no ceremony other than a small "cooking" in celebration of the event. The wound is washed with medicine-free water, after which the infant's mother drops milk from her breasts upon it.⁴⁷ A suitable leaf is then smeared with a paste made by pounding certain leaves wilted over the fire, medicinal earth, and astringent barks and leaves to which a bit of water has been added. (The circumcising zo keeps a supply of this on hand for these occasions.) The leaf poultice is bound around the organ. In two or three days it is removed and a new one put on. This poultice is also applied to older boys.

On these the operation is performed at a place in the forest where temporary shelters have been erected. In the rare instances where a boy has not been circumcised before the time for entering the initiation school (he or his parents may have been afraid to have it done), it is done at a certain place in the grove. The wound is allowed to heal before the boy is "passed on to the devil" for the initiation proper. The treatment is the same as that for infants, except that the boys go daily to the water to be washed. (Gbunde informants.)

One way of performing the operation and treating the wound, as described to us in Mano, is as follows:

Two posts are set into the ground. To these are fastened two cross sticks: one for a seat, the other for a footrest. The boy climbs up and seats himself. A man supports him from behind, holding his arms at the same time. The doctor seizes the foreskin and cuts it off; puts

⁴⁵ See also pp. 364-65. ⁴⁶ Cf. "dedicated offerings," pp. 372-73.

juice from the lolo tree (Harungana madagascariensis) on the wound as an astringent, and wraps a leaf of the zã shrub (Costus sp.) around it like a funnel. This is removed after three or four days, when a new one is applied if necessary. Some said that after the operation, a boy may put on a leaf apron and dance through the town. (While it seems improbable that he would be in a mood to do so at this time, we have seen naked youths of the Basa tribe of the southern Cameroun climb to the roof of a hut and dance there after being "cut," to show the assembled townspeople of both sexes and all ages that they had been "made men." During the time of healing, the boy is supposed to eat rice only. Afterward, when he comes home, there is a small feast to which relatives and friends are invited. The doctor is paid one or two big mats for his trouble.

The implement used to perform the operation is a native razor, a very fine specimen of which was attached to the belt of a Mano smith near Ganta who was the circumcising zo of the local Poro. He refused to part with it, saying it would be "bad palaver" for him to do so because it was medicine. He then kindly offered to make one like it, and shook hands to bind the bargain. Though these razors may cut well, their edges are not always to be compared with our proverbial razor edge. We have been witness to cuttings which might have been more properly termed "sawings," causing the poor

boys to howl to heaven.

Circumcision in Ge and Mano. The following account of practices connected with cir-

cumcision is from a young Ge man:

When the son of a family is to go to the Bush, the head of the family calls all the members together, saying: "Your son goes to Greegree (Poro) Bush. You must come so we can cook chop for God." They take rice and chicken to make a big feast and carry it to the grave of a deceased chief (or ancestor).

The father says: "Oh, my dead father, you must call all the dead people there [spirits] to come and eat here with you. Your son is to go to the Bush. You must come and be God for us. You must help him so he can take the Bush easy. You must bring him good

luck."

The liver and heart of the chicken and some of the rice are put on the grave as the spirits' share. Then all the living family sit down and eat the rest.

** This "eating" is, of course, symbolic language. See

When they finish eating, each in turn takes some cold water and dashes it over his face and on his foot, while invoking the spirits' aid for the boy: "Father, you must help this boy. This my son has never done anything bad against me. We have no palaver. You must help him to be a good boy and to take the initiation easy."

The night before a number of boys start for the Bush, each family observes such suitable worship. Then part of the rice from each pot is put together and set out on the road leading into town. One big old man will carry it there for all the people and put it down, saying: "All you 'die people' [spirits of the dead] coming along this road, you must eat this rice. Let all our boys have good luck in the Bush tomorrow. All our sisters and aunts who have died, you come and eat of this pot of rice in the road." If such an offering was not made to them, one of these female spirits might appear to the boy in his sleep that night, deceiving him by giving him some fatal medicine and telling him it was good medicine. This might cause his death when the devil "eats him" [when he is circumcised1.48

Much or all of the night is spent in revelry and dancing by the entire village. This is the last time the boy is seen by his family until he leaves the Bush. The next morning, before daybreak, the boys are taken into the Bush.

This informant had recently been to the Bush himself. He said that the night before he went, a dead sister appeared to him in a dream, telling him that if he would take the eggs of a small lizard, mix the contents with white chalk, and rub it on his forehead, he would have good luck, become a favorite among the initiates, be a big man in the country, and receive presents from everyone. He awoke before dawn and did as his sister had told him. When the procession started for the Bush the authorities ordered the other boys to pick up his chair and carry it at the head of the procession. Big people brought him presents. So he entered the Bush. There was much firing of three guns all day. The boy bled profusely after the circumcision and fainted away, remaining in a stupor until someone noticed him and called a halt in the merry-making. He then made some medicine for the boy, reviving him somewhat, and demanded of him whether some person (spirit) had appeared to him the night before and told him anything. He said "Yes" and repeated what his sister had told him. Immediately he began to recover from his dazed condition.

below, p. 284.

"So it is with a person who receives a 'tip' from a spirit. He becomes a general favorite, but pays for his exhilaration by having a hard

time when the operation is done."

According to this same informant, there used to be a session of the Poro Bush every three years. Anyone was a "small boy" until he had been initiated. He could not own property. He could not be convicted of a crime. If a palaver was brought against him the answer was: "Oh he is a small boy, like a goat. A goat has no sense."

The Government has for several years forbidden the sessions of the Poro in this tribe, so there are now young men who have not had a chance to be initiated. An ambitious young chief of a town near Ganta has not been initiated. When a session of the Bush is one day held, and this man and others like him attend, they will lose all their wealth, also their wives, because as "small boys" they have no right to anything. Any debt contracted by an uninitiated man is canceled when he goes to the Bush. If an initiate should return and take the wives he formerly held, the devil would kill him. In old times, no uninitiated boy could legally marry before going into the Bush. Even if his father willed him a woman, he could not claim her unless she was held in trust for him by a big brother, uncle, or other relative, until he had become of age by being initiated. It is expected that these uninitiated chiefs will go to a big zo and pay a big fee for medicine powerful enough to allow them to retain their wives and other worldly possessions after they come from the Poro initiation school.49

During the night of March 3, 1928, the first night we were at Sakripie (Mano), the local boys came out of their Bush. They had been in from the time of the late rice harvest, sometime in November. In the morning of the fourth of March a youth about eighteen years old, one of this company, came to see us. From him we learned that the party had remained in their Bush during the whole of that time without once leaving it. They lived in two shelters

which the two circumcising zo men (kpwe, he called them) had erected for them. His mother sent him his food during all this period. He, in turn, sent her part of the fish that he caught with a net she had sent him. He also sent her meat of the animals that he killed with bow and arrows he made in the Bush. His mother danced about the town in the fullness of her joy at his safe return, while her pots were on the fire cooking food for the small feast she was making to celebrate the event. This youth was neither overdressed nor kaolin-smeared as were the boys we had seen in Kpelle after they had "come out."

The Circumcision Bush in Gio. The practice in Gio is substantially the same as in Ge. The following is from a Gio B5 cult member:

The men's B5 is for men only. Before a boy goes to the B5 he is called *dua*. When he comes out he is *kpwea* [cut one]. All boys must go there to be cut. If they do not, no woman will marry them. They are "dirty." They are not men.

The Bush can be begun at any time. If it is in the rainy season, shelters are built. In these the boys stay during the daytime. At night they go home to their own houses. The zo who has charge of them also re-

turns to his house.

There are three kinds of devils in the B5. The ge zo or $d\varepsilon$ zo is the first [the leading one, if we rightly interpreted his statements]. The second is the B3 ze zo. He is the cutting devil, the one who cuts the boys in the Bush. There are from one to four of these, depending up the size of the town. The third devil is the $d\varepsilon$ $k\varepsilon$ zo, the medicine-making zo. The women can speak the name of the ge zo. He has a crier and an assistant who interprets his talk to the people. This crier is also his messenger. The ge zo devil's talk is called ye. This devil goes naked while in the Bush with the boys.51 When he comes out, he must be seen only by the initiates. These cry, "Ke yu! Ke yu!" to warn the women and children so they can run and hide themselves. His crier talks with a bull-roarer. In the evening, when the boys come out to go to their homes, they also "make bull-roarer talk" to warn people away. They must not see women and children until they are released from the Bush. A ge zo can conduct only one Bush school at a time. When a big person or a chief dies, the ge zo comes to officiate and help the B5 members with the funeral rites. No women may

⁴⁰ This school was held in 1943, and arrangements were made to preserve the *status quo* without fatal results. In 1930 there were two circumcision Bushes for boys conducted in towns near Ganta (Mano), but they were not the real thing.

⁸⁰ Here and in Mano some gave as the reason for women's desiring men who have been circumcised, that it makes the male organ "harder."

⁸¹ This is denied by some, see above, p. 270.

be present. For "small" [ordinary] cult members he does not come.

When the time comes for the Bush to begin, boys who are too young may be excused. When they are big, if they want to wait longer, they must pay the $g\varepsilon$ zo a fowl and a mat. Later, if they refuse to come, they are caught and brought into the Bush. The devil cannot go into their houses to catch them. They may be seized outside.

Parents can send their children to other tribes to be cut there but this is frowned upon. Sometimes boys of other tribes come to the Gio Bush. While the boys (and girls, too) are in the Bush, no war is brought to that region; all people respect the Bush. [This is also true in Gbunde, Loma, and Mano.] The boys stay in for only a few weeks until they have healed from the cutting and the $g\varepsilon$ zo is ready to release them. Some boys heal quickly, some do not. They may be in only three or four weeks but sometimes it is longer.

In the Bush, after they have been cut, the B5 26 20 puts water [sap] from a small tree on the cut. Then he puts a leaf made into a cone over the organ. A new one can be put on at any time. The boys wear these for about two weeks; after that they wear raffia fiber skirts.

While they are in the Bush, the boys go naked, except for the leaf cone or the raffia skirt. Their ge zo does the same. Mothers bring food to the Bush and leave it at the fence for their sons. While in the Bush the boys can get instruction in things they do not already know. They can begin to learn to make bags or mats; to learn something about hunting and fishing; how to shoot with bow and arrows; how to get palm wine and make it taste good [ferment quickly]. The boys choose what they wish to be instructed in. But there is nothing taught about sex matters or medicine, nor about religion or laws. [This differs from other tribes.]

When the time comes to leave the Bush, they all go to the water and bathe. The $d\varepsilon$ $k\varepsilon$ zo then brings a big vessel filled with medicine ["Holy Water" as it were]. With their hands they all scoop up some of this and massage their bodies and limbs with it "plenty plenty." This is for good fortune. They then put on their clothes and come into town. There is a great stir in town, with drumming and dancing. While this is going on, their relatives and friends are cooking a feast for everyone. After the feast, presents are brought to the zo's by anyone who feels inclined to make gifts. [Money is now preferred.] The town chief must also contribute. The B3 ze zo keeps over a third of all these gifts for himself; the rest is divided between the other two classes of zo's. The chief then gives the B5 ze zo a new cloth, or its equivalent, for himself. Each household then takes its own boy home, dancing around him as they go. He, too, is given presents and dressed up in all the cloth and other wearing apparel they have given him. From now on, for a whole month, he must not wash or bathe in the presence of a woman.

If a boy dies during the Bush period, the ge zo is said to have taken him because he was born a witch-person. Sometimes his parents are told that he had played with witch things while in the Bush, so the B5's big medicine which was stronger, "got" and killed him.

The ge zo puts no devil's marks on the boys as does the devil in Mano, because we Gio do not like those marks. We want our bodies smooth. [After having been told this, we observed more closely the bodies of men and boys and failed to note any cult scarification marks.] We do not get a new name in the Bush. We do not become new persons as the Mano do, so we are not released from debts that we had when we went into the Bush.

The Poro Initiation School. After circumcision comes the further initiation into the Poro. The length of a term is said to be, theoretically, four years, alternating with a three years' recess, during which the Sande school is in session. The Sande course is followed in turn (theoretically again) by a rest period of three years. In practice, there is much variation among the different tribes. The last session for the Pandamai region of Gbunde ended in 1923, after the school had been in continuous session for six years. The Sande had been in session a year when we were there at the end of April, 1928, and was to continue for a year more. After this session ended, there was to be a new session for the boys. When the people decide that the time for a new session has come, the clan chief and others who make the preliminary arrangements are approached by the elders. A council follows, and the time is set for the opening.

Rounding Up the Candidates. The place where a boy shall attend is optional with his sponsor; there is no hard and fast rule. If a boy or girl for some reason is at a place where a school is about to be opened, he is very likely to be sent to it if parents or sponsors agree. For instance, there happened to be a Gbande girl visiting at Pandamai (Gbunde) when the girls' school was about to open there. Since the cult leaders insisted and her parents consented, she was taken in over the protests of the chief and other local worthies who, for some reason, objected to this "stranger's" going into their Bush.

The length of time a boy must spend in the school also varies. In the Pandamai school mentioned above, for example, some remained throughout the whole period, while others the very young sons of zo's — were there only a few days. Our Gbunde guides from Pandamai to Monrovia had been in for only a year. One of our Loma interpreters had been in his local Bush for two years; his father had been in the same length of time. Some go in as the session is about to end — just in time to get the "devil's marks." Timid parents, or those who do not wish to have their sons go through all the strenuous training, usually arrange to have their boys' attendance limited to a short period - perhaps a few months only - by making a payment to those in charge of the Bush. According to our Loma interpreter, who was a zo, it is customary in his clan for the older boys to enter from four to six months ahead of the younger.

The best time for the opening of the school seems to be after the rice has all been harvested and the dry season has set in, about the beginning of November. While entrance is supposed to be voluntary, and the boys to be awaiting in joyous anticipation the time when they will be considered real tribesmen, the school seems to be dreaded by most of them. This is not to be wondered at after all they have heard whispered about the Big Devil and what a reception he has prepared for them. One may imagine the sensations and the talk among these boys as they tremblingly await the time when they, too, will be "caught" if they are not first brought to the Bush by their

sponsors.

The younger boys make toy wooden weapons — each, the kind he feels he can use best. With these they play at "killing the devil," discussing the while how and when to do it. Some of them make small kinja's (carrying frames) for themselves, in which to carry "that devil" home after they have killed him. Others make these frames for the purpose of putting pieces of him into it after they have dismembered him. These are to be sent to a brother who may have been caught and taken into the Bush. Passers-by seeing them at this play will jokingly ask, "Well, which piece am I to get

when you have cut him up?" But alas for their imaginary exploits. One morning they awaken to find that during the night the devil has entered the house and taken all these weapons. After breaking them, the collectors hang them on the entrance fence to the Poro grove. Then the boys are told to go and see who has come and what he has done. Several of these fences seen as we passed through north Kpelle presented a most interesting sight with their collections of these devil-slaying weapons. 52

Most boys then go and enter with as much bravery as they can muster. It is a matter of pride in some families that no son of theirs has

ever hesitated.

The women of the family often escort the boy as far along the road as they are allowed to go. (Mano.) His mother especially will be dressed up for the occasion, wearing little except girdles of beads and *Achatina* snail shells, with white clay smeared on her face or ankles She may wear many ornaments: anklets, bracelets, neckpieces, and so on. Once we saw an old woman with a toy gun with which she made a great pantomime of shooting the devil. She had used it on several previous occasions and now used it when her grandson was going.

When a group of boys is going in the whole town turns out to make merry, and the road is full of parading men, women, and children going and coming for hours. They sing and dance all the way from town to the road barrier and back again, stopping at the house of any friend to break the glad news and receive a congratulatory present. One gets the feeling that all this ceremonial rejoicing is covering up a great deal of anxiety, if not fear, on the part of the mothers. It is taboo to cry. Everybody is anxious to give the boys a good send-off.

Soon after this the Big Devil and his assistants roam through the countryside for the purpose of seizing the hesitant ones. They even enter the houses in which they know a candidate is hiding and drag him to the grove. Whenever such a luckless boy has been caught the Big

Devil blows his whistle as a sign.

"A mother may be warned that the devil will carry her son away. Sometimes parents connive with the catchers to make easier the capture of their son. The boy may be told to

⁵² See above, p. 277.

go to a certain place on the road, from where he is carried to the Bush. Again, one devil will talk in the Bush; within a minute another one will talk in the town. A man who is sitting talking with the mother in the hut, upon hearing this, takes the boy from the mother's side by force. The boy resists, but it is useless.

"The next day they kill a dog and send the entrails to the mother saying, 'Here is your son whom the devil ate last night.'"

Entrance and Initiation. It is practically necessary for all men to be members of the Poro, for otherwise they have no social standing.⁵³ The novice is most frequently sponsored by his father, but sometimes by an uncle, either maternal or paternal, who is able and willing to finance his nephew. In Mano a maternal uncle is the customary sponsor.

Wherever the Poro is highly developed, the circumcision rite is merely preliminary. Initiation into the "law and order of manhood" follows upon completion of the Poro proper. Upon entering the Poro Bush, the Gbunde, Loma, or Mano boy begins the rebirth rite—the initiation into the religion and higher order of his people—at the end of which he may see the Big Devil himself and know that he is a man and not a spirit.

In Loma there is sometimes a prelude to the initiation rites. A small boy, supposed to be under the influence of "witch," dances with abandon on top of a high pole that has been secretly erected in the town the night before. On top of the pole are a cloth and a rope by which the boy descends when he is through, hooking one index finger over the rope to steady and support himself. If the boy falls he usually dies. The accident is blamed on someone who has bewitched him. When he is to dance, the men bring in a drum that has been hollowed out of a huge log, though only a very small hole is visible. No one knows who hollowed the log; everyone is called to look at it and see that it is not an ordinary drum. It is supposed to be the work of magic. This drum is beaten while the boy dances. The log and the pole with the cloth on top are all in place at sunrise. No one knows how they got there.

As a matter of fact, they are set up by the zo, "protected by much strong medicine."

The first step taken in the initiation ceremonies varies in different regions. Candidates, both voluntary and "caught," may be rounded up and brought before a high fence erected beside or before the entrance to the Poro grove. (Mano.)

"Outside this fence the non-initiates and women gather at one side, the zo people at another place, the candidates near the fence. The head zo chooses seven boys, each of whom he appears to impale on his spear and toss over the fence. The audience sees that the spear is bloody as it 'enters the boy's side just above the liver.' [The boy has been protected by a large cloth and a piece of palm cabbage into which the spear is thrust. It breaks a bladder full of chicken blood.] The boy is lifted high over the head of the zo and passed over the fence. The audience hears the boy fall to the ground, inside the fence, with a thud. [Associates on the other side of the fence catch the boy and simultaneously drop a big stick to produce a dead thud. The boy is really unhurt.]"

This spear performance is not usual in recent days. More frequently, the sponsor leads the novice in through the opening in the grove's entrance fence.

In Gbunde the following procedure was described to us by two persons, both of whom were members of the cult and had become Christians.⁵⁴

Once inside the grove the trembling candidate is stopped by one of the Big Devil's assistants, of the messenger class. This devil begins by asking all sorts of nonsensical questions designed to confuse and mystify the lad, who is not given time to answer any of them. These questions sometimes fail of their object when one of the more mature youths is presented. Instead of becoming confused, he may make impudent replies. For this he is given a sound beating. After the questioning, the boy's sponsor must "buy him free" from the question ordeal. This payment made to the devil is usually a red and a white cola nut, a red cockerel, and a native cloth.

⁵⁸ See p. 417.

It is about the same as that described by Alldridge

for similar initiations in Mende. Alldridge, 1901, pp. 126 ff.

(An Americo-Liberian soldier informed us that when he and his superior, a captain of the frontier force, were made honorary members of the cult, they each had to pay this devil ten white and ten red cola nuts, a red cockerel, and £7/0/0 in cash.)

After the novice has been bought free, he must "fight the devil." The latter seizes the unsuspecting boy, whereupon follows a struggle between the two in which the novice finally wins in some mysterious way and is allowed to go through the second barrier. Here he is received with much shouting, beating of drums, and dancing, by the assembled cult members, and is put in the care of one of the zo's in charge of the school. This zo takes him before the Big Devil. (According to some Mano informants, each day's candidates are brought to him together, not individually.)

Upon seeing him (or them), the Big Devil says: "I see plenty t'ing I nevah see befo'. I go eat all." Thereupon the assistants of the "marking devils" seize the boy, throw him down, and hold him. The zo's begin their task of scarification by rubbing medicine on the skin

to deaden the pain.

The Poro's marks (Polo pale, Loma) are made with a razor and a hooked instrument (fig. 93, d and e) that has one hook for each row to be cut. The number of rows, as well as their position, vary in different tribes 55 (figs. 45, d; 92, b and c). The Mano seem to prefer their markings on the breast. In Gbunde some had theirs on the side or the back. One individual in Gbunde had five rows running down the breast as far as the navel, from there four rows on each side around to the small of the back, then five rows up the back as far as the neck. This is probably the correct or complete marking. In general the rows of scarifications are alike for the individuals of a tribe. In this way it is possible for cult members to tell to which tribe a man belongs and also in which tribe's Bush he was initiated. Other marks are later added when the individual is initiated into higher degrees. Thus those who have attained to the same degree can recognize each other.

This scarification is said to be made by the teeth of the Big Devil in swallowing or "eating"

the novice. From now on, the Big Devil "carries him in his belly." He is in a state of pregnancy, as it were, until the close of the school's session, when those who are still alive are "borne" by him. Those who die, of which there may be several during the long session of a school, are said to "stay in his belly because he cannot bring them out again." Some of the deaths are directly due to infections resulting from the scarifications; others to exposure, weakness, disciplinary ordeals, and other causes.

While theoretically all Poro members "must have the devil's marks put on them," it seems to be optional in Gbunde. Our informant had not been scarified. Another man, aged about thirty years, whom he pointed out, from the town of Daisaba, had no visible scarifications. Nor had Koto, the chief of Pandamai, nor a number of others whom we saw there. The Rev. Mr. Dwalu confirmed their statement to the effect that they had never been marked. According to some of these men a sponsor who objects to his candidates being marked pays the devil called bala fimi two cola nuts, a fowl, and ten to twenty bundles of "irons" (Kisi pennies) of twenty irons each. Others are released from the obligation by paying him the two cola nuts, a fowl, and "seven times seven bundles of

Regarding the origin of these Poro marks, there is a Gbunde tradition to the effect that once, "far, far back," a rich man had so many slaves and servants about him that he was constantly having difficulty in recognizing his own. So he hit upon the idea of having each scarified in a certain manner. Cult leaders later adopted the idea for their own purposes. There is also the folk tale of the Big Devil's swallowing the spider and then giving birth to him with the marks of the devil's teeth on his body.⁵⁶

With the devil's tooth marks fresh on his body, the neophyte is now ready for the next step in the initiation, "the eating of the devil's medicine." This also is a figurative rather than a literal eating, according to our informants in Gbunde, Loma, Mano, and Ge. This medicine is the $m\tilde{a}$ ge, the mask of the Big Devil.⁵⁷ A few drops of blood issuing from the cicatrization wounds of the neophyte are put upon it.

⁵⁷ See p. 449. ⁵⁷ See above pp. 277 ff.

In Gbunde blood from those who have not been marked is obtained by pricking the wrist with a needle-like instrument.

The boy now takes an oath upon the medicine ("he swea' plenty bad t'ing") that he will never reveal anything regarding the cult. In a vivid manner it is impressed upon him how the medicine will "catch" him if he ever does so. During this step in the initiation rites the new member "goes into a close relationship with the medicine and becomes its child." He is now a member of the cult, a ke nai (Loma), "one who has sworn by the name of the Big Devil and can swear again by that name." As soon as his wounds are sufficiently healed he can begin his schooling.

In Gbunde, after he has taken his oath, the cola oracle is consulted as to whether or not the medicine "agrees to accept the candidate." Five of the nuts, split in half, are tossed up, and the position they assume after falling is noted. If they give a favorable answer, one of the nuts is "given" to the medicine. For this purpose the nut is broken in two, one piece laid upon the medicine, and the other chewed by the zo.

Life in the Initiation School. As a new person, the initiate is now given a new name, or he himself chooses one. In Gbunde a new name seems to be optional, but most people follow the old custom. It was said that the old names must never be spoken in the Bush, but Mr. Dwalu heard the boys at Pandamai using them. He also said that in his experience, and so far as he had been able to learn, there was no favoritism shown because of the rank of the sponsor who gave the boy his name.

The dress worn by several Gbunde novices during their stay in the Bush was "so-so clothes"—just what they ordinarily wore or what they felt like wearing. "As we were all men, we were not particular what we had on." In other parts a special dress seems to be worn. Aside from the statement that it is a sort of grass skirt or raffia fringe apron, we have no information.

Mention has already been made of the kind of instruction given. At first, the boys are all in one class, where they learn tribal laws and customs; later, they are divided both according to aptitude and to the position in the tribal society they intend to occupy. No less important than the professions and crafts are two other matters reported by Westermann: ⁵⁸ The boys are taught obedience and they are given instruction in sexual behavior and the management of women. (This is a subject for much discussion even among post-graduates.) The sex instruction is not given to boys who are too young when they enter, but is given later "w'en dey get sense fo' dis t'ing." (Gbunde.)

The food supply is one of the school's greatest problems, if not the greatest. Palm oil is obtained from the nuts cut from the trees near or in the grove. Game is killed and fish are caught by the novices. Food comes from three other sources: the farms planted by the boys themselves under the direction of the school's leaders, supplies brought by parents and relatives, the loot from begging and foraging. For this last, the Big Devil, or a delegate in his stead accompanied by novices, go through the towns at night. They may solicit food or make a raid on the crops. Even with these sources of food there seems to be a chronic state of hunger among the boys, sometimes bordering on starvation. (For that matter, the whole community knows what it is to be hungry just before harvest time.) Boys are fattened up just before they come out.

The only time a boy is supposed to leave the Bush is when he goes out as a member of one of these food-seeking parties or when he gets permission to help with farm work at home. Assurance must be given that he will not see a woman. During all the time he is under instruction and until he officially "comes out" at the end of the session, he must never see one. If he does, it costs him his life. If he has intercourse with a woman during this time, both he and she must suffer the death penalty. Boys do, however, steal out and take the chance of being discovered. Sometimes hunger, sometimes sexual desire is the motive—the latter especially among the more mature youths.

A Gbunde guide told us of a companion who had been in the school with him at Obanyami (Gbunde). He became so hungry that he went to his parents' farm, not too far distant from

⁵⁸ Westermann, 1921, pp. 247-48.

the Poro grove, to get something to eat. There his mother saw him and was shocked by his famished and emaciated appearance. She embraced him and tried to get him to accompany her to town. He refused. In an unguarded moment she bewailed his condition and was overheard by some men. When they learned of what the boy had done he was taken to a spot in the deep forest, where he was given a drink that quickly killed him. Later, when the session ended and all the other boys came home, the mother asked the leaders where they had left her son, whom she had seen alive. As no woman is supposed to see, or even be able to see a boy while he is in the Bush, the cult leaders told her that she must have been mistaken; it was some spirit she had seen, because the devil had swallowed the boy and had not reborne him.

If a boy runs away to town, especially if his scars have not yet healed, he is recaptured and killed at once in the Bush, by strangling with a heavy stick across his throat. When the other boys are brought back to town his mother will find a pot close to her door, a white cross on its upturned bottom, and a hole where the lines cross. This is the usual method of announcing the death of any boy in the Bush. In some regions the pot is broken. It is then that the mother first learns that her son is dead, except in Ge and Gio where a special masked messenger brings the news of deaths to town as they occur. No crying or mourning is allowed.

If a boy runs far away to a strange country and is absent when the other boys come out, his mother is also told that he has been eaten by the devil. If he returns to his own country, he will never be seen again in town, but will live and die in the bush. He may occasionally enter town at night, secretly, and enter the house of the zo, but never any other house.

Coming out of the Bush. The "coming out" ceremony is very important. To miss it is to be considered dead. It takes place at night, after the graduation exercises. A ceremonial washing may first take place.

One bright moonlight night in February we were awakened sometime after midnight by the shooting of guns when the boys of the Kpelle town of Zienshu came out. The Big Devil, with all his zo's and other assistants, led the boys into town where they were received by

the waiting cult members. Women and children hid themselves, as they must when the Big Devil "walks," and within her house each mother wondered anxiously whether the pot with the hole would be found before her door when she came out.

Since we were not initiates, our presence was not desired, but what was told us about the festivities appears to be the general practice. The boys, being "new born," at first pretend to be strangers and to find everything about the town new and unfamiliar. Sometimes they give an exhibition of dances and other things they have learned before the assembled audience.

Great is the rejoicing on the part of reunited families. Feasting and jollification follow. The boys are literally covered with gifts and new clothes in which they strut about town. The groups of boys we saw had a most self-conscious air and bearing (fig. 92, a, d, e). Unfortunately we had to leave the town before the fourth day they were out — the day on which they would be ceremonially washed for the last time. Evidently, from their noisome body odors and kaolin-besmeared heads and faces, this washing was much needed.

When the boys at Pandamai (Gbunde) came out of the last school conducted there they had their ceremonial washing, then put on the new clothes which had been sent in to them. All formed in line and started for the town, led by a zo (not the Big Devil). The chief of Pandamai, dressed in his best and seated on a horse caparisoned in the approved Mandingo style, awaited them. After the zo had made a speech he "gave" the boys to the chief. The chief accepted with thanks. Then he in turn "gave" the boys back to the heads of their respective towns. All made gifts to the zo. There was feasting, dancing, and general merry-making for three days, after which the boys went home.

Influence of the Poro. The supreme authority which the Poro once exercised is being undermined as contact with the coast increases and civilization slowly filters toward the interior. Whatever the unfavorable influences and effects of the Poro have been, it has played a most important part in the social life and economy of the tribes. When the rapid changes that are taking place in the hinterland

at last allow the coming generations to evade its authority, the effect must be most serious, unless some other factor can be brought in to replace the high disciplinary influence it once exercised.

In the old days the Poro was all of religion, law, and politics in one. No important event in the tribal life ever occurred without its sanction. Even war stopped if it interfered with the Poro. Now that law and order have been taken over by the Government, the Poro will probably develop as a true secret society with the emphasis on religion, magic, and the arts. Unfortunately, it is in these very phases that the Poro is becoming weakest, and sometimes actually degraded. The tendency of Christian missions is therefore to oppose the Poro as it exists today in most places. The problem is to understand the old before attempting to suggest a readjustment.

THE SANDE CULT

The Gbunde call the women's Sande cult $Z\bar{a}de\ ku$, sometimes $S\bar{a}d\varepsilon$. In Loma it is the $Z\bar{a}d\varepsilon$ $gi\ zu$ (in the $Z\bar{a}d\varepsilon$ thing [or Bush]). The Ge and Gio call their form of it $B\bar{\jmath}$ or $Bw\bar{\jmath}$, the same as their form of the Poro. In Mano it is $Li\ la\ b\bar{\jmath}$. This, too, means "a cutting" or "to cut," for it is the girls' excision Bush, just as the $K'le\ B\bar{\jmath}$ is the circumcision Bush of the boys. (This is also true in Sapā and Tiẽ and seems formerly to have been true in Gbunde. While the Poro was sometimes referred to by English-speaking Liberians as the "Greegree Bush," this term was more generally reserved for the Sande.

Names used among other tribes not visited by us were Sande or Sanden (Kpelle), Sande or Sandi (Gola and Mende), Bundu or Bondo (Gola, Mende, Temne, and other tribes of Sierra Leone).

What the Poro signifies for males, the Sande signifies for females. "But in consequence of the minor role of woman in public life it is of much less significance." 59

The Sade kwala (Loma) or Sande grove or school is attended by all girls. In Gbunde one or two of our informants had been caught and "carried" in. In Mano it is a law that all

must go; it is a big palaver if one does not. As some of the Gio women seen had never been excised, nor intended to be, it would seem that attendance there is optional. In general it might be more accurate to say that attendance is inevitable rather than obligatory, for the uncut woman has little, if any, social standing. The sentiment of all males questioned was that a "so-so woman," one who had never been to the Bush, was "a thing to be despised; not at all desirable as a wife." A young Vai man refused to take his betrothed to wife until she had been to the Bush. He paid her expenses while there.

In Gbunde the uninitated are called gbolo wa; the initiated, from the time they enter the Bush, are $Z\tilde{a}d\varepsilon$ ki. In Mano they are called the same as the boys: the uninitiated are gbolo; the initiated, kpwea. In Gio the former are dua; the latter, wa go kpwange (they [who have] been in [the] house of spirits).

The primary object of the Sande is fertility. The cult's hope of obtaining its objective lies in the powerful magical influence of which its big leaders are the mediators or bearers, and in the medicines of which they are the guardians. While none of the cult's sacred objects or ritual property may come into the hands of a man or even be touched by one, men as well as women may and do avail themselves of its medicine for procreation when they fail to beget children. The staff of the cult is a horned head with two faces: one a man's, the other a woman's (fig. 94, b, h, i).

The Sanda Leaders. The general name for the Sande leader is zo. In Gbunde she is the wodigi (zodigi?); in Mano, the zo di (zo woman); in Gio, the zo $d\varepsilon$ (zo mother). One would expect to find this position in the local lodge occupied by the head woman or a near female relative of a chief, and this we found to be so at Pandamai but not everywhere. We were led to believe that the highest woman in the cult is one who has been initiated into the men's Bush (Poro).60 She only is permitted to carry a black or red cow's tail, like members of the Poro.61 She is the chief midwife of the town. (Mano informant.) But the real head of the Sande seems to be the Poro Big Devil himself. This was emphatically stated by one

⁵⁹ Westermann, 1921, p. 253.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 268.

⁶¹ See above, p. 275.

of our Liberian interpreters who is an official of high standing in the Poro by hereditary right. "I tell you fo' true, Big Dibble he be head man fo' Zade. He pass all woman dibble fo' big. All woman dibble be him sma' boy [are under him; his servants, literally]." In other words, the Poro Big Devil and his consort control both cults.

The chief woman has a special dance by which she may be recognized intertribally. (Loma.) She wears a piece of cloth, of any color, fastened around her chest. When she begins to dance she takes it off and holds it in her hand. She has neither a special dress nor a mask 62 but she must wear this piece of cloth. One such dancer seen had an old piece of cloth, probably sacred. Its significance the informants either could not or would not tell. Whenever she comes to town to dance while the girls are in the Bush, their parents throw gifts down at her feet - bars of salt, iron money, cloth, or whatever they have. They sometimes take off a piece of the clothing they are wearing and throw it to her. She never stoops to pick up any of these things. Her attendant does it for her.

The big woman seldom sleeps in the Bush with the girls; that is only for her assistants to do.

If those who have been initiated quarrel among themselves in the towns she, the zo di, calls the offenders to talk the palaver. She says, "Didn't I teach you not to quarrel or fight?" She exacts a fine. If blood was drawn, this fine may be as much as four fowls or even a sheep. The fine is cooked and eaten by anyone she invites to share it with her. When a man and a woman quarrel she has nothing to do with it. That is a civil offense for the chief to consider—unless one of the offenders has broken the sanctity of the Poro in making the quarrel. In that case he is tried and sometimes executed in the Poro Bush.

The Sande "big woman" has as assistants other—usually older—women also called zo's. There are also servant and messenger

⁶² According to Alldridge, who writes of the Mende of Sierra Leone, the devil or medicine woman of the second degree in the women's cult appears in a mask. (The leader is third degree.) Alldridge, 1901, pp. 140 ff. Cf. the Poro where most of the devils wear masks, but not the Big Devil, pp. 270 and 277.

classes. These help in the instruction but are under the zo women. In Mano the assistant who catches the girls for the leader is called si. (Si means "to take"; also, "hawk"; also, "spider.") The head woman of the house in which the girls stay during their initiation is called the ko $d\varepsilon$ (house mother). The assistant who sleeps in the house with them is the ya B5. (Ya means "sit down"; B5 is the excision school.)

As the lower grades of the Sande correspond, in general, to those of the Poro one would naturally expect to find corresponding leaders ("devils"). What the facts are in this matter we could not learn.

A Christian woman in Gbunda named the following four classes or degrees common to both cults:

Poro	$Sand \varepsilon$
Kolba - messenger 68	Kuluba
Polo kpwa - cult zo's 64	Jasa
Bala $mal(n)$ af $u(i)$ 65	Nowi
Waisemu 66	Weni - bird women 67

In Loma it is taboo for zo people of both sexes to eat crabs (nakwi). In addition, some of the zo women may never eat fowl, while for others it is taboo only to eat fowl with one who is not a zo. If they disobey they sicken and their "bellies become bloated." The proper meat for a zo is elephant.

When a zo woman who is a member of the midwives' society dies, all its members gather before the big leader's house and there sing their society's songs and dances. The leader then emerges and dances before them, while some beat with iron rods on tortoise shells or on the large end of a bullock's horn. When this performance has lasted long enough they all enter the "big woman's" house to deliberate over the member's funeral.⁶⁸ (Loma.)

A 20 woman, except the leader, must always be buried under the eaves of her house so that the grave may be protected from the elements. Men dig the grave, after which they depart. Then the cult members bury the body with ceremonies appropriate to her standing in the

⁶³ See above p. 273.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 273.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bale mela nafui, above, p. 268.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wei zumo, above, p. 273. ⁶⁷ See below, pp. 307 ff.

es See p. 264.

society. (Loma.) The Mano follow a similar

procedure.

Whenever there is to be a meeting of the 20 women (Loma) they first go to the grave of one of their former members "to throw the word at her." This means, as nearly as we could determine, to inform her spirit of what is about to be done, in order that she may use any influence she has in the spirit world in behalf of her sister cult members.

The Sanda Grove. There are two girls' Bushes, according to a Loma informant. Patamave is the name of the first, where the girls stay for two months. It provides shelters but no real houses. This corresponds to the circumcision Bush of the boys, and it is here that

excision takes place.

When the girls come out of the first Bush they are transferred to the second, which is nearer to a town. This is called Zāde kwala or Zāde kpwakpwa gi zu. There is one house for the zo women; the others are for the girls. These are built by men. When they are ready the clan chief hands them over to the women. At this time the Sande leader makes a feast for the workers, to which all Sande members must contribute. Then the men clear out and the school can begin.

"In the Bush in which I was," a woman told us, "there were girls from three towns. These three towns had joined to have the one Bush for all girls ready to go at that time. There were four square [or oblong?] houses in our girls' Bush, three for us and one for the zo women. They had been built by the men. They were burned after we came out of the

Bush."

According to a Gbunde initiate: "Before a girls' Bush is consecrated one may go to see it. The one here is about twenty minutes' walk back of this town [Pandamai]. [We heard the lamentations for a zo woman who had died in this Bush when we were outside the south entrance to the town.] There were four houses with thatch roofs and stick walls. There were no mud walls. I wished again to visit the place before the girls went in, but was not permitted to do so because the place had already been "baptized" [her expression] by the chief, the town zo's, and the zo women. After this ceremony only zo women are allowed to go into the Bush, except by special permission. The

path leading to it may be officially closed by a mortar placed across it. There is a stream near it so the girls can get water, wash, and catch fish.

"After the men have finished building the houses," said another Gbunde woman, "the zo men and women and the chief go to the place. They make medicine and consecrate it. Then they set up sticks which have been used to pound rice in mortars, maybe two or more of them, in the center of the cleared space around which the houses are built. After this no person except the Greegree Bush women may go inside the Bush."

Old Gbunde men and women related that their girls' Bush was formerly like that of the Gio. The girls went into a house in town and stayed there. A fence of raffia fronds was built at each side of the back door. This fence extended to the jungle on the edge of town so the girls could not be seen as they came and went. They stayed only a few weeks in this house.

Gio girls still use such a house (probably for cult and medicine purposes) on the edge of town. On each side of the back door are palm thatch fences for privacy (fig. 95, a). The front door is well guarded. The Gio girls remain in their Bush for some time.

A Mano woman at Sanokwele told us: "Each town has its big woman of the women's Bush as well as its big man for the men's. When the big woman thinks it is time to begin a school for the girls she goes to the big man of the boys' Bush and tells him so. If he agrees he says, 'We will go and ask the [town] chief.' If the chief is willing the work is begun.

"Each town has its own Bush for girls. The town chief calls the initiated men to come to clear the ground and build the houses. If anyone who is called refuses to come it is a big palaver. He may be fined as much as a bullock. Before the men begin work, very early in the morning, the big man of the boys' Bush and the big woman of the girls' go out to the place to make medicine for its success. If no one dies in the grove during the school session it is a sign that the medicine was good. After this medicine has been made the men can begin work."

The houses are rectangular. This sort of house is called *budu*. The ordinary round house

is ka. When they are all built the zo women make a feast. Everyone eats of this — men, women, and children. Tobwe Zuru and Filika were the two, the first man and first woman, who chose the site for the girls' Bush at Sanokwele. They made the first medicine for it.

Sometimes a Bush or school in a certain town may "die." For some considerable time there had been none at Tapi Town, owing to the death of the people who were able to conduct it. Girls of that town went to some near-by Bush. After a time the mother of our zo informant revived it, and she herself carried on after her mother's death.

Duration of the Girls' Bush. Like the boys, the girls usually go into their Bush at the beginning of the dry season. The girls at Pandamai had entered in December, 1927, and were to remain there for two years. The girls of Vonjama (also in Gbunda) go in at about the same season, for "only three to five moons." Gbunda girls on the French side are said to remain for three years. Some of the Loma women had gone in at farm-cutting time; others, at "rice-scratching" (planting) time.

In various parts of Mano women had gone into the Bush at the beginning of the dry season. Some had remained for two moons; others, for two moons and two weeks. This was only the excision Bush, not the complete ritual school. Here and there in Mano a girls' Bush may be conducted more after the manner of those in Gbunde and Loma, remaining in session for two or three years.

In Gio the girls went in on March 7, 1929, to remain for two months. In this tribe the short camp completes the girls' education; there is no

high ritual.

At Tapi Town, a week later, we saw cult members escort a husky maiden to the Bush that was about to open a session there. One of them carried the girl on her shoulders for at least as far as we could see along the road—a

distance of about a mile (fig. 94, g).

Girls in Gbunde and Loma, where the course is theoretically two or more years, need not necessarily remain for the full session, but may elect to remain only a few months. This depends upon what and how much a girl wishes to learn and how much she has already learned from her mother. The age of entrance is from seven to twelve or thirteen years. A girl either

married or unmarried may have had one or more children before she enters. (Mano and Gio.) A married girl (Mano) is not allowed to enter the Bush at her husband's town; she must go into the one at the town from which she comes. If a girl is pregnant before entering, and this is discovered only after she has entered, she must remain in the Bush until she has been delivered of her child. (Gbunde.)

Girls are not permitted to go outside their Bush until the end of the session, but a mother may visit her daughter at any time. Upon entering the grove, the visitor takes off all she is wearing and goes unclad to ask permission at the house of the zo woman who cares for her daughter. If this is granted she puts on her clothing before going to her daughter.

If a girl becomes ill her mother is notified. She may then come to care for her daughter. If the girl dies the mother may inform the father. She does not have to wait until the girls come out of the Bush. (Loma informants.)

All girls who die while in their Bush are said to have bewitched themselves (supposedly, but not necessarily, poisoned themselves). (Mano and Gio informants.)

Entrance and Initiation into the Sands or B5. When everything is ready for a session of the Sands to begin, the paths leading to the Bush are closed by laying tofa plants across them. From now on, males must stay away. By uttering certain loud cries very early in the morning, the cult leader or an assistant makes it known that the girls may now enter. Mothers accompany their daughters to the entrance of the Bush and there hand them over to an assisting zo woman, who takes them to the leader.

In Mano there is a week or two of feasting, dancing, and merry-making before the girls go in. On the morning they are to enter, the women of the town begin to catch straying girls, if their mothers do not have them under their care, and take them to the Bush. Those who struggle are carried there. While this is going on, the men of the town keep on dancing to the accompaniment of drums. In one town in Gio a number of the girls were in a rectangular house in the center of the town, waiting to go the next day (fig. 95, a). The house had a veranda with raffia-fringe curtains over the entrance. Before it was a mortar, partly imbedded in the ground. From each side

of this to the entrance of the house there lay on the ground a semicircle of tofa plants. In the doorway of the house sat an elderly woman. When we inquisitively stepped over the tofa plants and under the curtain of the veranda, we were frantically repelled by the old woman. Even more frantically, an elderly man came rushing over from where he was sitting at the palaver house. Since we had retreated before he came up to us he went back, but for the half hour we were compelled to let our carriers rest here he never for a moment stopped talking about it, telling every new arrival what we had done.

In another Gio town in which we camped one night, preparations for the entrance of the girls had been under way during the day of our arrival and continued through the night and the next morning. After a day's feasting and jollification the women and girls, most of whom were wearing cast-brass bell anklets, danced in and out among the huts through all parts of the town. The sound made by the anklet wearers resembled that of a continuous procession of passing sleighs in the New England country villages with which we were familiar in our boyhood. Still dancing the next morning many of the women, in ritual ecstasy, opened out their cloths in front and exposed their persons to the view of all the assembled townsfolk.

At the back of the Bush house at the edge of the town was a newly made fence curtained with raffia. This fence cut the hut off from the rest of the place. Two other huts near this enclosure with raffia-fringe curtains hung over their doors were for zo women (fig. 95, c). When Mrs. Schwab went to investigate she was at first forbidden to approach the houses; no stranger was allowed near. As she stood there some young girls, much decorated with white clay, came strolling around. Then two women carrying pots of water on their heads came from the near-by spring or water hole. Seeing that Mrs. Schwab was interested and apparently had no idea of leaving, the guardians of the hut finally told her that she, being a women, might enter, but that all men must keep out. There was nothing in this house to indicate that it was used for cult purposes.

Near these houses there appeared two women dancing alone. Their bodies were entirely covered with white clay. Each held a sprig of green leaves in one hand. These two women were followed by a third, decorated like her cult sisters. On her head she wore a sort of wreath woven of lycopodium. (Much the same type of wreath, made of the same plant, is worn by the head of the midwives' cult of the Basa of the southern Cameroun.) After the appearance of these three worthies, the dance of the others became more and more enthusiastic. Some of the participants even cast aside whatever they happened to be wearing. One of these had her head newly shaven. Next, two women appeared from the enclosure behind the hut where the girls were to be kept, each carrying a girl on her shoulders astride her neck. The girls were paraded about for a time. Then the dancers gathered near the enclosure in which a number of other girls had now appeared. Some men joined the group and were not sent away.

Unfortunately, at this stage of the proceedings we were told that at last carriers had been found to take us on, and that if we did not wish to lose them, we had best go at once, which we did.

When girls are handed over to the zo woman, who takes them to the leader, their mothers or sponsors make her a small gift of whatever they may have and can most easily spare. Whatever clothing or ornaments the neophyte is wearing at the time become the property of the "big woman." (The girl we saw being carried to the Bush in Gio was entirely naked except for a wide bead belt around her waist.)

Inside the Bush the procedure corresponds more or less to that of the Poro. (Gbunde and Loma.) There is first a "washing" with white clay in water. This may be repeated, the clay being rubbed in several times. After this the girls are supposed to be under special protection of the spirit world.

After these preliminary rites comes the excision of the clitoris and Labia minorae. For this a native razor is used. In Gbunde the excised parts are beaten in a mortar, cooked with rice, and eaten by the girl from whom they were cut. Before partaking of this dish she swears on it. "If I reveal any of the Sande's secrets, may I die." This oath is "like swearing on herself."

According to some Gio informants a man zo may sometimes perform the operation. One 20 woman who told us that she performed it upon the girls of that region pointed out the ne to (razor basket) — "a Greegree fetish," our interpreter called it - of which she was guardian, hanging from a peg in the wall of her

"When the Bush has begun I take this basket down, cover it with a cloth, and carry it out to the place where the girls are to be cut. This is on a path outside the town. The girls are led there. Women guard the path, turning back everyone who comes that way. An assistant chosen beforehand takes the ne to from me. She sits on the path holding this fetish on her lap while the cutting is being done. Afterward I take the ne to from the assistant, put it on my head, and carry it back to its place in the house."

When this operation is over (Gio), the zo women of the place come together. A mat is laid upon the ground, where parents, relatives, and friends of the initiates put all sorts of gifts the "pay for cutting." When the 20 women are satisfied with the quantity, their leader takes up one cloth from the heap for a sacrifice to the ne to. (It is with such a cloth that the razor basket is covered when it is taken out.) The frequent use of cotton cloth for ritual and for covering medicines suggests the possibility that in the old days the weaver's guild was a sacred cult.69

The outcome of these operations is not always happy. Some girls die of fright while it is being done; some bleed to death; others perish of infections. Five girls in a "small Bush" near Tapi Town whose wounds had refused to respond to the treatments of local zo people were reported to have been cured by a leech called in from another region. 70 He "drove the sickness away."

The object of excision was variously stated. Some Gbunde said that women could not have children unless they were cut. It is generally said to be done for sanitary reasons. "It helps keep those parts cleaner, just as cutting off the hair does." Husbands want it done to keep their wives "cooler"; for women who have not been excised are believed to have more sexual desire than those who have been.

In Loma the neophyte is scarified before she may marry.⁷¹ Scars noted on Loma girls were in groups of three, about an inch long. There were at least three rows of these extending across both hips and the small of the back, one group of three scars falling in the exact center of the small of the back. These scars are we ya gi in Gbunde; we gi, in Loma. According to Christian school girls in Loma, "a man scarifies the girls with a razor and rubs ashes of plantain skins into the wounds. The scars sometimes heal in a week." This scarification corresponds to the marking of the boys in the Poro. It follows and is entirely separate from excision.

Dress of Girls in the Bush. The Gbunde and Loma girls sometimes go about entirely naked in the Bush, or wearing merely a piece of cloth in front, like a very small apron. A cylindrical hat of woven mat work may also be worn. Mano mothers and sponsors give the zo woman in charge old loin cloths for their daughters so that they need not go uncovered.

The Food Supply in the Bush. The girls, like the boys, in Gbunde and Loma make a farm and raise as much as possible of their own food. This is supplemented by gifts from parents, relatives, and friends. All the work of clearing for planting is done by women initiates assisted by the girls. In Mano, GE, and Gio the making of farms is now impracticable because of the shortness of the sessions now permitted by the Government. In these tribes the mother carries the food her daughter needs to the Bush, where a zo woman receives and gives it to the girl. The cooking seems to be done in common, each girl helping as she is able. Hunger is no stranger here, any more than in Gbunde and Loma, where the term is longer. In discussing this subject a zo woman at Sanokwele (Mano) volunteered the information that hunger sometimes led to tragedy. She cited the instance of a girl who had "bewitched

⁶⁹ Cf. p. 128.

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 383.

⁷¹ Kpelle women sometimes have very elaborate designs scarified on the abdomen and breast, showing

high standing in the Bush. One is not supposed to openly notice these designs, which are often quite attractive. Such beauty must be admired with discre-

herself to die" during the last session of the girls' Bush. The girl's mother was dead, her father neglected to send her any food, and no one else provided for her. Sorrow and shame, as well as hunger, impelled her to kill herself.

This seems to be no isolated case. We were told of young people in other parts (boys as well as girls) who had killed themselves because they had felt neglected by one or both parents while they were in the Bush. They probably use a slow poison. When a boy or girl becomes sick from such a cause the parents are sent for. They make confession of their faults and ask forgiveness, presenting the sick child with a cola nut, a fowl, and a cloth. This seems often to have a healing effect; but in some instances the child refuses to be appeased, and dies.

Safeguards and Taboos in the Sanda. Near the entrance to the girls' Bush (Gbunda) are two fences made of tofa plants, hung with a leaf called popainda. In the space between these fences there stands continually on guard a witch catcher who is a "Molegi and Melai man" (belongs to both societies). His duty is to protect persons in the Bush from any matai or gove which tries to enter with malicious intent.⁷² But sometimes, despite the witch catcher's presence, a witch manages to get inside and make trouble. During the Sande's last session at Pandamai (Gbunde) one girl sickened and died, and at once it was said that witches were about. One night all the local members of the witch catchers' society were called out to hunt their quarry. They found that a witch had taken possession of two other girls, one of whom was pregnant. This girl confessed that she had known and concealed the fact when she entered the Bush. This concealment was held to be the cause of all the mischief. The witch was "extracted" from her and she died soon after.73

Male members of these witch-catching societies may go to the space between the fences where their fellow member is on guard. Certain others (usually zo's) may be called by the "big woman" to help in some of the rites. If

one of them ever discloses anything he has seen there, his scrotum will enlarge by way of punishment.⁷⁴ To all other men, the girls' Bush is taboo, as the Poro is for women.

"Sometimes, in order to watch the girls in the Bush, a man enters into a 'bamboo' [baboon—meaning a chimpanzee] and secretes himself near the stream where they bathe. If he is discovered, word is sent to a hunter to come quickly and kill him. The 'bamboo' is killed, and the person whose familiar 75 he was sickens." Any man becoming suddenly ill at such a time is accused and dealt with as the guilty party. Even if no one sickens there is always a suspect. He usually gets something put into his food "to make him belly so he get plenty big" (cause swelling of the abdomen).

"Men need not necessarily die because they see women in the Sande; it is only women who must die if they see men in the Poro. Men only sicken or are punished in some way for the offense.⁷⁶

A girl in the Sanda is not punished for seeing a man (as is a boy for seeing a woman while in the Poro Bush), but she must never speak to one.

Education in the Sande and B5. How much girls learn while in the Bush school depends, naturally, upon the length of time they spend there. They receive instruction in singing and dancing, cooking, midwifery, and the ways of winning a husband's affection. They also get an extensive course in the use of poisons, including the art of witchcraft and the catching of witches — though poisons are to be used only in cases of extreme necessity. This knowledge possibly accounts for much of the respect the native man shows to his wives. Women in these tribes have a much better standing in the community than do many women in much more civilized countries in the Orient. They are in a position to demand their rights.

"In the B5 (Gio) girls are taught to be obedient to parents and brothers, and to care for them. Cooking they have learned at home before they go in, if they are not too young. If a girl has a child before she enters she is taught

⁷² See below, pp. 303 ff.

⁷⁸ See below, p. 303.

[&]quot;Elephantiasis of the scrotum (fig. 98, e).

⁷⁵ See pp. 355 ff.

⁷⁹ Cf. women entering into owls to look on during Poro initiations; below, p. 356.

how to care for it. She is not taught anything about remedies for its illnesses. That is medicine [leechery] which is men's palaver.77 Girls are also taught honesty and chastity as we know these." (Mano informants.)

According to one very reliable source of information there is a school of medicine in the Sande. All really "big women" know the art of making herb remedies. They are entitled by birth to this knowledge, and they begin as young girls to follow the women of this profession. They may continue their studies for years, returning to the Sande from time to time to learn more. A woman's degree of standing is known to other women of the cult by the dances she is allowed to do in public.78 Often a young woman who has danced will be congratulated by her friends, and embraced, and given presents that seem uncalled for, unless one knows what it is all about. Some women leeches practice their profession openly, and a few attain a considerable reputation, even becoming specialists.

Coming Out from the Sands or B5. In Gbunde and Loma, where there are much longer sessions of the Bush schools, the coming out is naturally an event calling for much greater ceremony and festivity than in Mano, Ge, and Gio. The details are, in general, much like those described by Westermann 79 for the Kpelle.

Mano informants told us: "The girls are completely whitened with clay. On their heads are the tall, cylindrical hats of woven matwork called sabi. (These are made by men.) They wear small, tight-fitting clouts of country cloth and have a piece of cloth a yard square tied around the waist like a skirt. They dance and feast for three or four days on the food prepared for this occasion before they left the Bush. During all this time they must not talk to a male. Neither may they enter a house, but must sleep in the town's big palaver house. At the end of the days of feasting and dancing they go to a stream, wash, and are ceremonially purified by their zo women. They then put on the gifts with which their parents and relatives have presented them. These are clouts,

skirts, strands of beads, headdresses, and silver ornaments."

In Mano and Gio girls are washed ceremonially by a zo before they come out. When the time for coming out has arrived the "big woman" goes to the chief and informs him, "My part is finished." He then takes the necessary steps to prepare for the girls' reception. Presents of new cloths and ornaments are sent to them. Before they put these on they have their foreheads shaved for about an inch above the line of hair growth, and their hair braided to form an elaborate ridged coiffure.80

Before the girls are handed over to their parents, the zo women must be paid. They may get as much as ten cloths or their equivalent from the parents and other relatives collectively. If all the girls who entered the Bush are brought back safe and sound and are reported not to have been sick while there, the chief usually gives the zo's two or three sheep or goats to kill and cook for themselves and their charges. (Mano.)

After these preliminaries, and other ceremonies about which we have no knowledge, feasting and dancing, shooting of guns, and general merry-making are indulged in by all the townspeople, as in Gbunde and Loma.

BUSH SCHOOLS IN SAPA AND TIE

Unlike the Half-Grebo, Grebo, and Kru, who practice neither circumcision nor excision, the Sapa and Tie practice both. Their customs much resemble those of the Gio.

The men and women who perform the operations are called zo (also so) in Tie, and sou or zo in Sapa. The girls' Bush is a house with an enclosure in the rear, as described above, 81 for the Gio. The boys' (Tie) formerly was of the same construction as that of the girls. The time for both sexes to go to the Bush is at the new moon when the rice is being harvested. "We go in at this time because there is plenty to eat, and therefore we do not think of our troubles."

Our principal informant in Tie, a "king woman" (paramount chief's wife), herself a zo, had just finished her Bush before we reached her town at the end of June. (New rice was

[&]quot;This does not apply to all tribes. See above, p. 275. 78 See above, p. 275.

⁷⁰ Westermann, 1921, pp. 261 ff. ⁸⁰ See p. 115. ⁸¹ See above, p. 289.

being eaten in some parts of Sapa and Tie.)

Before this woman would talk to us she had all the uninitiated women and girls present

leave the house and its vicinity.

Most of the children, she told us, are given to the zo or sou by their parents or sponsors; some go voluntarily; occasionally, one must be taken forcibly. The girls go in young, "befo' dey bo'n [bear] small boy." Formerly it was firmly believed that no maiden could bear a child until she had been excised. Now that the people know better some girls are not being cut.

As the girls or boys are handed over to the zo the latter is given a present, as in the north. Early in the morning, after the gifts have been given, the boys or girls are taken to the side of a stream or pool near the place where the town gets its cooking and drinking water. The zo man or woman, in both Sapã and Tië, sacrifices a white fowl, and allows its blood to run upon the path leading to this place. The fowl and some rice are then cooked and palm oil poured over the rice. Both the zo and the neophytes eat of it and place a morsel of the fowl and rice upon the path beside the shed blood.

Sometimes, in Tiɛ̃, it is the girls who go first, the boys going on the following day; sometimes it is the reverse. Only initiates may be present to assist or look on at operations.⁸² These may be performed by either a man or woman sou in Sapã; in Tiɛ̃, a woman zo operates upon the girls, and a man zo upon the boys.

When taking the girls to the waterside, and during the operation, the zo woman (Ti\(\tilde{\epsilon}\)) wears a special dress. This consists of one-half the lopped-off end of an oilpalm frond that has been split lengthwise along the midrib. Before she fastens this to her waist, medicine is put on it to keep witch influences from the girls. (The other half of the frond she keeps, and upon her return to town, after performing the operation, she places it upon the roof of the house in which the girls stay, over the entrance to the rear door.) Before she begins the operations the zo woman makes surpassingly powerful

medicine to catch and kill any person who attempts to bewitch her charges during the time they are in her care.

Both girls and boys are "cut" with any ordi-

nary native razor.

In Tie the manner of performing the operation upon girls is this: Leaves are laid on the ground, upon which the girl lies down. Assistants hold her legs spread apart while her private parts are washed with water containing medicine.83 The zo then firmly holds the clitoris and begins cutting.84 To stop the flow of blood she now takes up a roasted green plantain, cut transversally, and blows upon the wound through the hole which opens through the center during the roasting. She next applies an astringent, which is usually effective, but sometimes not. Girls sometimes bleed to death, and sometimes they die of infection. In either event, someone is believed to have succeeded in practicing black magic. This necessitates an investigation to find the guilty party. If the accused denies guilt he (or she) must prove his innocence in a trial by ordeal. 85

Until the blood flow has been staunched the girls must sit upon a billet or log ("stick," colloquially) of a certain kind of wood. Boys must sit upon a piece of the vine called *debu*. Ashes from this vine are applied to the wound

as an astringent.

The zo who has performed the operation waits till about noon (Tie), then leads his or her charges into town. Their appearance is the signal for the firing of guns and a general letting loose, which continues, with feasting and dancing, as long as the initiates remain in their "Bush house." The whole population need not necessarily be engaged in it at once. All are free to go about their usual work, participating as they see fit.

The girls are led to their Bush House; the boys, to theirs — the latter after parading about town in a nude state.⁸⁶ There they remain until healed. The boys may not be visited by anyone during this period; about the girls, we are not certain. In Sapā the mother may go inside

⁸⁸ This is made from leaves which produce partial local anesthesia with itching.

⁸³ In Sapā both men and women, if initiated, may look on; but in Tiē, men may not see the operation upon girls, nor women upon boys.

The cut-out parts are later buried secretly in the forest. Our "king woman" informant would tell no more about this burial or about the medicines, since this would spoil them and harm her charges.

See pp. 427 ff. See Cf. Mano custom, above, p. 291.

the house to visit her daughter the first day; the father, on the third or fourth. If he enters

before that he must pay a fine.

Nothing is taught in the Bush house, so far as we could learn. The men who talked to us about it all agreed that they are and sang, drummed, and talked foolishness, and generally

passed the time as they pleased.

Food is brought and set inside the door. The person who brings it knocks, then stands aside, out of sight, until it has been taken in. Girls eat only rice and palm oil during their stay. The zo women who operate may eat only with other zo women from the time they lead the girls to the waterside until they come out of

their Bush house. (Tie.)

Sometimes, during their isolation in the house (Tiɛ̃), the zo takes a single hair from each girl's head and puts it in a special medicine which she prepares. Some of this is then taken by each neophyte, who smears it on her face in order that good fortune may come to her. On the third day the 20 puts upon the healing wounds the same medicine that is rubbed on a girl infant the third day after birth and on a boy infant the fourth day.87 This is "so dey go bo'n [bear] plenty sma' boy." On the fourth day the initiates leave the Bush house and go to their own homes.

According to old men in Tie, boys formerly were sometimes confined for as long as two moons, but at present they seldom stay longer than two or three weeks. A Sapa interpreter who was present claimed never to have known of a boy's being confined for longer than two weeks in his country — the Putu section.

When the girls have left the Bush their "dancing time" begins, and continues until their zo declares it at an end — probably when the wounds have healed. For this dancing each Tië girl wears a sort of shirt of raffia fiber made by her brother. She also wears on her head shells that are later taken off and worn around the waist. The signal for release is the zo's demand for all the raffia fiber "shirts," which she collects and burns behind her house. The girls are now expected to go to the farms with their mothers and help with the work.

The parents and relatives pay the zo when the girls come out of their Bush house. Our

"king woman" had been given one machete, a white fowl, four baskets, two fathoms of cloth. and four anklets for each of the two girls on whom she had recently performed the operation. The father of each girl had a goat killed and cooked for a small feast. "If there are ten girls, then their fathers "will hang their heads," (consult) and kill a bullock in common."

For the boys (Tie) a big feast and celebration is made when they come out of their confinement. They are first ceremonially purified - washed with water in which pounded bark of the kolotue tree has been mixed. The zo then rubs their bodies with a paste made by mixing charcoal with palm oil, saying as he does so: "May any trouble or ill fortune resting upon you depart! May anything bad which is before you be removed! May it be replaced by good fortune!" and so on. Their hair is then dressed and finely braided, and new clothes and ornaments are put on them, much in the manner of boys of the north leaving the Poro Bush.

What is paid for boys depends upon the social status of the parents. A poor man may give as little as a mat and a fowl; a bio may give as much as an anklet, a chain and ram's horn which is to be slung over the shoulder, and a bullock. This last will be killed and cooked for all present at the insistence of the zo.

Only after these operations are the boys and girls considered to be real men and women. When two men and women quarrel, if one has not had this operation and the other knows it, the latter will shame her opponent into silence by exclaiming, "You are not cut; I am!" For a woman to say this to another who has had the operation is the greatest possible insult, and results in a very serious palaver.

These old customs are being rapidly abandoned because of unsettled conditions. At present it is often necessary for a zo to hand the children over to their parents immediately after the operation.

ASSOCIATIONS OF THE NORTH

The Leopard Society. The Leopard Society (Go mi, Mano; Go ke me, Gio) is widespread in the north of Liberia. Westermann 88 wrote that it was extant "among the Kpelle, Gola, Gbande, and Gbunde, and probably

⁸⁷ See p. 211.

ss Westermann, 1921, p. 273.

among still others." It existed among all the tribes we visited (1927), but from what we could learn we concluded that it was less active in Loma than in Mano and Gio.

The society has never gained much of a foothold in the southeast, except in one or two clans. It seems to have been introduced into Sapā from Gio, and from there it eventually spread to the Palepo (Half-Grebo). Members of the Sabo (Half-Grebo) who had become members in Palepo, brought it to their clan about 1926, according to informants. But after a male member had killed a local woman, and a female member a local man, in connection with the establishment of the local association, the female member was put out of the way. Since then it has become inactive to all appearances—though we learned of one incident shortly after we left the neighborhood. 89

In present-day Liberia the members of the Leopard Society aspire to rejuvenation and the assumption of the leopard's strength and cunning. When it was first introduced into Loma, according to several chiefs and important men there, it was a sort of police organization for ridding the land of thieves and other undesirables. In time it degenerated, assuming more of the functions of the society as manifested in other tribes, and became virtually a gangster organization, for the avenging of murders and for robbery — with murder "if necessary." (This last was the society's principal object in the southern Cameroun.) The nature of the society, furthermore, makes it a useful tool for important members with ulterior motives. 90

Westermann ⁹¹ considers that the basic factors of the society are a totem animal and a medicine, and that it was originally an association of persons who had the leopard for their totem. He goes on to say: ⁹²

At present this tie with the totem is no longer so close. There are districts of the country where the totem has not led to the formation of a society . . .; of course, here, too, there exists a certain feeling of belonging together [among persons with a leopard totem] . . . but it has never resulted in the origination of an association with common undertakings. And, on the other hand, where the society is strongly developed, there are many who belong whose totem is not the leopard.

The Leopard Society gets its power from its medicine, and the strength of the medicine must be maintained and renewed by human sacrifices, which the members take turns in procuring. According to Loma informants, the principal meetings are held when the council feels that the medicine is in need of strengthening.

"The medicine prefers someone close [related] to the person whose turn it is to find [furnish] the person to be sacrificed. He [or she] is killed, the heart cut out, and some of the blood smeared on the medicine. A small piece of skin from the forehead, the palm of the hand, the small of the back above the buttocks, and a piece of heart, are kept as the big medicine's part. This is so the leopard people cannot be found out."

Members have a number of accessories to assist them in their killings. These are: a leopard's skin to be worn when an attack is made; a paw to make tracks simulating those of the animal; an instrument formed of two to four iron claw-hooks, and a kind of stiletto (fig. 75, k and l) for attacking the victims; a whistle, used to signal members or call meetings; and a knife for scarifying new members.

Sometimes the iron claws have incurved blades, with sockets that fit over the fingers. (This form is also used by the leopard people of the southern Cameroun.) Besides mauling his victim with these, the killer stabs him with the stiletto to make wounds simulating the marks of the animal's teeth. Both of these instruments have handles covered with leopard skin, fur from which sticks to the victim, thus "proving" that the deed was done by a leopard. If anyone expresses doubt about this a diviner is consulted to decide whether the leopard was animal or human. (Mano and Gio informants.) The whistle, according to Beatty, 92x is called kukoi. It probably imitates the night call of the bush hen or African grouse (francolin). This wild fowl is called kokwai by the Mano, and okpwai by the Bulu of the southern Cameroun, in imitation of its call.

Membership in the society is usually voluntary, but on occasion it may be forced. We were told in Mano that a person whose membership was greatly desired by the society

⁸⁹ See below, p. 298. ⁹⁰ See also p. 299.

et Westermann, 1921, p. 274.

⁹² Westermann, 1921, p. 274.

Beatty, 1915, p. 71.

might be "deceived into joining" if he refused to do so voluntarily. Medicine would be slipped into his food and he would be told, "You are one of us already; you have eaten leopard food [human flesh]." Fear that the medicine would catch him if he did not join, would compel him to do so. A person who accidentally comes upon a Leopard Society meeting out in the forest is frequently given his choice of becoming a member or a corpse. Sometimes he is killed unconditionally.

Membership is compulsory, where the society exists, for any smith or leather worker whose services the group considers necessary. (The latter puts the skin on the implements.)

Women are eligible for membership at least in Gio and Sapa. Among the Gio Leopard people we saw in prison at Sanokwele there were two women.

Where the Poro has branches the aspirant to society membership must be a Poro initiate.

The Gio said that the Leopard people were "strengthened" by the big chiefs who were with them.

In order to be initiated the candidate must kill a relative and produce the corpse for medicinal purposes. If he fails to comply with this requirement he himself will be killed. (Mano.) Of the details of initiation we lack reliable information. Everyone with whom we discussed this subject was reluctant to speak of it at all. Usually they contented themselves with the remark that "anyone initiated swears his life away on the big medicine that he will not tell any of its secrets."

In Gbunde and Loma the leadership of the society consists of a council of its oldest and ablest members, who choose a leader or chairman for each session. 98 In Mano and Gio there is a semi-permanent leader, called the go zo vo by the Gio. The place of meeting is called go bū.

Near Sezuta (Gio) there is a large grove of oil palms that "belongs" to the Leopard Society of that region. Anyone known to have entered it, or to have cut palm nuts there, is killed "one time" (instantly). This grove is said to be the meeting place of the local association.

The initiate has acquired the ability to change himself into a leopard while asleep. He

gets this power from the society's medicine and from the medicine made for him individually. He can then go and kill people wherever he wishes.

The Gio firmly believe that no real leopard ever attacks human beings. If a leopard comes into a town and attacks a man, one may shoot at it, realizing that one is actually shooting a human being. But if the creature goes away wounded no one will follow it. "To do so would anger all the spirits of the [dead] Leopard people, which would then hunt people until someone had been killed in atonement."

The members of the society themselves firmly believe that they possess this power of becoming leopards. This was exemplified in a case that came before the District Commissioner in the Sabo clan of Half-Grebo two or three months after we left that part of the country.

A complaint was lodged with the Commissioner accusing certain Sabo tribesmen of possessing leopard medicine and of being the Leopard people who had killed two elderly women of different towns. One of the accused, an old man, had threatened one of the victims, saying that the first night she went out to her farm to sleep a leopard would get her. This had actually happened; a leopard had attacked and mauled the woman so that she died three days later. The accused pleaded guilty before the court; but how, when, and where he could not tell. He had "gone into his leopard and done the deed while he was a leopard"!

Investigation in the man's town led to the finding of Leopard Society medicine. This was a bag containing "senseless things": rings, dirt, and so on, according to our informants, who wrote us about the incident. It is a question whether this was actually the real medicine or not.

It is impossible for us to realize the continual state of terror that exists where a society of these Leopard people is known to exist. Once the tribesman becomes aware of their activity in his country he is never free from the haunting fear that he may at any time become a victim. "We fear these people more than all others," was said again and again by people with whom we discussed this subject.

⁹⁸ Westermann found the same practice in Kpelle.

Repeated acts of violence by the society lead to a reaction. Terror becomes so great that "anyone who goes to or passes the smithy and sees the smith making something strange or suspicious looking, goes to the elders and the chief, warning them. The smith is called and questioned. He denies that the object he is working at is for the Leopard Society. The town-crier must then be sent to warn the people to be on the lookout for what may happen. Then the chief, though he himself may be allied with and makes use of the society to further his plans, is forced to yield to popular demand and either curb or entirely suppress its activities [for the time being], regardless of what harsh measures he must take." (Loma.)

A former District Commissioner told us of his experiences with the Leopard Society in Mano and Gio. There had been several people killed in and near a town in which he was stopping when he first went to Gio. Then the house in which one of his assistants was quartered was broken into, and an attempt made to kill the assistant. The man fired a pistol at his would-be assassins with the usual result—several shots, no hits. After this, two of the Commissioner's goats were taken, "torn up," and the mutilated remains left for their late owner's contemplation. As there were several chiefs visiting the Commissioner at this time he had them placed under a guard of his soldiers.

A sand-player (diviner who used the sand-figure method) was summoned by the Commissioner to "cut the sand" to discover the names of the Leopard Society members; for he felt certain that these doings had been their work.

"Since the sand-player was probably a member, he only gave me the names of a few lodge members known to him," said the commissioner. He had those named brought in, together with their cult implements and medicines, threw most of these things into a bonfire, and then took his prisoners to Gbanga (Kpelle) and later to Sanokwele (Mano), his own head-quarters. The survivors of this group we saw in prison at both places. We saw similar prisoners later at Abi zã, Paramount Chief Towe's town (fig. 99, b).

In the opinion of the District Commissioner, this pest grew after the Government had finally forced a peace upon the land. He felt that it was an outlet for the men's pent-up inclination to war—a way to satisfy their blood-lust. Moreover, the society was a convenient tool for chiefs, most of whom were members. "Through it they got rid of all persons they considered undesirable, like possible competitors, and did whatever else they chose. With its assistance they had the land in a reign of terror."

The Water Leopard and Crocodile Societies. In Sapa a society called niya tchia (water leopard), taken over from the Bassa, has motives much like those of the Leopard Society. It does not exist in either Half-Grebo or Tie, so far as we could learn.

According to a Liberian official who had helped in ridding the Bassa country of a number of this association's lodges these people, sometimes known as "tigah people," secrete themselves at favorable places along the water courses until their chosen victims are seen in a canoe. They then hastily stop their ears with some substance, pull a large gourd over their heads to the chin, and go under water long enough to steal upon the canoes and capsize them. They then cut the throats of their victims or stab them to death.

In sections where there are no water courses suitable for canoes these "water leopards" watch near places where people come to get water or to bathe, and kill them there.

As in the Leopard Society, part of those killed are eaten and parts are retained for medicine.

On the Sierra Leone boundary there is a Crocodile Society having features of both the Leopard Society and the Water Leopard Society. The canoes in which members operate are covered with crocodile skin. There is an interesting belief to the effect that these canoes can submerge like submarines.

The (Antelope) Horn Association. The Horn or Antelope Horn Association (Mela Vea) derives its name from the horns in which its big medicines are always kept. These horns may be from different kinds of antelope: usually Tragelaphus scriptus, sometimes Cephalophus niger. (Loma.) The Kpelle keep their medicine in the horn of the water "deer" (Hyaemoschus aquaticus).

The duties and purposes of the association 94 (except in Gio), as related to us, are: to find lost or stolen property; to discover murderers through communication with the dead, to bring to light people possessed of bad spirits (either inborn or acquired), and to make these people harmless by "catching and flogging the bad spirits." It may be said that in general they work against all dark deeds of men and of spirits.

This agrees with what Westermann has reported: "This is purely a medicine society, . . . a religious organization of the authorities, an officially recognized protective arrange-

ment." 95

Members of the association may be called upon by anyone who is able to pay for their services. Chiefs and town councils often employ them to learn who is bringing misfortune upon towns or individuals and by what means

it is being done.

When a Mela Vea man is called to locate lost or stolen property he comes with his medicine, accompanied by other members of the association. The medicine he places on his head, holding it there by folding his hands over it. Once he has done this, he cannot let go until the thief has been located or the property found. His associates beat drums, then his body begins to sway - owing, supposedly, to the action of the medicine. In due course the medicine leads him to the stolen property.

In the same manner the medicine leads him to a place where a person has been murdered or killed by "witch," or to his grave. The spirit of the deceased then comes and tells the

Mela Vea man how he died.

In some instances instead of leading the Mela Vea man anywhere, the medicine causes the guilty party to come involuntarily and confess

his crime. (Loma.)

The fee paid by a Gbunde man for initiation into this association was seven "irons" (Kisi pennies), a fowl, five large needles, three basins of cooked rice, and four cowrie shells. Concerning the initiation ceremonies we have nothing of any value. Westermann 96 has described these as they are conducted in Kpelle. He further writes: 97

Membership in the society is not greatly desired because Antelope Horn people become victims of their own calling after death. Through their constant association with very strong medicines and bad spirits, they themselves, at death, become bad spirits and are then called "bad dead." For this reason the leaders must take special precautions at the burial of a deceased member so that his spirit will not be at large and cause mischief in the community.

In Gio according to our interpreter, a Mende man from Sierra Leone living near Tapi Town. the society is different, being similar to the Tongo Players 98 of Sierra Leone. "It works mostly through divination." It also corresponds to the Kwi-a-yunu or Kwi of the southeast.99

How closely the Gio Horn Association corresponds to the Tongo Players we do not know. Of these Migeod 100 writes that they arose as an antidote to the Leopard Society and the cure became worse than the disease.

They originated in Gba-Mende country, and by their "medicine" professed to be able to discover human leopards. . . . They assembled the people of the suspected towns, did dances, and picked out the suspected leopard men, who were usually promptly burned to death. . . .

The Tongo Players acted in other matters besides finding Human Leopards. For instance, if a man fell sick and poison was suspected, the action taken by them to find the culprit was as follows. Medicine was put in an antelope's horn, and the leader of the Tongo procession went holding the horn in front of his face. He presented it to everybody he met. When the culprit was met the horn shook. If the sick man died they killed him [the suspect] and burned his body, throwing his ashes in the river. If the person did not die the suspect was put in the stocks in the bush, and if the sick man quite recovered he would only be sold to the Susu traders, for four head of cattle if a woman, two or three if a man. This was the practice, I was told, in old days.

The Snake Societies. There exists in most of the Liberian tribes a Snake Society 101 with

⁸⁴ See also p. 333. 95 Westermann, 1921, p. 286.

⁹⁶ Westermann, 1921, p. 286. ¹⁷ Westermann, 1921, p. 287.

⁹⁸ According to Westermann, tongo is an African word of unknown origin, which in Sierra Leone as in Liberia denotes the water "deer" (Hyaemoschus

aquaticus). Westermann, 1921, p. 287.

⁹⁰ See below, pp. 310 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Migeod, 1926, pp. 229 ff.
¹⁰¹ Kali Sale (Snake Medicine), Gbunde and Kpelle;
¹⁰² (Snake Medicine), Gbunde and Kpelle; Ba Kona, Mano; Mene Mia (Snake People), Gio; Sane Ny5 (Snake People), Sapa.

a purely beneficent purpose: the prevention and cure of snake bites. It is not established in Half-Grebo; about Tie we are not certain.

In Mano there exists also another Snake Society, the Mene Mia, open in general to big men only, zo's and sons of zo's, though any wealthy man may be admitted on payment of a special fee. The movements of this society are dark with magic and political intrigue. It is possible that this society, as well as the beneficent one, occurs with variations throughout the country. It exists in Gio, where it has a highly developed court of entertainers variously called snake dancers, baby players, jugglers, and acrobats. These are the ones who toss the little girls back and forth with flashing of knives. 102

Regarding the society for the cure of snake bites, the Gbunde and Loma say that only men may become members. In Mano, Gio, and Sapa both men and women may join. Dua is the word used by the Mano to designate a Snake woman.

Mano and Sapã traditions accounting for the origin of this society usually relate that the snake's secrets were revealed to a hunter-ancestor who had saved the lives of snakes on some occasion. The Kpelle have a quite different legend, recorded by Westermann. It is told that a hunter came upon two snakes fighting each other, and one was swallowing a leaf as an antidote for the bites of the other. The hunter then prepared medicine of the same kind of leaves, which he used with success in treating cases of snakebite. This incident led to the forming of the association.

The snake is the totem or "helper" of all members. There is also a "big medicine." According to Westermann, 105 the leader or leaders of the society in Kpelle are persons who have had the snake as a totem from birth. Other members acquire it when they join. This probably is true also among some of the other tribes.

Before a candidate is considered for membership he must give proof that he is absolutely unafraid of snakes. In Gbunde he is put to the test in this way: He is first told by the leader of the local association to catch and bring in a live snake. If he fails to do this his application

is rejected; but if he brings in a live snake he is asked to accompany the big Snake zo to the latter's house. There the zo first rubs the applicant's whole person with "black medicine" and then with "leaf medicine"; the latter is also put into the eyes. (This medicine doubtless has an odor familiar and pleasing to the snakes.) He then accompanies the zo to his snake house. They go inside and the zo opens the box in which his snakes are kept, asking the candidate to pick up whichever one he chooses, wrap it around himself, put its head behind his back, and manipulate it in various other ways. He must also dance in the house with a snake wrapped about his body and neck. These procedures continue for four days, during which the candidate must live in the snake house. At the end of the test, the leader, who has previously announced that there will be an exhibition and dance by a Snake man, tells him to go outside and show what he can do. The candidate appears with several snakes about his person and others on the ground following him (fig. 96, c, and d). By dancing and handling the reptiles he gives proof that he is worthy of becoming a member of the association. When this test is over, the various remedies for snake bites are taught him, together with other secrets of the association. For him snakes are taboo from now on, even if they were not before. If he should ever kill or eat one "he would surely spoil his medicine and be bitten in revenge, so that he would immediately die."

His initiation fee is seven irons (Kisi pennies), a fowl, four cowries, and a white and a red cola nut. (In Gio it is a finger-ring and a mat or fowl.)

To become a member in Gio the candidate must first of all be in favor with all the members of the chapter. After his acceptance a meeting of the local association is called, to which he is invited. He is usually expected to furnish food and drink for the occasion. Snake "plays" are given, during which the leader quietly leaves, goes to the place where the totem snakes are, and calls them. (How he does this was not known to our informant.) He uses some substance the odor of which attracks snakes and keeps at least a few of them where the candidate will unexpectedly come

¹⁰² See p. 156.

¹⁰⁸ See p. 353.

Westermann, 1921, pp. 283 ff.
 Westermann, 1921, pp. 283 ff.

upon them. He then returns to the group, rubs medicine on the candidate (for the purpose already noted), gives him a vessel, indicates the path he is to follow, and tells him to go and fetch water for him. Meanwhile the meeting has been prolonged until dusk, so that it is almost dark when the candidate gets to the "snake place," ignorant of what is there. If he brings back the water he will be admitted, as he has given proof of his fearlessness. If not, he is rejected. He may, however, be given one or two more chances before his rejection is final.

If he is admitted into the society it is necessary for the snake zo to rub him with medicine and take him to the snake place several times during the day to instruct him in the habits of different kinds of snakes and how best to handle them. The making of remedies for bites is

taught later.

We learned little of what follows, but it is probably much the same here as in Kpelle, where the new member is allowed to choose the snake that will become his personal totem. He puts his snake into a small basket or bag and for a few months carries it about with him close to his body. In this way it becomes his real totem and belongs to him forever. Without concern he may now let it go; he need only call and it will return. "It protects him from harm and invests him with the ability to prepare snake medicines for others, first of all against the bites of his own snake." In cult meetings he takes the name of his snake for his own.

If a father wishes his daughter to become a Snake woman he goes to a Snake zo and arranges with him to take her and teach her

everything.106

At the town of Palo (Panoke), in the Pudu section of the Sapa, D'Ollone 107 wrote, fetish snakes lived in boxes in two huts surrounded by a sacred enclosure. They were let out frequently and were sometimes even allowed to go about the village, watch being kept over them the while.

"Of course," writes D'Ollone, 108 "these very dangerous snakes, captured by a man who knows how to charm them, have had their

fangs removed, but everybody is ignorant of this, and believes that as a special favor to the people of Palo they appear harmless; also, the village is considered to be honored by a divine protection."

It may be that the fangs of some snakes are removed, but there are certainly many instances in which they are not. In Gbunde we heard of a soldier who went to the house of a Snake man (from which he should have kept away), and knocked at the door. When the Snake man opened the door, one of the snakes that had been left to crawl about the floor, glided out and bit the soldier so that he died "one time" (very soon after).

In Gbunde we were told: "Only the head of the lodge keeps his snakes in the house. All others have theirs out in the bush or creek. When they need them or want to see them they go out and call them. Some members find a snake hole in the bush and keep the place and the snake in it for themselves. They go there whenever the snake needs food or when they want something, and make a sacrifice of rice meal before the hole."

These Snake people sometimes appear in the towns to give exhibitions with their reptiles, aided by Snake women. These are graceful, slender girls of the type we saw with the minstrel troupe in Towai 109 (fig. 79, a and b). The small Snake girls are said to play the part of snakes in the exhibition. Their dances represent the snake's motions. The Snake men perform with them much as they would with their reptiles — toss them into the air and catch them, dance with them around their necks, and swing them, holding them by the hands. Where the society has both male and female members, only the men dance, while the women sway their bodies in rhythmic accompaniment. (Mano.) In Gio both men and women members dance with snakes around their bodies. In return for such entertainments gifts of money or goods are expected.

There are special names for the little Snake girls. When there is only one she is called Kpwembli in Mano and Gio. When there are more than one their names are as follows (see

p. 303):

¹⁰⁰ Harley, 1941a, pp. 105 ff. ¹⁰⁷ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 128.

¹⁰⁸ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 131. ¹⁰⁹ See p. 156.

	Mano	Gio
ıst	Kpwembli	Kpwembli
2nd	Yanwa	Yawa
3rd	Duoba	Duwa
4th	Togbwe	Togwe
5th	Nõtia	Nõtia

The Gbɔ̃ Association. The Gbɔ̃ appears to be a mutual aid and protective society, membership in which is limited to "men knowing the most about medicine" and therefore of highest standing in the men's cult. "Its members can even control lightning." It seems to have been introduced into Gbunde and Loma rather recently from some neighboring tribe—possibly the Kpelle, where it has long been established and has the same name.

The Gio "make the same medicine [have the same association] and call it B5," according to informants. "The Mano often call the B5 people from Gio to help them with the association medicine, as there are no B5 people in Mano."

This society's medicine "passes all others for strength, and can kill any other medicine with witch [poison]." "So confident are the members of this power," says Westermann, 110 that when they come to town to exhibit their power "they ask the townspeople to cook rice for them; this they allow to stand in the open overnight, requesting people to put any sort of medicine into the rice. Next morning the Gb5 people, coldly smiling, sit down to their meal of rice and consume it with apparent ease. And although there are sometimes found in it the most dreadful medicines — such as hair, nails, and human blood — the repast does them no harm. The leaves of trees, upon which the food is placed (a portion for each person) are burnt black and curled up by the medicines, but their pernicious power cannot harm the Gb5 people. If, however, a member is seized with horror of the meal and hesitates to fall to, he is liable to a very heavy fine."

This report of Westermann's was confirmed by a Gbunde man who had witnessed one of these meals.

An Americo-Liberian who was present while we were talking about this subject in Gbunde

remarked: "Yes, what they say is all true, and if you were a Mason I could give you many more details which these people do not know." This points to the close association of this society with the Poro and the high standing of the Gb5 people in the Poro.

He continued: "A chief of the Loma, where branches of this association were being established, complained to the Government that the initiation fees were a gun, a spear, and other weapons of war. He feared an uprising was brewing, for which he would be held responsible. All known leaders of the society were summoned to a great council at Suen [not far from Arthington], at which a high Government official was present. When he heard the leaders' accounts of the society's organization and aims, the whole matter was dropped. The official was the Grand Master of the Masons."

While the leaders of the society were being summoned to attend this council, the Government had collected as much of its medicine as could be found, to prevent its further spread in Gbunde. "This was taken to the town of Vezera and there put into a house, where it still is."

The Molegi and Melai People. In Gbunde we learned of two other protective associations: the Molegi (sometimes, Monegi) and Melai (sometimes, Matai) people, whose emblem is the *tofa* plant.¹¹¹ (Of the Melai we learned only the name.)

Both sexes may become members of the Molegi, but the role of the men appears to be supervisory. "There are only a few men in it, to guide the women and see to it that they do not encroach upon the powers and secrets of the men who are members of other societies."

The Molegi catch the spirits of the dead when they make too much trouble; also the spirits of the living when they leave their bodies to go walking "in order to humbug and kill people." This looks very much like the Horn Association, but according to informants there is a difference. What connection there exists, if any, between the two societies, we cannot say.

The medicine of the Molegi enables them to locate and catch these mischief-making spirits.

²¹¹ This is also the emblem of the Poro and Sande; see above, pp. 267-68.

Their methods appear to be drastic. The prowling spirit of a living person is "beaten until it is dead." The person from whom it went out will also die. A $gov\varepsilon$, or spirit of a person already dead, is beaten until it calls for its medicine pot. This will be found to contain a finger and some hair of the person whom the $gov\varepsilon$ has killed, together with a bit of sand. This medicine the Molegi people take and burn. The $gov\varepsilon$ cannot live more than a week after its medicine is taken from it."

Another method of dealing with a gove that is making a nuisance of itself is to catch it and give it a good beating and let it go when it promises to be good. Upon being released, it will run away. If it continues its bad work after this, the Molegi will catch it again some

night, in the following manner:

At noon a group of Molegi people go to the grave that they have discovered to be the home of the bad gove, taking with them a white fowl and some rice meal. The rice meal is put on the grave and the fowl shown to the spirit, which is supposed to be in the grave. The spirit is then told, "Tomorrow we are going to kill this fowl in sacrifice and make a feast, so you must come this evening and stay with us in town to be ready for the feast." The Molegi people then go home, taking the fowl with them. In the evening the gove comes to the house of the Molegi. There it is surrounded and caught, with the aid of their medicine. It is then asked why it has made so much trouble and broken its promise to behave itself. If it gives a reasonable answer it is advised to cease and become a decent spirit, and is set free. Otherwise, an end is made of it.

If it begins to trouble people again after having been let go a second time, it is again enticed into the house of the Molegi, who catch it and beat it to a pulp. In this condition it is let go, after which the Molegi people take zogi medicine (not explained to us) and put it on the grave, which prevents the spirit from reentering. This is equivalent to running a person out of his home-town; the spirit now no longer has an abiding place or refuge, but must roam about in space. If, after all this, it still continues its mischief, it is caught a last time and annihilated, by exhuming the remains of the person buried in the grave, burning them, and scattering the ashes.

The Ki-La and the Ten Ki. The Ki-La is an extra-legal association, not under the civil, but under the religious authorities. It is a law unto itself. Ki-La people may be called to make a decision whenever there is grave trouble to be settled; for example, a murder. They meet in a special place at night.

Being "people of peace," they are considered as neutrals in war, and as such can act to try to prevent or end wars — even wars in which they are immediately concerned. To make overtures, they send a messenger with a cow's tail, the symbol of their association. (Some

erroneously call it a fly-brush.)

Membership in the Ki-La, which can be either hereditary or by application and election, is limited to flumo's; that is, big men in the Poro cult. Zo people may, but do not necessarily belong to it. To join, the candidate goes to the bush when called by the leader. There, before the assembled members, he swears upon the society's medicines that he will obey the orders of his own or any other leader of the cult. A sacrifice is then made to the medicines. If a member ever refuses to keep his oath he is heavily fined.

From some hints dropped during the discussion of this association we concluded that this discipline was a convenient instrument for holding in check any member who was accumulating possessions too rapidly to suit the majority. Such a member could simply be called upon to do something which the others knew beforehand he would very likely refuse to do. This would give them the much-desired opportunity to relieve him of a substantial portion of his goods by means of fines.

According to information given by a Mano

20:

Ki-La men cannot fight over a palaver, but must reach an agreement by argument. An outsider must not fight with a Ki-La man. If anyone attacks a Ki-La man, the Ki-La man sits down and takes the beating. Then his society brothers make the outsider pay a sheep or a cow, because it is against the law of the Ki-La for a member either to fight or to be beaten by anyone.

In old times the Ki-La Society was very powerful. In a strange town, where an ordinary man is in danger of being caught and put in the stick, a Ki-La man cannot be arrested and brought before an ordinary court. He can be tried only by his society brothers.

When a Ki-La man [not a chief 122] dies, people cannot lament his death unless they pay one pound to the society. When a "big" Ki-La man dies, they send a cow's tail by one of the honored members, who goes to call all members, saying, "so-and-so is very sick; come at once." They all understand. Having assembled, they demand of the heirs one pound and a sheep. Then they call some young men to come to dig the grave. If the deceased was a chief the grave is inside the house. Before the grave is dug the son must bring one cloth. All fees are the property of the society and are divided among the members. If these fees are not paid, no one can make mourning, which will displease the deceased.

If the dead member was a zo no one but the $g\varepsilon$ [the Big Devil] can lament. He alone can mourn the death of a zo. A zo is not buried, but is carried away into a special Poro Bush by the $g\varepsilon$ and his men. There he is placed in a sitting or standing posture between two big, flat buttress roots of a bombax tree. He is covered with leaves, then with a layer of sticks. A fence closes off the recess. The $g\varepsilon$ and other zo men take part in an elaborate ceremony. No woman may see the remains or the spot of burial. No outsider may say, "Here lies a zo."

The Ten Ki Association, of which we first heard in Mano, appears to be connected with the Ki-La. It was said to be a military organization of the younger men, but no very definite information could be elicited from anyone.

The Mano, we were told, "make two divisions called the Ki-La and the Ten [rising inflection] Ki. In Gio the two are represented by one, called the K(w)i-La, composed of all ages of men ranging from youths to older men."

Candidates for initiation in Mano go into the Bush and swear upon the society's medicines, just as Ki-La candidates do. A Gio at Tapi Town told us that he had paid sixteen cowries to the leader $(K(w)i-La-me\ vo)$ of the Gio association to become a me be a, one who had taken the association's medicine.

"Our insigne," he said, "was a cow's tail. We talked by making movements with it. When there were messages to be sent to a distance, a messenger took this tail to the next town, where he might hand it over to another messenger to take on, or he might himself go the whole distance."

We heard nothing of any organization corresponding to the Ki-La in any of the tribes outside of Mano, Ge, and Gio; but one informant stated that similar organizations exist in all the tribes and that their sign language is universal.

The Gbwogi. The object of the Gbwogi Association in Gbunde and Loma is thieving. 113 Its big, big medicine, the zonyui, is a bundle containing various medicine objects. This bundle is tied with a cord made from bark fiber of the kwoboi tree. Whenever a theft is planned a fowl is sacrificed and its blood fed to the zonyui, which is then petitioned to help the thief to steal a cow, sheep, goat, or cloth, or whatever he may have in mind. The zonyui helps by causing those about to be robbed neither to see nor hear the thief. The medicine is concealed under a stone at the place where the townspeople bathe.

This association at one time became such a nuisance in Gbunde that one of the paramount chiefs sent a complaint to the President of the Republic. The President took steps to have the medicine belonging to all known lodges collected and burned. According to informants, only the collecting was accomplished. The medicine was put in boxes and carried to Kolahu(n), in Gbande, and there it was set in a walled rice kitchen and left to rot, because everyone feared it — and still fears to go near that kitchen.

The devils of this society dance to the music of three instruments to entertain the townspeople.

The Bush Hog and the Weaver Bird Associations. The Bush Hog and the Weaver Bird Associations, found in Mano, are doubtless to be found also among the other tribes. The Bush Hog or Wild Hog people can supposedly send wild hogs to destroy the farms of those whom they wish to harm. Their method seems to be to imitate the call of the leader of a drove of these animals, and thus get them to enter a farm.

Weaver Bird people can either "send" these pests to a rice field to eat up the ripening crop, or they can make medicine to induce the birds to come and build in or near a town for its prosperity. A Mano paramount chief to whom

¹¹² For mourning a chief, see pp. 254 ff.

¹¹⁸ See also p. 439.

these birds were sacred had the leader of one of these associations come and make medicine to induce the birds to come to his town. If large numbers of them nest near his gate posts he is considered a big chief.

The Pote-biaiti. The Pote-biaiti is an association of magicians or prestidigitators about which we heard in Gbunde. Their leader is called Pote-bala.

"Its members have a spirit behind them to help them, and also a big medicine named dosue. When members of the association wish to give an exhibition in a town they first ask the chief for his consent. They then play after dark by the light of a big fire, so that all can

"They can change themselves into animals before your eyes; burn up pieces of furniture and produce them whole again. One sees them put these things into the fire and take them out while again. Their big devil, the Potebala, dances inside a big mat."

It is said that when one joins this association one must be killed and buried! "One stays in the grave for several days and is then dug up and made alive again."

The Suke. A warrior's association of which the Gbunde told us is called the Suke. It has for its object the acquisition of power and wealth. There are very few Suke people. The suke seems to be either a spirit or a spirit-power that certain persons can acquire through the medium of other Suke people. Occasionally, individuals have this power from birth. As an instance of this, it was said that a certain chief who had been born with a fully developed tooth was a Suke person.

The Suke have a powerful medicine. When they rub some of it on the face their dream spirits (suke?) acquire the ability to walk abroad at night to see what is going on, and then return to report on what they have seen and heard.

when both are out prowling. The weaker may be attacked by the stronger and "flogged plenty." Shortly afterward, the weaker suke will begin to pine, sicken, and finally die. The Suke person to whom it belongs will know this, and he, too, will sicken and die.

114 See p. 340.

One person's suke may meet that of another

Suke people all wear special garments, which vary in style, power, and price. Candidates for membership decide for themselves the kind they wish to buy. The best one gives prowess in war. The Suke Association's medicine "puts this garment on the heart" of the novice as he is initiated. It is worn next to the skin.

At their séances the Suke people are said to "fight like cocks and try to pull off one another's Suke gowns. If a Suke person succeeds in doing this to another he pulls the latter's heart out, since the gown is "attached to his heart." To redeem his garment and escape death the beaten member must make a payment.

The Water People. Water people are known as zia zo or zia zoe (water doctor) in Gbunde; zia wu nu (water-under people) in Loma; yi mi in Mano and ye me in Gio (water person). Since the Loma, Mano, and Gio apply these names also to spirits and "bad things, monsters, and so on, who inhabit the water, 114 it is difficult to determine whether the names here refer to members of the association or to the "things in the water." This confusion of terms is characteristic of secret societies.

The business of this association is with all "bad things" that live in the water, rather than with the good things living in it; but it is not strictly confined to the bad ones.

Both men and women may become members. All children born with frizzly reddish hair that "turns like a corkscrew" automatically become members, because they are a reincarnation of Water people.¹¹⁵

"Water zo's recognize one another by the way they hold their medicine and crook a finger on it. In some regions they will agree on one, in some regions on another finger." (Gbunde.)

"The water spirits ['bad things'] which belong to the Water people can sometimes be heard singing and drumming near their water in the evening. When anyone not a society member tries to steal up on them a splash is heard as they jump back into their 'town.' One can never get close enough to see them." (Loma.)

"All members of the association must learn the language of these 'bad things,' so they can

¹¹⁵ See pp. 340 ff.

converse with them when they enter the water. A member may go down to them for a short time only, or he may sleep with them for a night. Some high members go down for days when they want to know all that is going to happen. If anyone passes by on the path while a zia zo or zia wu nu is living down in the water town with the bad things, one of the latter will jump out, and catch and kill the passer-by. His corpse will be found beside the road. So whenever a zia zo is about to 'go down' the chief of the town is notified. He has the town-crier warn everybody to keep away from the water.

"The wu nu or wu nani must be given offerings by the Water Association zo's from time to time. They may ask for anything they fancy, and whatever they ask for must be given them. If the coveted object is a domestic animal, it sickens and dies soon afterward. If it is a person, the same thing may occur, but the person is usually pounced upon and killed by the wu nu as he is in or near the water or cross-

ing it." (Gbunde and Loma.)

One field of usefulness of the Water Association people is to make the dumb talk by rubbing their medicine over the mouth. They also cure bloating of the body and swelling of the limbs, because these are "water diseases." But when we inquired why a zia zo had not been called to make "water medicine" for a man who had recently died of dropsy at Beleyela, the by-standers snickered. One man volunteered that the illness had advanced so far they did not consider it would have been of any use to do so.

The P ϵ . An association of small boys in Mano, under the leadership of a zo man, is organized to deal with a species of supernatural being called $p\epsilon$.¹¹⁶ They deal with these pixies or hobgoblins in the same way the Horn people deal with the *matai* (Gbund ϵ and Loma) and di (Gio).

The Weni. The Weni or Bird Women's Association within the Sanda corresponds to the Waisemu degree 117 within the Poro. (Ghunda)

Like the Horn Society, the Weni has to do with the finding of bad medicines that enemies

See also pp. 343 ff.

of individuals or communities may have hidden in a town in order to work harm. Sometimes a Weni Association is also called upon to locate and catch witch spirits. It has dances symbolical of the behavior and flight of birds.

Leaders of the association are all high zo women, said to be "the devil's women" (women who have been initiated into the Poro). They signal to one another by imitating the call of the coucal, or spur-toed cuckoo (Centropus francisci or C. senegalensis). The Americo-Liberians call this bird dudu, 118 in imitation of its rapidly uttered, deep-throated "du, du, du, du," which begins fortissimo, gradually becoming softer and lower in pitch. It is everywhere sacred to the women.

We heard this bird late one evening in a part of the bush where the Sande initiation was being held. A woman was answering the call of the Big Devil himself, who "talked" with the voice of another night bird, in a higher pitched "tu, tu, tu, tu,"

While we were at Zorzor (Gbunde) we witnessed a hunt for bad medicine conducted by a number of lodges from surrounding towns. The members had assembled to mourn the death from cancer of a local woman, a relative of the town chief.

When we arrived we found the dance preliminary to the hunt already in progress before the house of a zo in the chief's quarter. The Weni and many of the townswomen were lined up on one side of the main way leading through the town, swaying to the rhythm of calabash rattles and cattle horns from which the smaller ends had been cut, while some of the leaders danced before the hut. These last we had seen earlier in the week as they danced on the way back to town from the funeral of their dead sister. They were carrying the same bundles of tail and wing feathers of the great plantain-eater, and wearing their belled ram's horn medicine-containers attached to chains slung over the shoulder.

All but the chorus wore dark blue cloths drawn tightly around the buttocks to produce the effect of very short, skin-tight panties. The fringed ends of the cloth were brought around

the Fang proper call it dugu. There it is taboo for all youths and maidens and for members of a certain women's cult.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 273 and 288.

¹¹⁸ The Bulu of the southern Cameroun call a different species of this bird (*Centropus Monachus*) du'u;

to form a long apron in front. One member had ornamented the back of her cloth by fastening to it four \(\frac{3}{4} \)-inch-square pieces of silver in a diagonal pattern. These pieces may have had some cult significance. Gayly colored, silk-fringed scarves were also fastened around the waist over belts that combined strings of beads and strings of small silver bells. White clay, on the bodies of some and the faces of others, completed the costume. Around in circles, up the street and down again, they danced; then back to the zo house before which they had first assembled. One old woman left the group of dancers, and stepping high, approached the leaders of the association who were assembled near the house. She addressed the group and gave something to one of the women. Soon after, the dancers left this part of town and went to another quarter of the village, stepping to a solo with a hummed accompaniment of two notes: (fa, do), a beating on horns, and shaking of rattles. Near what appeared to be a medicine place, three women dropped to the ground, removed the stones, and began digging with their hands. (The ground was rather soft, as a heavy rain had just fallen.) They squirmed around, working the dirt through their hands, seeking for the witch medicine. While this was going on, a woman who carried a bucket of medicine on her head sprinkled the diggers from time to time with the medicinal contents of the bucket.

At last, with the aid of their own medicine, called luava (an object about 4 inches long covered with cowrie shells, which one of the women was seen to be holding in her hand), the harmful medicine was discovered. (We could not get close enough to see whether this was real or imaginary.) Immediately the three medicine seekers fell prostrate on the ground, either in pretended exhaustion or "overcome" by the effects of the medicine. They were helped to a kneeling position and supported by "big women" who quickly came to their aid, while the one who carried the bucket applied its medicated contents to wash from the diggers the effects of the evil medicine — and incidentally the mud. The seekers were then helped to their feet, and there followed a victory dance around them, accompanied by much shouting. Others joined in. The singing grew louder, the humming swelled, the shaking of rattles and beating of cow horns became frenzied. Individuals left the group, each executing her fanciest steps until we seemed to be witnessing an exhibition of individual skill. Two of the group carried small brass pails filled with what looked like water, but may have been medicine. On top of this leaves were floating and from it the dancers refreshed themselves occasionally. Leafless twigs were carried and waved about by some of the women as they danced.

When the victory dance was ended, all rushed to another quarter of the town. There they stopped in a fairly open space, and the three women began digging in the earth again. Here there were no stones to remove. The women crowding close together about them prevented our seeing all the details of the operations, but the previous process seemed to be repeated. We noted that the same elderly, grey-headed woman who had discovered the evil medicine before, finally unearthed the hidden medicine in this second place. She and the other diggers were again "overcome" and revived.

From here they all went to that part of the town where the society's medicine house stood. Here also was the compound with the hut where the Big Devil of the Poro lived when he came to town—a place no one else was allowed to enter.

First, a dance in which all the women participated was held in front of the hut of the woman whose death was the cause of these ceremonies. This hut was located about 50 feet from the medicine house and the devil's compound. The woman who discovered the medicine was in the center of the semicircle of dancers and musicians, facing the medicine hut, her two assistants at the end of the semicircle to her left. From time to time, as the dancers in their wild abandon kept getting into the open space between the medicine house and the dancing circle, the fat pot-maker of the town (sister of the chief) and other women forced them out of it. After this general dance was over, there were solo dances by women from each of the towns that had sent delegates to the "hunt." The two or three head women on the side lines each urging her favorite on to do her best. A great crowd gathered for what had evidently become a competitive exhibition.

Since there seemed to be an interminable number waiting to show what they could do, we finally left. Long after we reached the house in the mission compound, about a mile from Zorzor, we continued to hear the music, singing, and rhythmic clapping of hands.

The Za Ze. The Za Ze ¹¹⁹ (Gbunde and Loma) seems to have fertility for its object. Its name is derived from its big medicine, and means "hand of death." This was explained to us as "the hand that will catch you and kill you by stoppage of the bowels if you break the oaths taken when you join the association." The Gbande name is Ja Se. The medicine gives those who swear on it the power to beget children. Not every town has a branch. Both men and women may become members.

Its chief oath seems to be never to indulge in sexual intercourse in the daytime. Nor may members indulge out in the forest; this would "spoil the bush for all hunters." If any person from anywhere, even if he is of the American Palaver has had intercourse during the daytime, he must wash before going to a town of the Za Ze. If he does not, he will get sick. We were told that the chief of Pandamai (Gbunde), who is a member, finding it too difficult to observe this oath, took some of his favorite wives to another place and there had intercourse with them during the day, as well as at night.

"His body became bloated. No one could make medicine to cure him. He confessed to what he had done and that the Za Ze had caught him. He was taken to a half-town, where a Za Ze woman (leader), called for the purpose, made medicine for him. He had to bathe in water in which she had put a certain kind of leaves. He also had to drink water in which these leaves were put, after having been bruised in a mortar. He was finally cured, but to this day his legs still swell at times."

The Za Ze (medicine) is kept in a special house in town, in the care of an elderly woman. This medicine house at Pandamai is said to have been the first house erected when the town was built. From the time an individual is appointed keeper of the Za Ze, that person must never again have sexual intercourse and must see to

it that no one else ever does inside the medicine house.

We were allowed to enter this association's house in the town of Bazinwe (Gbunde) but not to look into the curtained niche in which the Za Ze was kept. "Although people may be in the house when the curtain is up, they avert their eyes. They never look into the niche or at the Za Ze.120 Lying on the floor before the niche was a rolled-up mat; near this, a pan containing rice meal, some of which had been strewn upon the floor; and a basin of cola nuts. The woman who kept the house took a leafpacket of these nuts from behind the curtain and gave us one. At one side of the niche, a three-pronged stick, set into the floor, supported a clay pot in which were odds and ends of things said to be medicine. A number of other things lay near the niche, and on top of them an assortment of small, cowrie-ornamented medicine bags. A similar bag, black with soot and smeared with blood, hung over the elderly keeper's bed. Near by there hung also a string of smoke-blackened leaves and a dried elephant ear. The town's medicine, to which was attached a number of small bells, hung suspended from the ceiling at one side of the niche. In the house were also two twoslotted drums — one large, the other small.

The Za Ze sometimes take out their big medicine and dance with it before the townspeople. This is always done late in the evening, after darkness has set in. "When the members dance, occasionally some of them fall down as though in an epileptic fit. The medicine has caught them. If there are persons among the lookerson whom the medicine doesn't like, it catches them, too, and often causes them to become insane. Before the medicine is taken out a fowl is killed in sacrifice to it. Some of the blood is smeared on the medicine, some on the drums. The bells attached to the town medicine are removed from it and fastened to the wrists of some of the dancers." (Informants at Bazinwe.)

"When the Za Ze is danced, the ancestral spirits are begged, 'Oh, my Grandmother, I want to live! I don't want to die this year! I am poor, help me to see prosperity! Help me

sacred thing in the niche was a python - probably in a box.

For burial of a member, see pp. 249-50.
This cult has many details suggesting that the

to get children! et cetera." (Informants at Bedezca, Gbunde.)

At this town we saw three graves in an enclosure, each surmounted by a circular, white sand-covered mound, and protected from the elements by an oblong raffia-thatch roof. A pen of sticks with a small opening closed by a flat stone was near the graves. Inside this pen was a live tortoise. A former head leader of the Za Ze of that whole countryside, a woman by the name of Mamadebe, had been buried in one of the graves; later, two other Za Ze leaders had been buried here. It had been prophesied that as long as these graves were kept in order and protected from the elements, misfortune causing deaths would never come to this town. The present head of the local lodge of the association had had a dream in which the spirits of the three deceased leaders had appeared and told her that she must have a tortoise placed in a pen near the graves. The purpose for this was not stated, but the tortoise, or its shell is widely associated with women's cults and associations. It is, for example, sacred to the Sande. This is because its head and neck resemble the male organ. This symbolism with snake worship, is widely associated with fertility.

THE CULTS OF THE SOUTHEAST

Our notes on the cults of the southeast are exceedingly scant, owing as much to the unsettled state of all the places we visited as to poor interpreters and the extreme reluctance of the people to say anything about their cults or secret societies. In general it may be said that the basic elements of the Poro are here also, perhaps in modified form.

Most important, according to informants, is the Kwi-a-yunu (Webo dialect, Half-Grebo), or Kwi, as it is commonly called. Briefly, it means "spirit." This is the "Kwi-iru" of Johnston, 121 who translates it as "children of the departed spirits." Members are known as Kwi nijunu (Kwi people). From what we learned, this was more of an association than a cult.

In Tië it is called Blo-Kwi, the "land Kwi"; that is, the Kwi of or for all the land. Whether this has the same significance as that given us

for the word, "Poro" (that is, the "ground," the "earth") we could not determine.

Among the tribes we visited the society existed first in Half-Grebo, from where it spread

to Sapa and then to Tie.

Corresponding to the Big Devil of the Poro is the ya Kwi or Kwi ba. Like the Big Devil he has the ability to fly through the bush, ¹²² and his voice is a "blowing-drum." ¹²³ A path is secretly cleared through the jungle where he is to fly. As he quickly passes over this at night he lets his voice be heard at intervals. Also like the Big Devil, he has unquestioned authority. Formerly, we were told, people who refused to obey his orders died. "But in these days they are only fined four fowls and a big basin of rice."

He has an interpreter-of-his-voice and another assistant, the *sials*, who is sent to call him whenever and wherever his presence is required in an official capacity.

Women may not look upon him. When his voice is heard they must flee and hide themselves. If a woman should see the Kwi or discover any of his secrets, and this were found

out, she would have to die. (Tie.)

The cult or association is said to have a branch in each town. Its insigne is the curtain of raffia-frond leaflet. Its main object is the hunting out and extermination of witches and wizards. If, for example, illness occurs, the ya Kwi may be sent for. If he hears of a case of illness and is not sent for, he sends his messenger or a member of the association to inquire into the matter. If the cause of the illness is not known, or there appears to be something "mysterious" about its origin, witchcraft is suspected. After the inquiry, two days are allowed for observation. If the sick person fails to mend within this time, the ya Kwi takes the matter in hand. When a particular person is suspected, he must stand trial by ordeal to prove his innocence, unless he makes confession of guilt. When no one is suspected, inquiry and search must be made with the aid of medicines or divination. It is absolutely necessary to find the witch or witches that have brought about the illness, and kill them. Otherwise, someone else will die in the same way.

Another function of the Kwi is similar to that of the Klaklabe, the lower age class of males in Half-Grebo. 124 Any person, a lone old man or woman, for example, unable to get anyone to help build a house or harvest the rice before it spoils, may go to the ya Kwi and by making a small payment (two shillings), get him to call as many persons as are needed to do the work. Chiefs also avail themselves of his "power" whenever there is a big job to be done, such as

a town building or cleaning paths.

At night, the ya Kwi comes to the town of one asking his help and begins to "sing." His sials, knowing in advance what the Kwi devil is supposed to be saying, interprets it publicly. Those who should, but do not, come to help are fined or punished in some way. An instance of this occurred in a community in Half-Grebo. The women once refused to work at path-cleaning, a task to which this devil had called them at the instigation of the elders of the town. He secreted himself and throughout a whole day sat and "talked" near the place where the women were accustomed to get water. This forced them to go to another watering place which was quite a distance from the town.

Just as building the suspension bridges (north) is the "palaver" of the Poro spirits, so way-clearing is the work of the ya Kwi or Kwi ba. Any woman passing along the road while it is being done must be escorted by a man, who cries out, "Woman coming!" in order that the ya Kwi may conceal himself. The raffia curtain ("no passing" sign) is also hung up wherever it is desired to keep out women. (The Poro sometimes clears roads in Mano.)

With the scarcity of men in the southeast, women for some time past have had to assist in clearing the paths. Sometimes they do practically all of this work, which seems formerly to have been exclusively men's work, incidentally making it necessary for the Kwi devil to

keep in the background.

Youths are initiated into this association after the age of puberty. In Half-Grebo the father or sponsor gives to the Kwi ba a mat, a fowl, head of tobacco, ball of camwood powder, and a raffia-fiber "cloth," telling him that the son wishes to become a member of the cult. In Sapa and Tie the fee is four fowls, or a quantity of dried meat, together with a vessel of rice. The ya Kwi has the lot cooked and calls his fellow-members to come and join him in the eating of it. The proper time for the boy's initiation is set. Whether these youths are taken in groups or individually, we are unable to say. At the appointed time, the boy is taken to the edge of town, where his eyes are bandaged; then he is led out into the forest, where the Kwi ba is awaiting him. As he unsuspectingly comes up to the ba, this worthy suddenly and unexpectedly seizes the novice, who trembles in panic. The ba's assisting devils now take hold of the novice while the ba jumps upon the novice's back, utters a few piercing yells, and talks his "devil's mouth" through the "blowing-drum." Hearing this, the novice usually falls down in fright. This gives the ba an opportunity to conceal himself. In his panic of fear the novice manages to tear off his eye bandage and is permitted to free himself from the assistant's hold. He now does the thing usual for the tribesman in panic — runs into the forest to escape. But he is soon caught, brought back, and his eyes again bandaged. This procedure is gone through four times, after which the novice's eyes are left unbandaged. He is then shown the "devil's mouth" and asked if he knows what it is, whereupon he takes oath that he does not. It is explained, and the association's secrets are made known to him. Next, medicine is put into this "devil's mouth" instrument. Upon this the novice must take oath that he will never reveal anything connected with the association to a woman, no matter how she may tempt him to do so. After having made his oath upon it, he must swallow the medicine. All this is also done four times. Then another kind of medicine is brought forward. Upon this, he again takes oath not to reveal to women any of the secrets he has just learned. Some of this medicine is then smeared on his throat in token that it will be cut at that place if he ever does break his oath. This part of the ceremony is also performed four times. After this is over, he is led back into town. In Sapa there is a ceremony of a similar nature during which the head is anointed with palm oil mixed with medicines.

Experience has taught the tribesman that the surest way to prevent the new initiate from telling anything, either at an unguarded moment or when tempted, is to send him away from home for a while. Some years ago there began the custom (especially in Half-Grebo) of sending these young men down to the coast, where they might find employment on shore or steamers as "Kru boys." (The Kru people disdainfully refer to the Grebo and other interior people who come down to "work upon the water" as "freshwater sailors who know only how to handle a canoe on a stream.") This sending of the initiates to "foreign parts" gives them time to "get sense fo' haid" - become somewhat settled. To make sure that they will return home, the elders take the precaution of making medicine with a time-limit. This is given the departing boy for protection during his absence. He knows that if he does not return, other medicines at home, made for the purpose, can "reach" and "catch" him wherever he may be.

Since the opening of the Firestone Plantation inland from Cape Palmas, it is becoming the thing to send the newly initiated to work there instead of at the coast. Our interpreter remarked: "Soon, a man who has not worked at Firestone's will be considered as amounting to nothing. He will have been nowhere and know

nothing."

Regarding the Kwi, Mr. Allersmaier wrote: 125

The Quieb [Kwi] is the only secret society in existence among the Grebo [and Half-Grebo]. It is an association of which it is said: "The members play [make] the highest witch [magic]." Admission is permitted only to men, who must dance naked and blindfolded on the day they are admitted. These dances generally take place at night, but may also be held in the day time. When the leader of the lodge has made ready for a "dance," a member of the association hastens into town and sings or calls to the accompaniment of the beating of a drum, Web-bo-yah! Web-bo-yah!

Immediately upon hearing this signal, every inhabitant of the town must disappear into the nearest house. Every fire in the town is extinguished, while outside the drummers begin their clamor and the Big Man, the Quieb ba [Kwi ba] makes his entry. To show the on-

lookers [members of the association and the candidate to be initiated] that he is able to do anything with his body, he shows them a whole decaying side of it. During his dance, pieces of rotting flesh fall off; worms, too, are shaken off. To show his supernatural strength, he often dances about holding a heavy mortar suspended from his teeth. Should a woman venture to look upon the proceedings, she must die. When the dance is ended, the sound of Web-bo-tal Web-bo-tal is heard ringing through the town, the signal that all may leave their houses.

When these doings take place during the daytime, the entrances to the town are manned by guards to keep strangers, women, and others out, or to give warning signals. During the "dance" all persons hiding in the houses must keep quiet, since making any sort of noise at that time is regarded as an attempt to murder the Quieh ba [Kwi ba] and is punishable by a

heavy fine.

In Plibo, Half-Grebo [now Firestone Plantation], where such a "dance" was being held many years ago, there also happened to be in town at the same time a white bishop and his wife. The woman, who had heard the long-drawn-out call, 'Web-bo-yah!' upon being told what it meant, and that a meeting of the Quieb was about to take place, declared that she, too, would see this dance. She was strongly advised not to do so, but she insisted. She went to the place where the affair was being conducted. Just as she sighted the Quieb ba, he uttered a loud cry. The woman fainted, had a fever, and died a few days after. This seems to me to be easily explained. It is understandable that this woman should faint when she saw this hideous individual and heard him let out a blood-curdling yell. Such explanations make no impression upon the native mind. It was the mighty Quieb ba who had killed the woman. Today one still hears the natives say, "Jus' one holluh an' she die." 126

The Kwi-iru of the Grebo. Since our information about the Kwi is so limited, we may perhaps be excused for quoting at considerable length what Johnston has to say about the corresponding society, the Kwi-iru, among the Half-Grebo. Quoting the late Bishop Payne, he writes: 127

There is a curious secret society to be found in every Grebo community, styled Kwi-iru, or "children of departed spirits." Though it is attempted to keep everything connected with this association concealed, it is known to be composed of persons of all ages in the community, except children. They have a "father," as he is called, but he is never visible or known, except

¹²⁵ Personal communication.

¹²⁸ The woman was already ill. She undoubtedly

died of malaria.

¹²⁷ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, pp. 1068-69.

to members of the society. When, as is rarely the case, the Kwi-iru appears in the day, the "father" is always so masked as to be perfectly disguised. The night is the usual time for this strange association to go abroad; often at midnight, on the outskirts of the town, or in the adjoining bush, a sudden discordant shricking, whistling, yelling, hideous noise bursts forth. In a tumultuous body they run around and through the town. Women and children fly affrighted into their houses and close them up, for a heavy fine would be the penalty of their seeing and being seen by the mysterious visitors. If in their wild reveling they fancy they want something from any person, they surround his house, and there remain yelling, dancing, screaming, and threatening until their demand is granted.

The avowed object of the association is to seek and to punish witches and wizards. These are said to be particularly active in practising their arts at night. They strip themselves naked and go to the houses of those whose lives they seek; and especially is it their delight to visit and dance on the graves of those whom they have succeeded in killing by their enchantments. Woe, then, to the man or woman who is seen walking about or through the towns in the night! The Kwi- iru pounce upon them, carry them to a house prepared for the purpose, put them in the top of it, where they are smoked until next day about ten o'clock, the usual time for subjecting them to the universal African test, "gedu" or sassy-wood. Early in the morning an official of the Kwi-iru is dispatched to the forest to get the bark of the gedu tree. This arrived, the accused person is taken by the Kwi-iru to the field, there, in the presence of the assembled townspeople, to be subjected to the test. The officer of the society beats the bark in a mortar, pours water upon it, then turns it out into a wooden bowl, and calls for the accused to come forward and drink. Holding the bowl in his hand, he looks towards the east, and says, in substance: "Oh, God! oh, God! oh, God! I invoke thee four times! If this person be innocent, cause him to vomit this gedu. If he be guilty, may it kill him." The accused takes the bowl and repeats the same words. He then takes the potion and starts to town, escorted by one or two members of the Kwi-iru, followed by the multitude. The former keep near the accused and force him to walk incessantly until it is ascertained that the gedu does not affect him, or he falls down suddenly dead, a victim to the poison. As soon as this takes place a fiendish shout rends the air: "The witch is found - he is killed." Tied by the feet, the dead body is dragged onto the beach, where it lies for some hours exposed to the insults of the populace. Before the relatives are permitted to bury it, they must purchase it from the Kwi-iru for a bullock or something equivalent.

128 For a detailed account of the sasswood ordeal, see Harley, 1941a, p. 153-161. See also pp. 428 ff.

The Kwi-iru are often employed by the Sedibo [warrior class] to administer gedu in cases where persons are accused of witchcraft either by them or by the Deyabo. 128

The Kele. We heard of this cult or association of men in Sapa only, though it may well be found in other tribes of the Kru group. It is also possible that it may have some connection with the mask-wearing "big devil men" of the B5 cult of the Mano, GE, and Gio. Members of the Kele, of which there may be several in a town, are colloquially spoken of as "devils." In Sapa kele means "mask." There are a number of grades or degrees within the cult or association, each with its own special mask. These seem to be of different sizes for the different degrees. According to some of the informants, no devil may look upon a mask smaller than that worn by the members of his grade. The small masks are taken along whenever a Kele man undertakes a journey and are daily "fed." 129 Through this ritual the owner wins the favor of whomever he is going to see and is enabled to accomplish the purpose of his

Sacrifices are sometimes made to these masks. This "helps" their owners in women palavers, especially in cases where the husband suspects that his wife is planning to run away with another man. Cola nuts are tossed to learn whether or not the sacrifice has been acceptable to the masks. They seem never to be consulted as oracles or used for medicine purposes; their use is very personal.

Kele members are called *dhro jebli* or so:u jebli (rising inflection, and not to be confused with the sou who circumcises children). Jebli is the raffia dress ("shirt," it was termed by the informants) which, in addition to the mask, is worn by each member when he "plays."

The Kele kalaba are the leaders of the Kele. Whenever there is to be a "play" given by this cult or association, a kalaba goes to all the towns of the region to call together all its members. A gathering of this sort is known as jala or gala. Its purpose may be merely to obtain a big feast in exchange for entertaining the populace with different dances and acrobatic feats. These bids for a feast are generally made at seasons when food is more or less plentiful.

The performances begin toward evening of the

appointed day.

Another sort of jala is that which continues for several days, gradually working up to a climax, when some person who has been accused of witchcraft is proved guilty and killed. At these entertainments culminating in tragedy, the members from each town compete with those from the others, all presenting their best dances and feats in order to be acclaimed the winners. As each company has made medicine to assure its victory, the losers may accuse someone among the spectators of having bewitched them. Should the accused make denial, he is subjected to trial by the drinking of "sasswood."

Kele members can make only for themselves medicines to protect them from accidents while performing. (Accidents are always evidence of witchcraft.) They can make no medicine to help others.

MISCELLANEOUS CULTS

There are a number of other cults concerning which we learned little except the names.

The Widabo (Sapā) or Gwiu (Tiē), an old association, has witchcraft for its object. Its women leaders are called *Gwiu-nya-zo*. (Tiē.) Meetings are conducted secretly in the deep forest.

The Nije (Tie), also an association for practicing witchcraft, is of recent introduction. According to informants, "a Bragaso woman (tribe unknown to us) introduced it in Bassa. From there it was introduced into Sapa and Tie by a Leopard Society man, who exchanged some knowledge of his medicines with her for

knowledge of her Nije Association." To keep its medicine powerfully conditioned, a child of some member is killed each year in sacrifice to it. The initiation oath binds each when his or her turn comes to furnish a child for sacrifice, but parting from a child in this manner is not always a matter of indifference to the parent. Thus, when a certain woman of Tie was called upon to deliver hers, she took instead that of her sister. The latter somehow suspected and then accused her sister before the town's council. She confessed and named another woman and two men as accomplices to the deed. The men were given sasswood to drink, which caused the death of one. The other man and the woman were allowed to go free.

The Gie or Gle (Keda in the Kru language) is an association of town elders. In Tie both sexes may become members, though only one woman is admitted in each town. The leader is a zo called gle and is chosen for the office by the other members. He may be called upon to serve in this capacity for only a day "to speak the will of the elders, or to do their will, or to entertain." "When he has spoken, what he has said cannot be revoked. When he is told to 'play,' he makes medicine that he puts on the path so that many will come to see him. He also makes medicine to prevent being bewitched into having an accident while 'playing.' Any zo man skilled in dancing may be chosen as the gle." When signaling to each other, Gle people imitate the call of the tree hyrax (Procavia dorsalis or Hyrax dorsalis). The members of this association also wear a gle (mask), which is black. They communicate with the spirits without bodies living in the water.130

180 See pp. 328-29.

RELIGION: METAPHYSICAL CONCEPTS

S WE have already seen, there is virtually no project from birth to death that the tribesman will venture to undertake without courting the favor of benign spirits or overcoming the hostile influence of others. In the present chapter it is our purpose to set forth, as best we can, the nature of these invisible forces, and of the soul of man, as the native conceives them.

Our information is necessarily superficial, and too often confused and vague. Few tribesmen were willing to say anything at all on this subject, and those who did speak were themselves vague and contradictory — or seemed so to us. The need to converse through the medium of interpreters was a double handicap, since it made difficult the transmission of ideas, and further discouraged the natives from talking. Had we been able to hold private and intimate conversations with certain men we met, in their own tongue, we should, undoubtedly, have been more successful.

THE CONCEPT OF THE DIVINITY

Underlying all the other spiritual beliefs of the tribesman is the concept of God as creator. He is called Gala by the Gbunds and Loma (Ngala, by the Gbande), Wala vo, or Go, by the Mano; Zena by the GE, Abi by the Gio, Nyesoa (often Nesoa) 1 by the tribes of the southeast and their relatives inhabiting the basin of the Cavally River in the French Ivory Coast. "Gala" and "Wala" are clearly corruptions of "Allah." This name was probably adopted from the Mandingos, who are at least nominally Muhammadans. Vo (Mano) means "there, "over there." Wala is thought of as living "over there," where the sun goes down. Go is the old Mano term for "de one he bin fo' fus' time - fus', fus', fus', befo' all t'ing." Without his creative spirit there would be "so-so nothing" - merely chaos. It is unlikely that this word is a corruption of the word, "God," because the Mano are probably the most isolated of the interior tribes. It would have had to find its way in through other tribes, and no other tribe has this word. Sometimes the concept of Go as creator seems to be confused with Go as merely the chief of the town of the dead where the ancestral spirits live; yet Go, the creator, exists.

North: God and the Devil. When a newly made pond fills up with fish, Go, the creator, is

Westermann (1921, p. 297, footnote) writes it,

Nisoa; D'Ollone (1901, p. 83), Nieusoi.

A birthmark is goba gbondo; "gbondo" being the name of the plant (Randia malleifera) yielding the black juice that women commonly use as a cosmetic. ³ See below, p. 318.

at work. "How else could there be fish in such a pond?"

Small frogs migrating during a rain are supposed to come from "up." God is making new

When a child is born with a birthmark,2 or has minor defects, like undescended testes or accessory digits, "God did it." These came from the sky. Albinos are supposed to be created by God in a playful mood. They say that is how white people got started.

A very steep hill in Mano country is called Go ba, literally, "God beside," or more freely, "up God's way." Once, when a man carrying a heavy load up this hill fell and died, a load of cola nuts was carried to the top and scattered as an offering to appease Go, so that no more people would die.

The Ga clan of Mano traces its ancestry to Abi zã, who first lived in Gopa, a town near the Mano-Gio boundary. The Mano story says that Go sent Zo mia,3 who brought with him the first mask of a Poro devil.4 It was until recently worshiped as the dwelling place of the Great Spirit and was spoken of as "he who holds the earth in his hand." 5

The usual Gio version of the beginning of things makes Abi the creator, though Towe makes Abi an ancestor.7

This mask, called go ge, is in the Peabody Museum

This phrase is used today to denote any man who is the hereditary head of his clan. See also p. 24.

6 See p. 318. 7-See p. 23.

All of this goes to show the confusion of ideas of god as the life-giver, of the ancestors as gods, and of cult masks as having some of the

attributes of both.8

Further confusion exists as to God's relation to the fortunes of men on earth. When the people see an evil-doer to whom "nothing bad happens," they say, "We must not kill him, for he has Wala vo behind him." Yet they attribute good luck to good medicine. If a man has bad luck, some medicine (his own or another's) has "caught" him.

Wala speaks to people through their medicines. Sometimes his will is ascertained by casting lots. When a sacrifice has been made to a medicine, cola nuts are tossed to learn whether

the sacrifice is acceptable.

Whether or not there are persons into whom Wala enters and stays, to influence them as witches' spirits do, no one could say. "But there are persons naturally inclined to goodness as there are those who are inclined to make wirch."

Wala is feared, as witches and ancestral spirits are feared; but unlike them he cannot be seen and approached. He is an indefinite and indefinable Something having power, whose help is asked when all else fails: "when medicines and sacrifices refuse to speak." Then one cries: "Wy you bring me heah? I see [am experiencing] plenty bad. Wy you no he'p me?" This is probably a relic of Christian or Muhammadan influence.

The Mano also speak of another being who is the Bad One, the devil. He is sometimes re-

We also acquired from a Konor man of the town of Dibiso, a mask about 4 inches long that he called Nyu soa. It had been worn by his father in a special pocket slung under his left armpit, to protect him from wounds — even from gunshot. This small mask was the object of sacrifice and prayer, a "God's name" object through which one could contact the One High God.

Another mask, zma glu, from the Gio town of Ziali, is of a type that may be thought of as the conventional ancestral spirit. This particular one was worn by a man who came to town at intervals and predicted good fortune, including new babies. At these times he went to the waterside, filled a pan with water, and carried it straight to the middle of town without looking back. Sterile women dipped their hands in the pan of water and rubbed some on their bodies, begging zma for babies. Any child born to such a woman was named Zma, "God given." All the women gave this man locks of their hair, which he added to his headdress. A sacred meal was cooked by the midwife zo, of which

ferred to as the "Go vo of 'down.'" Little seems to be known about him, except that Wala is stronger than he. Petitions are made to him, as well as to Wala. Sacrifices, too, are made to him, to avert any evil intentions he may have toward people.

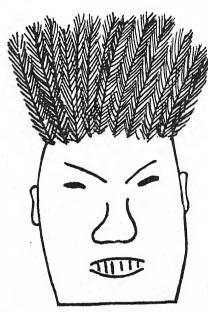


Fig. 29. Clay head used by certain Gio and Krā diviners who contacted the Great Spirit. (Eagle feathers represent hair.)

The chief and elders at Towai (Gio) told us that Abi was of a jealous nature. "When he sees that someone has become too wealthy and powerful, and keeps on becoming more so,

every individual in town had to eat a little. No one could be absent from town on the day Zma was ex-

pected.

A similar function was performed by the peculiar clay cones roughly shaped like human heads with eagle feathers for hair (fig. 29) and crudely shaped features modeled in clay, that were used by certain Gio and Krā diviners to contact the Great Spirit.

The diviner would balance the clay head upon his own, then dance himself into a trance and become the mouthpiece of Nyesoa, answering questions put to him by his two assistants, who also danced with lesser cones upon their heads. (These cones were made in pairs or sets of three.) We did not get all the details of this ritual, but report what we learned as evidence of contact with the Great Spirit as distinct from the spirits of

See also go ge and ma die, Harley, 1941b, pp. 18 and

22 respectively.

he says, 'Oh, so you think you can get ahead of me and displace me?' He then calls that person to himself, because he can deal more successfully with his would-be successor when he gets him to his own place."

They believed that certain Leopard people who had suffered imprisonment for several years, and had recently been released, were enjoying Abi's good favor temporarily.

They make bids for his favor by offering him a sacrifice now and then. A bullock is killed, and its heart and liver are washed in a mortar and placed on the path near the entrance to a town.

Petitions may also be addressed to him for success in undertakings: for example, for a good farm, for children, for family prosperity, for success in war (formerly). "In these times when we spoil [break] some law [of the Government], or when a representative of the Government asks for carriers or workmen and the country has been dried up of men, we ask Abi to help us."

He is not called upon in a spirit of fear.

The concept of Gala among the Gbunds and Loma is similar. "Gala is only one." He is the god of "up." Westermann 10 writes, "In Loma, Gala signifies 'heaven' and 'God'"; and adds that this double meaning occurs in the Kpelle, the Temne of Sierra Leone, and the Ewe of the Gold Coast, and quotes Delafosse as reporting the same of the Upper Guinea tribes.

Gala stays "up," far away, so far that no one can ever get there. Yet it seems he may also be behind one to observe one's actions. He knows what everyone is doing.

He is characterized by the following attri-

He is the ruler of his own place, Gala ta.

He is great and powerful, for he sent down people and things after having made a place for them to stand upon. He sent down the animals, medicine, laws, and rules for living.¹¹

He is not, however, omnipotent. He cannot overcome medicine made by black magicians to spoil his plans for someone's well being or good fortune.

He is good. "How else do we get ahead? He lets us have what we get." This goodness, however, is capricious.

Gala seems not to be petitioned directly. "One cries to one's mother rather than to Gala when in extremity. One may petition one's mother [living or dead] to intercede with Gala in one's behalf."

Gala has a "first" or chief messenger to assist him, say the Loma. His name is Na Kela (messenger of Gala). He concerns himself only with spirits of the dead who want to get into the spirit country. A second messenger is also up there to assist the first, reporting to him all the past actions of those whose spirits are about to enter the spirit land. He also concerns himself with the proper functioning of the lights in the sky.

Concerning other members of the celestial hierarchies, information was so vague and confused that we could not make anything of it.

The Southeast: Nyesoa and Ku. In the southeast one finds contradictory beliefs relating to two divinities, Nyesoa and Ku.

According to one group of informants in Sapā, and also in Tiē, their forefathers "knew only Ku, who is now the one the white people call devil.¹² The idea of Nyesoa came to us from down Half-Grebo way. Nyesoa is like what the white people call God."

Another group said: "In old time we had Ku; ¹³ there was also Nyesoa. Ku had the power. He could help. He made all things. No badness could be done by him. Nyesoa called upon him for help. Nyesoa had no power; he could do nothing." But in contradiction of this they later added: "Fo' fus' time [in the beginning] Nyesoa bin he'p we fallah [fathers]."

It was after Ku had created man and the animals and shown man how to obtain his food ¹⁴ that Nyesoa became "the one who said and did good." How these god-like qualities were transferred to Nyesoa was not clear to anyone with whom we talked. Nor was anything definite said about Ku who, after having done so much good, became "the one the white people call devil."

⁹ See p. 299. ¹⁰ Westermann, 1921, p. 297, footnote. Cf. Kwo, below. ¹¹ See pp. 21, 71, and 318.

¹² Not to be confused with the devils of the Poro.

²³ Some also called him Kuo; a few, Kwo.

[&]quot; See p. 71.

Ku is now "the one who lives on the Hill of the Dead in Sapā. It is he who gets into people's heads; they then have no sense left. He gets into their other parts and spoils them, too. He humbugs people, telling them not to do something good and telling them something bad to do instead. He it is who sets people on the wrong path [spiritually]." This is clearly a case of the old god becoming the devil when a new god comes in. 15

Nyesoa today has about the same attributes as Gala, Go, and Abi. "He lives fo' up, fa' too much." He is inescapable, because he is omnipresent. He is almost omniscient. He helps people, doing them good rather than bad. For example, when a hunter locates game it is

Nyesoa who brings him to it.

He can become vexed with people, however, and harm them. Sometimes when things go wrong with an individual, a family, or a community the bauwɛ̃5 finds out from Nyesoa what has caused him to be vexed and plague them so, and what must be done to put things right.

When it is time for people to leave the earth it is Nyesoa who calls them, showing a prefer-

ence for the older ones.

A bullock's liver is sometimes sacrificed to Nyesoa. At other times a fowl is sacrificed, and its blood and feathers are strewn along the paths leading from the town. "After he has eaten this his heart is gladdened. He then turns back to his own place instead of staying to harm people as he had intended when he started out."

Before petitions are made to Nyesoa foods are set out in cleared places under bombax trees or near the places where the women go to fetch water. One may then make request for anything desired.

CREATION

According to one old Mano man, Go, when he sent the first people "down," 16 sent with them dirt, to form the place in which they were to stay. That was the beginning of things. These first people brought along with them the animals and everything: plants, rocks, and water. Zo mia, the first man sent by Go, gave the water to a son of his, named Boya (not mentioned in the account of the origin of the Mano people). The water was kept in a big hole. Boya walked about everywhere, distributing it according to his fancy. It began running, forming streams which carried it off, and so preventing the earth's surface from becoming covered with it. He also put some under the ground so that wherever one might dig, they would be able to find water in that place.

That is as much as anyone in Manoland could be induced to say about the beginning of things

According to the Gio version, Abi said to his wife, "Let us make people." So he took

¹⁸ Mr. Allersmaier writes to us: "Nyesoa is the general term used for God, but in my opinion it is their expression for the God of the whites, while their own tribal gods have other names."

D'Ollone, who found these same gods among related clans of the Ivory Coast, questioned natives provocatively in an attempt to discover whether some of some earth out of his hand and put it here. Then he sent down trees and other things.

His wife then said to him, "Why are you sending down all these things? My children must not find out all our secrets, as they are not

going to stay with me."

Abi replied, "Where I am is Grebo country." (Why this was said or what bearing it had upon this account was not explained. It may, however, indicate either that the Gio had left their original habitat and come north, or that the Grebo had been far interior before they began their migration to the sea and its vicinity and that the Gio had had contact with them.)

Then there was further talk and argument between the two, after which Abi took water and "put it down" so that their children, whom he was about to send forth, would have some-

thing to drink.17

To account for the origin of the whites and blacks, the Gbunds of one section held that Gala had taken white clay, worked it well, then formed people of it. After these had been well

their beliefs might have had their origin in the teachings of early missionaries, or perhaps have been brought in by natives who had worked on boats. He finds "neither of these two hypotheses very probable, since the different tribes do not intermingle."

¹⁶ See p. 71. ¹⁷ See also p. 71. sun dried, he fired them, as the pot-makers do their pots. Some were fired too much; those were the ancestors of the black people of today. The various shadings of skin, from black on down the scale, show the varying degrees of firing. The whites are the children of those who were not fired at all, merely sun dried.

In another section the Gbunde held that Gala had made all people black "fo' fus' time." These were all sitting about his fire, keeping warm, while he was heating a huge pot of water. When it had come to a boil, he took it from the fire. Slipping from his hands, it fell and scalded one of his "children" sitting there. This one's black skin all peeled off, leaving him white. He became the father of all whites.

The Half-Grebo account of the origin of the two races, as given to us, savors so strongly of the biblical account of the building of the Tower of Babel, with its resultant confusion of tongues, that we suspect it to be a garbled version of this latter. According to this story, Nyesoa, coming to help the black people, found them all gathered together at one place, where they were engaged in building an immense communal house. When he tried to talk to them they refused to listen. This angered him, whereupon he cursed their big house, causing it to fall. He then separated them into groups, to each of which he gave a different language.

"So you refuse to listen when I come to help you? Well, now see what you can do and how you can get on without my help." Having said this, he left them and went to live at the other side of the Big Water (ocean), in the land of the whites. (Whites are thought of as living

"ovah yannah," in the direction of the setting

In all regions of West Africa we have visited where there are anthropoid apes the creation of the latter is linked with that of man. The Half-Grebo version, as our interperter gave it, is that Nyessa created two men and put them in a town to live together. One proved to be exceedingly lazy. All he did was to eat, eat, eat. Scarcely ever did he help to raise food or carry firewood or water. When he was forced to help in the preparation of food he would never clean up after the meal. He just lived in filthy surroundings until the other man cleaned up.

First Man tried for a long time to have Second Man change his lazy and dirty habits, but scoldings and threats were all in vain. Finally, First Man told him that unless he intended to do better, he must clear out and stay away from the place. So Second Man left and went into the forest, where he remained.

One day Nyesoa came to that town to see for himself how his creatures were getting on.

Not seeing Second Man, he inquired of First Man concerning him. "I am alone," he said. "The other one you gave me was too lazy and dirty. I scolded him, so he left me and went into the forest."

Nyesoa then went into the forest to look up his other creature, found him, and became "vex' plenty." So angry was Nyesoa that he changed Second Man's face and his shape.

Then, after putting hair all over him, Nyesoa said, "Now you are no longer a man of the town, but a thing of the forest. Here you and your children will live forever." 18

IDEAS REGARDING SIN AND ITS ORIGIN

According to the Mano, "Go made goodness and badness. He told the first people he sent down what was good and what bad, and commanded that whoever was bad should be sent back to him"; that is, must die. The Gio attributed all badness, as well as goodness, to Abi; he sent both when he sent Man. Later Man acquired his knowledge of right and wrong through Se, Abi's son, to whom Abi talks. Se, in turn, whispers Abi's words into Man's ear.

¹⁸ Carelessness and indifference are also the reasons given by the tribes of the Fang group, southern Cameroun, in their account of how the gorilla and The concept of sin in its theological connotation is foreign to the tribesman, but not the idea of right or wrong. "Mischief" is probably a more fitting word than "sin." The Half-Grebo say, onu de ku ku (the thing one does [which is] not right). Mwele sō is the Sapā expression for the same idea. In Gio ya means mischief or badness.

The Gbunde attribute the origin of work and trouble among men to disobedience. When

chimpanzee became separated from man and condemned to live in the forest, after having been created his equal. Gala created men, the harvest from one year's work in the rice farm sufficed for many, many years' food, because he gave them the "law" to cook but one grain of rice at a time. This grain would fill the pot and suffice for all. Once a greedy person (whether man or woman was not stated), who was doing the cooking for that day, looked at the grain and thought it too tiny, so he put in a whole double-handful. To his surprise, the pot was not filled when the rice was boiled. Then Gala happened along and saw what had been done.

He said, "All right, now you know better than I what to do. From now on you must follow your own way. Instead of one, you will have to cook many, many grains to fill your pot. What is more, you will have to spend your days in raising the rice to be cooked."

Then he left.

Since that time, man must work and work to get the rice he needs to feed himself. There is no more rest.

Another version states that Gala being far, far away from Man, whom he sent down to earth, also made and sent down a dog, to care for him. This dog was given a grain of rice daily by a bird that received it from Gala. The dog cooked the grain and it sufficed to feed all. One day a woman stood near by as Dog put the grain of rice in the pot.

"How can we all fill our bellies on that little thing?" she said to herself. So she put in more, with results similar to those noted in the ac-

count above.

When Gala came along and saw what she had done, he was very, very angry and said, "Aw [all] ri(ght). Dis same wo'k no be my palabah. He be yo' palabah fo' grow rice. You go now, you go wo'k plenty, plenty, so long you stop fo' down [remain on earth]. All man you go bo'n [bear] begin dis time [from now on] go wo'k plenty, too."

So from that day to the present, people have had to work hard to get the rice they need.

Some Gio people told us that sorrow, trou-

ble, and badness came in this way:

"After Abi had made the earth and sent down all things including Man and Woman to live upon it, he wept. His wife, looking at him, asked what was wrong with him.

"He replied, 'Crying, too, must go down.' After that, his wife bore her child, Zã."

In the full Gio account of Man's coming down, Ye was the first being; and Ye his wife. They were twins. They had a son, Abi, who had a son, Zã.

"Abi's new-born son cried.

"Abi's wife asked, 'What's that? What is wrong with him?'

"Abi answered, 'Didn't you hear that crying must go down? That is a cry, the first thing

that must go down.'

"So crying is first and laughing last. Since then, whenever a child is born and it laughs first, we know it has a witch. All normal children cry first, then laugh. People laugh when they hear the cry of a newly born infant, and say, 'Oh, that child is good.'"

CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL

The Soul of the Living. Man has a number of invisible attributes: gi, his intelligence; kpwi, compassion or mercy; and zo (heart), his conscience. (Sometimes it is the belly instead of the heart that is honored.) These are not thought of as souls; but they are held to be parts of the soul, since they leave the body at death. There is also the breath, wu, 19 which is not a soul substance but which is considered as merely a function of the body. (Mano.)

Man's shadow,²⁰ strangely enough, is a soul substance of a sort, though in the last analysis it is part of the body and goes to the grave with it. It is a sort of handle by which witch power may attack the body if it cannot come at it more directly, by means of hair clippings, nail parings, sputum, and so on. (Mano.) One can kill a person by way of his shadow. (Southeast.) "If a person's shadow is cast upon the water and a crocodile comes along and swallows it, that person will die." (Gbunde.)

On the other hand, the Gio may avert witch influence by means of the shadow. "Witches coming to harm you can be deceived by rub-

²⁰ zevui, Gbunde; te, or ni, Gio; hono, Half-Grebo; foε, Sapã.

²⁰ Maniningi (also, mivang), Gbunde; mi bĩ, Mano; me bī, Gio; buhu, Half-Grebo; susu, Sapā; zuzu, Tiē.

bing a certain medicine on the face and body. The witch will then seize the shadow, thinking it has you. When it finds out its mistake you will have gone and will be out of harm. The shadow is then released, so that now you are safe."

The Loma distinguish between the souls of the living and the dead. "A living person has not a gove, but a zewui.21 If you take a person's picture, you take out his zewui, not his gove." Yet they say, "The gove is the thing in man that lives on," as if it somehow existed in man before death, along with the zewui.

In the southeast, as in Mano, the same name 22 is given to the soul before and after death. "It is in the whole body," say the Sapa. But the Tie assert that it is "between the shoulder blades." This soul, the kusu (Tie), is "what leaves the body and goes walking when a person dreams."

The Tie also speak of "the thing that gives a person sense, understanding, will," the gula falue. It lives in di (high tone), the region of the solar plexus. Tubes connect the ears with the li. This dies with the individual.

Westermann 23 says that the Kpelle "have no expression for the soul of the living," and also that the native knows nothing of a "soul as an independent being or a materially or spiritually conceived power," or a something living in or near the body. He concludes: "Man as conceived by the native does not consist of body and soul, but of body."

We have sometimes thought that this conclusion may simply reflect Westermann's inability to get his informants to understand just what he wished to know. There is evidence of more than one soul in addition to the one that is immortal.

In Gbunde and Loma we heard: "A pusson get two hearts. De wan be goo', de wan be ba'. All two [both] te(ll) w'at t'ing you fit to do." (Each tries to influence you according to its nature.)

There are two souls that live in a person and survive after death: $g\varepsilon$, which is the basis of immortality, and a more human soul, the zu or mi zu.24 These souls merge into one when all their earthly business is finished.

Of the two souls that survive death, 25 the $g\varepsilon$ is the least understood. Though it exists in life — is, in fact, the very foundation of man's being — it is almost as if it were quiescent in the living. It is the $g\varepsilon$ that is reincarnated, 26 the $g\varepsilon$ that becomes an ancestral spirit. In the living person it is the soul that keeps in contact with the ancestors, aside from which it seems to have no definite function in ordinary persons. Certain individuals, however, are blessed with more powerful $g\varepsilon$'s which enable them to establish contact with the spirit world, as in epileptic, hysterical, or frenzied states. These individuals become diviners and priests by reason of their unusual gifts.

The other soul, the zu, or mi zu, is more easily understood. It may be conveniently designated as the "dream soul." The common experiences of dreams 27 are supposed to be actual experiences of this zu soul, which leaves the body during sleep. Consequently, dreams are taken very seriously.28

The mi zu can make contact with other dream spirits while enjoying freedom from man's waking control. It can also enter into animals and destroy crops. It can, without the knowledge of its owner, "eat" the dream-souls of other people. It can easily be seen that the mi zu can get a person into all kinds of trouble. In fact, the mi zu can cause its owner's death. This happens when an animal it is inhabiting is killed. It also happens when it has eaten another dream-soul; its unfortunate possessor must pay for the crime with his own life. People on their death beds sometimes explain events in such ways. "I was in the antelope soand-so killed last night"; or, "I ate my son and killed him. I didn't know it then but I see it clearly now."

²² Note that the Gbunde word for "breath" is zevui. ²² See note 24 below. ²³ Westermann, 1921, p. 183. ²⁴ me zu, Gio; kuhuhu, Half-Grebo; kususu, Sapā; kusu or kuzu or kuzulu, Tiē. The Half-Grebo and Sapa names are from the words for "dead" and "shadow." Cf. note 20, p. 320 and note 29, p. 324.

²⁵ The following account is based on Mano beliefs.

²⁶ See below, pp. 331 ff.

²⁷ Some dreams, such as nightmares, may be caused by other spirits appearing to the individual.

We have known numbers of men and women among the West African tribes whose whole course of life has been transformed because of a dream. Dreams are discussed below.

Of a person who has gone insane or become completely senile, it is said that "his $g\varepsilon$ has gone on before." His zu is still around, however, so at death he is given proper burial like any

other person.

There is some uncertainty as to which soul is involved in witchcraft and must, therefore, be destroyed after death; but it is the mi zu that is most commonly blamed. Most supposed witchcraft is in reality nothing more nor less than ordinary accident, resulting from carelessness or excitement. It is an overflow of the emotions (jealousy, hatred, etc.) into everyday life—a manifestation of the subconscious. And what is this but the mi zu?

Thus we see the mi zu as an irresponsible and mischievous, if not actually malignant, soul. The $g\varepsilon$ is more dependable. Yet it is not correct to say that the $g\varepsilon$ is strong in a good man, and that the average man is the victim of two contending personalities. However attractive this would be to a psychologist, it is not a true

native concept.

Dreams. "When a person dreams, it is his zu that goes walking and tells him what is going on." As it goes, it keeps looking back in readiness to return if it sees anyone coming to awaken the person whom it has left. A person in deep sleep is hard to awaken because his zu is still out. As soon as it gets back, the sleeper, whom one has been trying to arouse, suddenly awakens. But one never tries to awaken people suddenly, lest by some chance his zu cannot get back in time. (Mano.)

"It has no power to humbug people when it is out, but it can go to forbidden places to see what is going on there. It can even go to the place of the bad spirits. The first thing a person sometimes does in the morning is to toss cola nuts [split in halves] to learn if his kususu has done something forbidden or gone to a forbidden place during the night, even though he has not dreamed anything at all." (Sapā and

Tie.)

There is a sort of prophet-dreamer who "passes all others for dreaming." He "sees" coming events in his dreams. If something of a bad nature is seen, he often warns the individual concerned.

Then there are persons who can interpret dreams and are called upon to do so. A woman we met in Tie was both a prophetic dreamer and an interpreter. "If one goes to such a person to find out the meaning of a dream, and if his dream is a good one, he will be told that it is good, but he will not be told in a direct way, as this would spoil the coming good fortune. If the dream is a bad one, the interpreter will tell him all about it." (Mano.)

Sometimes, dreams reveal conditions in the spirit world. A man's spirit may not be pleased with the division made of his property after his death; possibly someone the man did not like has received a cherished article. Whatever this article may be, it must be taken from the recipient and laid on the former owner's grave.

(Τiε̃.)

"A man who lay dying warned people not to take any rice from a farm that he had already partially harvested. If anyone did so, he would come back and kill him. After his death, his spirit came to a woman of the town in a dream and repeated the warning. She told everyone of her dream, but the woman disregarded the warning. She died. Then a man did the same. He also died. So all the townspeople went to the farm and burned what was left of it." (Tiē.)

The dead may give instructions through dreams. The palaver house of the Chief of Pandamai (Gbunde), which was built by his father possibly some sixty years ago, still has its original framework above ground. Its posts are renewed and strengthened as the need arises, but the rest is left intact because "the old man" keeps on appearing to different people of the town, worrying them about his palaver house. "We keep it as nearly as possible

as it was, lest we anger him."

The entrance to an interesting looking house in Tie was barred by two lines of stick fence to which oilpalm fronds had been fastened transversely. A mortar set upside-down was tied to one stick of the fence. An elderly man, who was comfortably reclining in a "country" chair at one side of this barricade, refused us permission to enter because the spirit of his father had told him in a dream that if anyone but his wife were to enter, that person would die

Here are some dreams and their interpretations:

1. To dream of killing an infant means that a matai has come to the sleeper and will try to

influence him to do this. To counteract the matai's influence, one feeds his personal medi-

cine well upon awakening.

2. To dream of one's dead mother means that her spirit is about to be reborn in a baby. An offering of rice, cassava, and plantains is then made on the mother's grave. (Mano.)

3. If a person who has a "good eye" (nye pio ny & mi) has had a warning dream and says to a friend, "Don't go anywhere today," the latter doesn't go; if he did an accident would

happen to him.

4. To dream that a zo man comes and shows one how to make medicine is a good sign. The dreamer tells no one but uses the knowledge himself. But if he dreams a $d\varepsilon$ man shows him his medicine, and if he remembers the medicine but doesn't tell anyone about it, he will die; if he tells people his dream, it will destroy the medicine and thus harm no one. (Mano, Gio.)

5. To dream of someone dying means that there will be "playing" and dancing in town.

(Sapã.)

6. In Loma and Gbunde, if a person dreams that any of the dead have asked for food, he will go to the graves and make an offering, even if it be at an abandoned town site, because it means that they are hungry and neglected in their abode.

7. If a person who has recently died appears in a dream and threatens to "get" the dreamer or another person, the danger can be avoided

by going to a different place.

8. To dream of a cow following one everywhere means that something "bad" is about to happen. The dreamer is careful not to go anywhere the next day. The mother of Nya Gege (our interpreter) dreamed of a cow following her. The person who interpreted the dream for her, told her that she should stay at home all that day. About two o'clock in the afternoon, forgetting the warning, she went fishing and was bitten by a tarantula $(y \in n \in zu)$ in the bush. (Mano.)

9. The Gbunde interpretation of the above dream is slightly different. They say that if one dreams of being followed by a cow, it is because the dreamer has wronged someone whose medicine has taken the form of a cow. The dreamer must go next morning to the one he has wronged and tell him that his medicine came to beat him last night, and must make an offering to the medicine.

10. To dream of killing an elephant means good luck for the dreamer. (Gbunde.)

11. It is good luck to dream of a rat crawling over one. (Gbunde.)

12. To dream of a snake means that an acci-

dent will befall one. (Gio.)

13. To dream of a millepede on the path going into its hole is a warning that some one in the dreamer's town will die.

14. In Gbunde, if a person dreams of eating sacred fish, he must go to the keeper of the fish and give him some rice and cola nuts. He will then tell the fish about the dream and pacify them by a suitable offering of food.

15. If a Mano dreams of being wounded, or a Sapa dreams of cutting many bunches of palm nuts, it is a sign that he will kill a wild animal.

- 16. In Gbunde dreaming of pulling out cassava roots means that someone in the family will die.
- 17. To dream of a water pot full of water means that someone is trying to make trouble for the dreamer. To prevent this, he must go to a diviner to find out what kind of a sacrifice to make. He will be advised, perhaps, to put snuff in a large snail shell, add palm wine to it, and then put it in the middle of the path before the entrance to the town. (Gbunde.)

18. To dream of being covered with white cloths means that one will die within the year. A diviner can tell what sacrifice one must make to prevent death. (Gbunde.)

19. To dream of putting oil on one's head is a bad omen. The dreamer will not go out of town that day lest an accident befall him. (Sapã.)

20. To dream of dancing is a sign that some-

one will die. (Sapa.)

21. If a person is away from home and dreams of working in a farm, hoeing cassava or rice, it means that someone in his home town has died. (Mano.)

22. If you dream of finding something you have lost, you will never find it. (Sapa.)

23. If a hunter dreams of immediate success, he will catch nothing.

The Soul of the Dead. Aside from the fact that the living breathe, move visibly, and speak, there seems to be no great distinction in the minds of the tribesmen between the living and

these who have recently died.

"The thing that lives on" has left the body,29 but until it goes to the place of the dead it seems to be able to see, hear, feel, and know what is going on. At Pandamai (Gbunde) a man was so grieved at the death of a friend that when he brought a gift of cloths to the grave he cried, "Oh, my friend, come back and get me!" In seven days this man died. "The dead had heard and sent its spirit to fetch him."

The spirit also gets hungry and eats. It requires clothing. "The food and drink and other things given to the corpse when it is buried are to keep the spirit (gove) alive and strong until the small funeral feast is made." (Gbunde and Loma.) "The little food and water, palm wine, or gin put inside the mat [or shroud] is for the dead one, so he need not hunger or thirst while his kuzu is stopping at the grave waiting to go to Ku to be judged.30 We say, 'Here is some food and drink for you. Send us plenty like it when you get to the spirit place.' If it is not given this [refreshment] before leaving the house, the kuzu can spoil the crops, the hunting and fishing, and everything, so that one must sit down hungry [there will be famine]." (Tie.)

"The thing that lives on comes to the stream to bathe in the evening, just as men do. Because it does not like the dirt of the grave it tries to clean itself. It cannot be seen, but it

can be heard." (Sapa.)

We have already noted 31 that the me zu (Gio) of one who has died sometimes appears to mourners in various forms. The ability to do this at any time is a characteristic quality of this soul, but it does not necessarily take strange forms when appearing to people. It frequently may resemble the person in whom it

"When the gove appears to anyone, in a dream or otherwise, it generally looks like the person when he was alive. There are also people who have medicine by the use of which they can see the gove." (Gbunde.)

25 "Dead" is ku in Half-Grebo and Sapa. The Gio say, kpwe, "dead," and ge kpwe, "spirit dead" or "corpse." The Gbunde refer to both the corpse and the spirit (in some aspects, see below, p. 328) as mui sa, sa meaning, "dead." The corpse is also goveti in Gbunde and Loma - gove being also "spirit."

"Those who have the power and the medicine for vision can see the me zu early in the

morning or in the evening." (Gio.)

"There is a kusu of an old woman that is seen here now and then, carrying water. It always greets those it meets. Sometimes a number of spirits gather to look on when people dance in town. They have the appearance of the living and they are black. If spoken to, they say, 'Don't ask us who we are.' When they come like this they stay all night and go back to their place in the morning. Only people who have the medicine can see them. At other times they are heard but not seen. There is one place in particular where they are often heard but not seen. It is at the crossing of the Dgbwe River." (Tiɛ̃.)

The Sapa call a person with the ability to see the spirits of the dead, kla jeny 5.32 Such a man has a medicine, the secret of which was shown him by a spirit, enabling him to see this spirit or any other at any time. The spirit asks the man if he is willing to have this power. If he agrees he must never tell his secret to anyone until he is at the point of death. Then he may pass it on to a son, but never to a daughter. There is no society of kla jeny5 people, but they recognize one another's medicine. They make sacrifices to their spirits. They cut bunches of plantains and put them in the lofts of their houses for the spirits to eat.

Sometimes a person who sees a spirit becomes dumb or insane.33 Medicine may help him recover. (Mano.) It is held everywhere that the dead appearing to the living in dreams can do no harm.

There seems to be less agreement as to whether the souls of the dead retain the character, good or bad, of their erstwhile possessors. Sometimes we were told that the good continue to be good and the bad to be bad in particular, those who practiced black magic and witchcraft. Yet in some parts we were told that an opportunity is given to the bad dead to change and become decent.84 Generally the belief seems to be that a merely mischievous

⁸⁰ See also below, p. 328.

⁸¹ See p. 321.

⁸² Cf. the *krajenyo* (Tiế), p. 336. ⁸³ For other explanations of insanity, see below, p. 336.

** See below, p. 331.

spirit can be argued with and reformed; a jealous or vexed one placated by suitable sacrifice; a hungry or lonesome one fed or sent where it will have congenial companionship; but a really bad one cannot be changed.

There are, at any rate, both good and bad

dead. Westermann 35 says:

"A good dead person does not wander about. Wandering about is considered as something unpleasant, and in parting from the dead one always adds the request that they will not visit the living. It is something different when a dead ancestor makes himself known to one of his children in a dream and gives him good advice and information about remedies and medicine."

The good and bad dead in Gbunde and Loma have different names. The word goveti or gove, appears to mean the spirit of the dead as it manifests itself to the living; also to be associated with the idea of badness or mischief, intent to harm. When a more benevolent influence is at work, the name, nui sa, is used.

There are comparable concepts in Kpelle, called *moling* and *nyu sa*, according to Westermann.³⁶ "The *moling*, once it is buried and some time has passed, appears in a visible form, while the *nyu sa* makes itself known only

through good actions."

There is a belief that if a mourner a

There is a belief that if a mourner appeals to the $gov\varepsilon$ to take him, he will certainly die.

"A boy mourning at night for the death of his father may say, 'Oh my father, why did you leave me! See, I have no clothes.' Then his father may appear to him, saying, 'There are plenty of fine clothes in the place where I live now. Come, let us go.' His father will take a banana leaf and make the boy some fine clothes; then he will leave him. The next day the boy will be sick and will certainly die and go to be with his father."

We submit a "true story" of one such case, related by Blege, one of Dr. Harley's medical

assistants:

"My own great-grandfather died. One night his son, who loved tobacco very dearly, was mourning him, saying, 'Oh, my father, why did you leave me! Here I am without any tobacco!' Immediately his father appeared, bringing him some very fine, strong tobacco, which the son

chewed and swallowed. The next day he was sick. He could not get up. When his friends cooked food and brought it to him to eat he vomited it. They cooked other food. This also he vomited, together with some black stuff that looked like tobacco. They made medicine to find out what was the matter with him. The verdict was that his father had appeared to him and given him tobacco to eat. The sick man admitted the truth of this, and afterward died. Since then tobacco is taboo for his family, including women who marry into the family."

The ways in which the spirits of the dead are able to make a nuisance of themselves are

endless.

At night one may hear them rattle the door, or knock. Sometimes they appear in dreams, saying that they are not satisfied with their funeral feasts and the "play" connected with them. They threaten to come and carry the person away if more is not done for them. (Tie.)

They can spoil crops. (Gio.)

If a person dies before rice-planting time a small portion of each kind of food raised by the townspeople must be put at the forks of paths leading to farms, so that the *kuhuhu* of the deceased cannot spoil the new crop *before* it is planted! If a person dies after planting time his spirit cannot harm the crop. (Half-Grebo.)

A gove may come and trouble a person because of hunger, and will tell the person so. Then a fowl must be taken to the grave and offered to it, with the request that it will now

keep quiet. (Gbunde.)

Spirits of the dead can appear as witch birds, especially as owls, which are the worst of all witch animals. It is an ill omen when they sit on one's roof and hoot. (Mano.)

A diviner may be consulted as to the best way to deal with them, but there are also recognized standard means that anyone can use. Here are a few of them:

Pour a pot of boiling palm oil upon the grave. This will scald the spirit and keep it quiet. (Gbunde.)

Pour a strong infusion of sasswood upon the grave, or make a hole at the head of the grave with a pointed stick and pour the infusion into the hole. (Southeast.)

²⁵ Westermann, 1921, pp. 179-80.

³⁶ Westermann, 1921, p. 179.

If the spirit is very troublesome, especially if it appears too frequently in dreams, go to the grave; talk to the spirit; take cold water and blow mouthfuls of it upon the grave; set some

food on the grave, also. (Tie.)

If the spirit is incorrigible there is nothing to do but destroy it completely. Sometimes this involves exhuming the remains and burning the body.37 (North.) Such destruction is intrusted to certain witch-catching societies such as the

Molegi and the Horn Association.

In Mano, where the immortal soul, the mi $g\varepsilon$, eventually absorbs the other, the mi zu, an evil spirit must be wiped out, mi $g\varepsilon$ and all. This is a relatively simple matter if the witchcraft is discovered before the corpse is buried, for then the $g\varepsilon$ has not been released to go on its journey. If it has been released before the discovery is made, destruction becomes more difficult; being evil, it may not go to the ancestral realm, but it may go on a journey and be very hard to catch. Caught and destroyed it must be, nevertheless, in one way or another. Until this has been accomplished this spirit is a distinct

Some nice metaphysical questions arise in this connection. If it is the mi zu that is the source of the mischief, how is it that the mi ge sometimes turns out to be a bad one? Is it bad by nature or because of an overwhelmingly bad mi zu? We are inclined to think it is the latter. Another question is: How do bad souls manage to get born? The natives believe firmly in reincarnation,38 and they further believe that reincarnated ge's are, on the whole, good. We have seen that there is quite a setup to eliminate the bad ones. Certainly the good ones should, in the long run, crowd the bad ones out. There are two possible answers. Either some souls that are born good, go bad during their earthly careers; or some new souls are born, of less than reincarnation quality. There is some evidence that the natives hold both of these concepts.

On the one hand, witches are definitely believed to be born witches in some instances.39 An infant that laughs before it cries or cuts the wrong tooth first, is surely a born witch.

⁸⁷ See p. 304. 38 See below, p. 331. Twins are suspect.40 On the other hand, there is recognition of a perverse tendency in man to become evil and spoil God's plans. The idea recurs in proverbs and folktales. Evil influences are believed to be continually at work pulling mankind down. Of these the most potent are those deliberately willed by living men for selfish ends. Is there not rivalry even among the zo's, leading in extreme cases to poisoning - a perversion of power in those very individuals who should be leaders for good.

A spirit that fears to meet Gala or Abi because it has made too much witch may choose to enter into an animal. It then becomes that animal, and when the animal dies the spirit

ceases to exist. (Gbunde and Loma.)

A good soul may also choose to go into an animal, but it will enter a peaceable and harmless animal, and upon its death the me zu will go to Abi. (Gio.) In the southeast it is believed that only the soul that is in the living can enter into an animal.41

The spirit of anyone who has recently died, good or bad, can be "killed" by simply talking to it when it is seen. When one of our young men went to Monrovia, one of his townsmen, also working there, died. The young man helped bury him on the seashore, and then left for another place. There the dead man's gove appeared walking among the townspeople. "What are you doing here! I helped bury you!" the young man said. The govε died immediately!

Spirits may feel that it is their "work" to act as guardians over a place where they once lived, especially if they were driven from the place during life, or died in defense of it. (Southeast.)

For example, there was formerly a large town of Kuabo located on top of the high hill behind the present site of Nyaaka on the Cavally River. Some sixty or more years ago the Webo, who live in and near Nyaaka, made war upon that Kuabo town, killing many of its inhabitants and destroying it. The survivors fled and found refuge among other Half-Grebo clans or across the Cavally on what is now the French side. Their descendants are still living

"join up"; or a person may deliberately embrace witchcraft by learning the black arts and poisoning.

³⁹ Witchcraft may also be acquired unconsciously, by another witch overcoming the zu and forcing it to

⁴⁰ See p. 374. ⁴¹ See below, pp. 355, also, p. 304.

there. The Webo got possession of all the land claimed by the Kuabo people, but to this day they fear to go up that hill. They believe that the spirits of those killed in the fight are awaiting any Webo person who may venture up there.

THE HEREAFTER

Spirit's Intermediate Stopping Place. As already shown,42 the promise of a feast is made to the spirit at the grave on the fourth day after burial if the deceased was a man; third, if it was a woman. "When a woman dies, Gala lets her have three days more to finish her earthly work, while a man is allowed four." 43 (Loma.) The Mano say that the spirit spends these three or four days making a journey to the east and back, and finally goes west. In practically the same breath, natives will tell you that the spirit is obliged to stay in the grave until this promise of a feast has been made and a preliminary, small feast given to it.44 This seems to us an irrational contradiction. To the natives there is no incongruity. All our efforts to get them to explain it were fruitless.

Two points seem clear; namely, that the grave serves as the spirit's waiting place on its way to "up," or "down," or "the Hill"; and that the big funeral feast must be given before it can proceed on its way. Tessmann ⁴⁵ calls the interval das Zwischenreich.

"If there has been no feast made, especially if the person has been a man of importance, the spirit may cause much damage to the possessions of the neglectful family. It may induce one or two widows to die and join it in the spirit land. As there is this potential danger to all concerned when a feast is not made, the townsmen (sete do mia, those coming from the same earth or ground — Mano) practically force the person responsible for the feast to give it. 'We will bury you naked!' they say. 'We will put nothing on your grave! You will be poor and despised in Abi ple!' So they threaten him." (Gio.)

"When the spirit goes to the Hill it is asked, "Where is your food?" If it has none, because no feast has been made, and no food given to

it in or on the grave, it must go back. It will wander about and trouble people until there has been a 'cooking' for it." (Half-Grebo and Sapā.)

"The spirit must sit squatting on a log and shivering until the feast has been made." (Tie.)

It is during this uncomfortable period that the souls of the dead harass the living. Tessmann,⁴⁶ writing of the Fang tribes, describes the soul's state of mind, so to speak, while it is waiting for release.

Now it is curious that the soul either cannot or will not separate itself entirely from the earth until the people have given him some sort of farewell festival, and have thereby settled his accounts on the earth and fulfilled their obligations (closed his books). Prosaic as these words may sound, they come very close to expressing the underlying thought. When the soul feels the urgent need to be on its way soon to Nzambe, tired of the long wait, it appears in a dream, begging the dilatory ones to hasten the feast a little.

This feast I have called the Soul-Feast, a term which is really more appropriate than the Feast of the Dead, although naturally death plays a great part in it. This Soul Feast is, so to speak, the more joyous counterpart of the Burial Feast, for now the soul substance "dies," and the soul goes in a pure state to Nzambe. . . "

When this feast is over the spirit can go to meet Abi without fear or shame, say the Gio. This is probably the basic idea of the other tribes of the north. Regarding those of the southeast we have been able to gather no information.

The Released Spirit. After the feast has been made the deceased is considered to be a Go mi, a "God-person"; or a Go pa mi, a "person of [or from] God's [or the spirits'] place of residence." (Mano.) "It may now appear to people, especially to children, in the likeness of the deceased." (Mano.)

⁴² See p. 262.

⁴⁸ See also p. 261.

[&]quot;No feast is made for bad witch people, slaves (except in special cases), suicides, murderers, and persons dying unnatural deaths. See below, p. 329; also p. 251.

⁴⁵ Tessmann, 1913, vol. 2, p. 109.

[&]quot;Tessmann, 1913, vol. 2, p. 108.
"This "soul substance" would correspond to the mi zu or dream-soul of the Mano. Whether the Mano would say that the mi zu "dies" we do not know.

According to Loma informants: "When a man dies he goes over a big hill. As his spirit is climbing this it gets out of breath. That is when the dying man gasps for breath. On the big hill his old life is exchanged for the new. After this the man's spirit goes down the hill to Duo lazu on the River of the Dead. A slave does not cross the river, but the good freeman goes over on kukwingi, the raft that is waiting for him.

"Gala's messenger, the one named Na Kela, stands there with a Gala na boa [sword of God] and a Gala na kpwe [spear of God]. A second messenger, the one who looks after the sky lights, is also there. At the waterside he reports to Na Kela concerning all that the dead man, now a gove, has done. If he is a rascal he must go to the slave town near by. But if he is a good spirit he is taken across the river after four days of waiting [three, if a woman]. The name of the river is Gala ta ye or Govelazu ye [spirit-town stream]. On the other side is Masata zu [place of spirits]. After reaching this place, which is not the place where Gala himself lives, each newcomer is given a rope by Na Kela, the ferryman-messenger. One end of this rope is fastened up in the place where Gala lives. Whenever the gove needs anything it tells the rope, which takes the message, and the needed article comes down."

In Gbunde the spirit crosses the river on the seventh day after the feast has been made. It does not go "forward" and then return on the day of the feast. One of the fowls killed on the grave on the day of the feast is "given" to the ferryman who takes the gove across the water. When the mourners or worshippers kill this fowl, they say, "Here, Ferryman, is your

crossing fowl." 49

In Sapa the spirits go direct to Ku, who is awaiting them on a big white rock on the west side of the Hill of the Spirits. Here he judges them. (Ku a zuzu.) "He is for the dead what the Big Devil is for the living." 50 If they are found fit to remain in his place on the Hill they are escorted by Ku to a place where the spirits already there wait to receive them. The welcoming spirits beat drums and dance. They can

48 Is this perhaps the practice of the Loma spirits?
49 This is also the custom of the Loma, the Vai, and the Mandingos.

50 We are not clear about this devil, but apparently

be heard in the towns. Spirits on the Big Hill, Tschele, are free to be reborn 51 at any time.

The bad spirits are taken by their own kind to Tschle, which is the smaller hill, where their place is.

"On that small Hill a spirit may sometimes feel plenty bad because no mourning has been made for it and no decent burial given its body; also because there has been no funeral feast. It goes about the Hill of the Bad Dead describing its plight to its fellows in misfortune. It may decide to mend its bad ways and become a decent spirit. It is then advised to go back to the Big Hill and reopen its case, asking permission to join the good spirits. If Ku and the good spirits believe the repentant bad spirit is sincere, and agree to give it a chance, they will permit it to join the good spirits in Dula water. From there it can be reborn again like the others."

In Tie Ku is said to have two places of residence, at which he stays alternately for four years at a time. One of these is Dula (or Duda), described to us as a wide place in the Cavally River where there are a number of islands. The other is the Hill of the Dead. It is only at the latter place that he sits in judgment.

A spirit, immediately upon its release, makes for the Hill. Although it goes by way of Dula, it seems not to know until it gets to the Hill where Ku is at the time. If he is at Dula the spirit must wait until he returns. When it has been tried and found acceptable it may either remain on the Hill or go back to Dula. The road between the two places is always kept open. "If the traveler lays something on it, like a twig or leaf, to mark the right way, he will find, on returning, that it is gone. The spirits in the water remove it, because they refuse to have their kind diverted to another place."

There is an old Tie man who knows the language of the spirits and can communicate with them in Dula. He is given messages to take to them, and questions to ask. He puts two white fowls in the water. If they float he returns home, but if they sink it is a good sign—the

there is a cult devil in the southeast who is superior to the civil authorities, as the Big Devil of the Poro is in the north. See the Kwi devil, p. 310.

51 See below, pp. 329, 331.

spirits are taking them — and he dives down after them. While he is down, people gather on the shore awaiting his return, beat drums, dance, kill animals and fowls (some white ones included), and cook rice in preparation for a big feast. After communicating with the spirits the old man returns in triumph at the place where he went down, waving one of the fowls in each hand. He sometimes brings up with him rules of conduct and taboos, to be observed if the people expect the co-operation of the spirits. (Very convenient for the authorities!) Sometimes he also brings up a nitiē 52 bracelet or other object sent by an ancestral spirit to an individual with instructions to wear it or use it and enjoy good fortune.

Slaves and the Bad Dead. Since no feast is made for the bad dead (or, formerly, for slaves) they have no part in the releasing — or "resurrection," if you will. "The bad dead stay in the grave; from it they come out to trouble us." (North.)

Slaves went to the place called Kobli. (Gbunde.) This is a sacred rocky mountain on which few trees grow. Its location we could not exactly determine, but it seems to be in French territory. The ending bh, meaning "town" or "place" or "residence of," is foreign to the Gbunde region. There are many towns of Sapa and Tie with that ending.58 In Loma they went to Duo lazu (the slaves' town), according to some informants; in Mano some went to Bi $T\bar{i}$ (the magic hill).

In the southeast, like all other spirits, slaves went first to be judged. If found good, they went to the same place as other spirits.

The only persons not given this opportunity are those who have been killed by gunfire or who die from gunshot wounds.

The Place of the Dead. Side by side with the concept that the soul may stay around and manifest itself in various ways, is the higher and nobler one that all spirits except those of witches go to a spiritual abode.54

Regarding Dula and the Hill of the Dead, D'Ollone is informative.

Of the former he writes: 55

The Douo [Cavally] divides into a multitude of forks below Fort Binger [a post of occupation he built on the left bank of the river some miles above its confluence with the Dugbwi]. Those which are close to the banks being very soon cut up by rapids and impassable, I wished to investigate the central forks.

He then goes on to relate how this attempt nearly cost him his life. His description of the river at that point corresponds well with that of Dula given us by the Tie; and this may be their name for D'Ollone's "Douo."

Regarding the Hill of the Dead he writes: 56

At the center of the Sapa country rises the Niete Mountain that dominates Paulo [Panoke]. It is an important mass, with a maximum altitude of about 700 meters, but covering a vast surface. It is the source of two rivers, branches of which show on the maps on the Liberian side, but the courses of which have been up to now entirely unknown: the Douhoue (Dewah on the maps) and the Sino (Sinoé). The Niete Mountain is famous all through the Kru country as the Nienokoué. It also has its legend: the summit is the home of the dead. It also was impossible to climb it without offending our hosts. However, we expressed a desire to do so, and that was enough for them; after our departure the rumor spread far and wide - as far as Bereby [French Government post on the Ivory Coast] - that we had climbed the mountain and disappeared, killed by the dead.

Near this mountain mass, at Panoke in the Putu section of the Sapa, we were forced to remain eleven days because of lack of carriers. Of the two outstanding hills that dominate the town, the higher was called Tschele, the home of the good dead; the other Tschle, the home of the bad dead.

A tradition states that the first man sent down by Ku, the creator, was also named Ku. He lived a long time, then died and was buried, and went to the Hill. No one knew he had gone there. One day his son went walking. Losing his way he finally came to the Hill. To his surprise he saw a number of spirit farms; for he had the power of vision.57 Being weary and realizing that he was hopelessly lost, he sat down and called aloud his father's name. Then he heard a voice that he recognized as his father's, but he could not see him. Ku, still invisible, told his son that he and all who were

331 - both spirit places, named by the Tie. ⁵⁴ Gala ta, Gbunde and Loma; Go pa, Mano; Abi

⁵² See p. 363. S Cf. Kwo, below, p. 331; and Kwo Bli, below, p.

ple, Gio; Tschele (the hill of the good dead), Tschle (the hill of the bad dead), or Dula (Duda), southeast.

D'Ollone, 1901, p. 68.

D'Ollone, 1901, p. 139.

[™] D'Ollone, 1901, p. 68. ⁵⁷ See above, p. 328.

on earth ("in his town") and all their future progeny were to come to him on the Hill when they died, in order that he might have a big town there. He then gave instructions that all men must keep away from the Hill until they died. Ever since that time the Hill has

been sacred, and all the dead go there.

A white man, we were told, had once climbed the Hill despite the protests of the people, though not quite to its summit. The white man kept waving a piece of white cloth to appease Ku, and he also laid strips of cloth in sacrifice to Ku all along the way. Apparently, all that kept Ku from "getting him" was the natives' fear of the consequences if an incident should come to the attention of the Government.

Most of the Gbunda and Loma locate Gala ta "across the river." ⁵⁸ The Mano say that the spirit first goes "up" (toward the rising sun), then "down" (toward the setting sun) to the spirit land.

"Where is that?"

"Across the Big Water, where the white man lives."

All the tribesmen of the north hold the view that the spirit land is beyond the Big Water. When the first whites reached Gioland, the people said: "Ah, our people who went 'down' to Abi ple, they have come back!'" 59

The Final State of the Dead. The concepts of what now happens to the spirit while it remains in the realm of the dead are diverse.

In the north people say, "The spirit continues to visit the living as long as the memory or the tradition of it remains; as long as it appears to the living in dreams. At last it goes to where the 'old people' are [those who died long ago]

and is forgotten."

Some of the Gbunde and Loma agree with a Kpelle concept recorded by Westermann, 60 that "the totality of the dead of a town, especially all who have long since departed, are conceived of as a unit, in which the individual is gradually submerged, with the consequent extinction of his memory."

Then there is an idea that the "old people" go into various living things. Large trees, espe-

¹⁸ See above, p. 328.
⁸⁰ This belief that the whites are the spirits of the blacks, we have often heard expressed by members of the different tribes of the Cameroun.

cially the bombax, in which large flocks of weaver birds often build, are sacred to the ancestors, because "old people" sometimes go into these birds. The people deny that these trees are the dwelling of the spirits.

"Big trees are not the living place, they are the assembly place of the ancestral spirits. Whenever we need their help the $d\varepsilon$ man tells them, 'On such a day you are to come to the — tree [naming the tree] where a salo [sacrifice] will be made for you.' He constantly pours water while talking to them." (Gio.) A tree to which the spirits were now and then called was pointed out to us near the town of Gule.

At a few places in Mano and Gio we saw children killing these weaver birds for "soup." They said "no one was in them." A ban is put on killing them whenever a zo or de "finds" that "old people" have gone into them.

When the weaver birds build in palm trees near a town this is considered a good omen. To get them to come to his town to bring luck a chief sometimes has tall raffia midribs set up over the gateposts (see fig. 41, d, for an illustration).

The Gbunde and Loma say that only a few "old people" go into weaver birds to live in them.

"You will find offerings at the foot of big trees, especially the bombax. They are not put there because spirits of the ancestors live in those trees, or in the birds whose nests you see there. The offerings indicate that there is a grave there. On this they are laid." (Gbunde.)

"The good now live together on the hills or in the bush. They become good 'hill peo-

ple,' " 61 say the Gbunde.

In Mano they sometimes reside in sacred fish.62

A swarm of bees is also associated with ancestral spirits. They look like God to the town. There is a "bee tree" at Gompa (Mano). Whenever the bees show signs of swarming, they are brought back with honey and rice. The rice is a sacrificial offering.

In Half-Grebo we saw a number of "bee pots" with swarms in them — some in public,

⁶⁰ Westermann, 1921, p. 181.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 336 ff. ⁶² See below, pp. 338 ff.

others in private medicine places. Bees are not only luck-bringers for the town; they can also sting night-prowling witch spirits. We learned of one man who had been stung to death. Everyone claimed that he must have been a witch.

When a sacred flock of birds or swarm of bees leaves a town it is regarded as a bad omen. Medicine is immediately made to avert whatever evil may be threatening. For this the Rice Bird people are useful. It is possible that there

are also Bee people.

The Tiế say that the spirits on the Hills, both good and bad, carry on the same activities as men on earth. They have the same social status. The smith is a smith; the hunter, a hunter; and so on. They cut farms at the same seasons as the living. The same is true of the spirits who go to Dula water. "But finally they all go to Kwo.⁶³ This place is far, far away. Very, very far, so far that we do not know where it is. When they grow old there, they can be reborn."

Reincarnation. When the soul joins the company of ancestral spirits it automatically becomes a candidate for reincarnation. There is, however, no compulsion, so not all the good dead are reborn. (Mano.) The length of time a spirit has been dead seems to be of no consequence. The recently dead and the long-time dead can be reborn. (Gio.) There is, however, a limit to the number of times any one spirit may be reborn. "After ten or twelve times he ends. His spirit goes far, far away to Kwo Bli." 64

All the native Liberian tribesmen to whom we spoke of the matter, firmly believe in reincarnation. A Gbunde woman expressed a wish to die so that she might be reborn into an Americo-Liberian family, where she might eat, drink, and be merry, and be relieved of the

burden of work and worry that is the lot of the native housewife. Others wished that they might die to be reborn into a chief's household, or into some sort of better circumstances.

A mother audibly lamenting the death of her infant may be comforted by her friends with: "Oh friend, do not lament. Your child will come back."

If a child bears any resemblance at all to someone who has died it is considered to be the reincarnation of that person. Sometimes it

even has his physical defects.

"There is a Loma 'boy' named Flumuku, in the town of Baloma. He is a Briema man. He has died, been buried, and reborn three times. The first time he died he had a broken arm. He was buried in a termite's nest (evidently to annihilate his spirit), but he was reborn and was recognized by his arm, which was crooked. Each of the two other times the same thing happened, and each time he was recognized by that crooked arm."

"If the newborn infant's spirit is that of a person who has died in old age, it can only be that of an ancestor. When such an infant cries, and one calls it by its own name and asks it to stop, it pays no attention. But if one calls it by the ancestor's name it will hush at once." (Gio.)

When a death and a birth occur at about the same time, it is said that the deceased has "come back."

Sometimes a person learns in a dream who it is that has come back, and tells the child's parents. When parents are in doubt they sometimes consult a diviner. He can tell by gazing into his medicine water. (Southeast.)

"In Gala ta they neither die nor get old. When Gala no longer needs a 'person' he takes away the rope he has given. 65 That 'person' is then reborn on earth." (Gbunde.)

WITCH PEOPLE AND WITCH SPIRITS

The term, "witch" (commonly, "wi"), is very loosely used in Liberia. It means, for one thing, a poison, or a medicine that by its magic influence has the same effect as a poison. It

also means a bad, mischief-working spirit: a matai (Gbunde) or di (Loma). 66 This is the same spirit the Kpelle call wulu. Thus, when it is said that a person "makes witch" or "gets

⁶⁸ Though Kwo is here considered as a place, it is also one of the names given for Ku. See p. 317, note 13.

⁶⁴ This appears to be in contradiction of the state-

ment above, that spirits become eligible for rebirth after they go to Kwo.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 328. ⁸⁶ See below, p. 332.

witch," it may mean that he has and uses poisons or "poisonous" medicines. Or it may mean that he is the abode of a witch spirit that uses him as its medium. Bad $gove^{67}$ also make witch. In fact, the distinction between a bad gove and a matai or di is not clear. There seems to be no fixed boundary. One may simply merge into the other; or the matai and di may be gove that have a higher degree of power for evil.

The Bad Gove. The bad gove appears to persons at night in dreams and in other ways. It usually has the appearance of someone known, possibly someone admired by the individual to whom it comes. It enters the house at night and sits on the person's head or body to frighten him. The person then cries out in his sleep until he wakes up. Then the bad gove disappears. (Gbunde.)

The specialty of these tormentors is to assume the form of a man or a woman, as the case may require, and have sexual relations with the person whom it chooses to annoy. This is bad business. If a gove has relations with a woman she cannot conceive until a 20 has put

medicine on her.

Medicine may be used by either a man or a woman to keep the gove away. It is always made by a zo. One kind is an infusion of leaves and other substances with which the victim is smeared, after which he smells so bad that it would require much courage even for a gove to come anywhere near him.

"If a gove humbugs one at night one may get a gove tufoi, a gove leaf. It has a very, very bad smell. This leaf is set in a pot containing sand and water. Any gove coming near and

smelling it will go away.

"A gove may be caught and killed by a person having the proper medicine. Once he has the gove in his hands he rubs his medicine on it, which makes it visible to others. He keeps it until morning, when it is brought into town for all to see. A fire is made, into which it is cast and burned so it will die. Only the medicine people are allowed to stand around this fire to see the gove burn." (Loma.)

The Matai and D1. The matai and d1, bad spirits gone doubly bad, always work through the medium of some human being, who thus

uses is always and for everyone the potential danger of acquiring one.

Once, noting that our Loma carriers were

once, noting that our Loma carriers were rather silent as they ate the rice set out for them by a hospitable chief, we asked our interpreter what had come over them. "Dey fea' dey get matai fo' belly so [if] dey to talk w'en dey chop," he answered. Conversation brought out the fact that while one of these roving matai may be swallowed at any time, there is especial danger when eating or drinking. It always enters through the mouth.

becomes a witch. A person may be born with

such a spirit, or it may go into him later. There

On another occasion, a woman who set food before one of our Gbunde interpreters put a live coal on top of it. When we asked the reason for this, we were told, "If a matai fly by and see the coal shining, it will fly on and not go into the food, because it will think that the coal is another matai which has arrived ahead of it." (The coal had turned black an instant

after it had been put on the food!)

This sort of witch spirit harms its host as well as others. "It 'eats' people. Anyone eaten by it can live for only a few days." (Gbunda.) Causing illness and death seems to be its favorite pastime. This is the class of spirits meant when it is said of an individual that "he get wi"." Most of the tribesmen mean the same thing when they say that a person has, or a person is, a witch. The two expressions are used

interchangeably.

Those who have the proper medicine can often see a matai or a di. "When seen, the matai sometimes has its legs cut off up to the knees, or its arms to the elbows. It is white-skinned. Its eyes are closed." In one group of Gio, nobody had ever seen one, but had seen "the blood of one after it had been killed." Sometimes it torments its hosts by forcing him to carry it on the back as a woman does her infant. A number of persons in Gbunde had seen one carried in this way.

There are certain signs which show that a person is possessed of a matai or a di. "He may be good and desire to do good. Suddenly, one day, he will begin to abuse those about him or to do other very bad things. He and others then know that a matai has got into him."

(Gbunde.)

67 See below.

When a person sleeps "lak he be die" and it is next to impossible to waken him, he has a matai that has left him and gone walking. He cannot awaken until the matai returns. A zo man who knows matai palaver is sometimes called to investigate such a sleeper, to learn whether or not his sleep is caused by his matai. (Gbunde and Loma.)

"When a person kills an infant or a child by mistake, he has a matai. This witch spirit puts a 'deer' skin or some other animal skin on an infant to deceive the bewitched person. It then says to the possessed: 'This is no child; this is an animal. Go kill it. There will be no palaver about this.' All very big zo men, too, have a matai. We fear them very much." (Gbunde and Loma.)

Once it is known that a person has a witch his life is made miserable until he either gets rid of it or is killed by it or by his fellows. All misfortune, sickness, and death occurring in his town are laid to him.

If he takes steps before it is too late, the one possessed can get rid of this bad witch spirit. He must call a specialist in these matters, who will tell him what sacrifices to offer and whatever else he must do. A brother of the town chief of Zorzor (Loma) was pointed out to us as one, "he get wi' de time he been sma' boy" (when he was young). The matai zo had found and prescribed the proper procedure, which had driven out the unwelcome guest.

It is the special province of the Horn Association to deal with *matai* and *di*, though members of the Molegi and Melai (*Matai*) Associations may upon occasion also be called upon to do so.⁶⁸

When there are one or more of these bad witch spirits troubling a community, the authorities may take steps toward a general cleaning-up in order to be rid of them. One of these hunts was described by a young Gbunde man who witnessed it.

The big Mela Vea (Horn Association) man took his medicine and rubbed on it the blood of a fowl, saying as he did so, "I feed you! I feed you! Catch anyone you see with a matai tonight. Catch any matai you see!" He then took a bundle of about a dozen forked sticks

and fastened these to the roof rafters of a house out under the eaves. Some of his associates then came, took hold of the bundle, and pulled down on it, making at the same time the proper kind of noise. Those inside the house thought this was the medicine going up into the loft and on the roof to drive out the *matai*. They then made the roof shake so that those in the house thought it was the *matai* rolling down.

While the bundle was being fastened to the roof rafters, an associate was rolling up a cloth into a ball. At the proper instant (when the matai had supposedly rolled down and all were listening for the thud of its impact with the ground), he began beating the ground with the cloth ball and kicking it while another man squeaked and cried out as if in pain (supposedly imitating a matai being severely punished).

While some of the Mela Vea were hunting and abusing the *matai*, their leader sang and other members chanted responses to the accompaniment of a calabash rattle, crouching and looking from left to right, around the house. After this witch had been caught, the leader took out his medicine horn and put it to his ear. It whispered to him where another witch was to be found. All the members then went to the next place, where they repeated the performance. And so they kept on until the town was rid of *matai*.

The Horn people said that all the *matai* die from the floggings and abuse given them. Soon afterward, their human hosts will sicken but not necessarily die. It is possible to save them by suitable medicine.

A person dying because his matai has "eaten him," may be buried in a shallow grave in a swamp after the matai has been caught and flogged until it, too, has died. Only a little dirt is put over him so that wild animals may come, dig him up, and eat him. "He is then finished, there is no more gove in him. The gove no longer belongs to anyone; it, too, finishes."

"If a person 'who belongs to a chief' has been killed by a matai, but, because of his relationship to the chief, has not been buried in a swamp, his matai will come out of the grave at night to frighten and humbug people. The chief will then be called upon to have this rela-

tive exhumed, and either buried in a swamp as he should have been in the first place or cremated. In either case, that particular *matai*, no longer having an abode, must go to another

place." (Gbunde.)

In preparation for a di hunt, members of a certain lodge of the Kpwea (the Gio Horn Association), come to the town where it is to take place. Their criers blow horns and tell everyone, "You must eat now, then go and lie down inside your houses." They march through all parts of the town, chanting, blowing their horns, and beating drums. frightens all di in the place. They jump on the backs of any cattle, horses, sheep, or goats in the town, causing the animals to run about frantically. The Kpwea follow the animals to catch the di which are riding them. They beat the di (hitting the animal, which naturally makes it run the faster). The di jump off and try to escape by flying toward a stream. The Kpwea give chase, as they, too, can fly. At the waterside the di are caught. "If one goes there next day, he can see where the di have been killed. Their blood is upon the ground."

Some of the di take refuge in houses and are located by the Kpwea leader's horn, which tells him where they are. Or a Kpwea sees the di as they enter. Into these houses, the Kpwea storm after them. Dark corners are searched. Smudge fires are built, which force the frightened di to climb upon the roof. Up follow the Kpwea, who catch them and bring them down to the ground. The poor di then "beg to talk the palaver,' promising their captors fowls, goods, and what not. (The dialogue between captor and captive, as they bargain for release or punishment rather than death in a sort of "Amos and Andy" treble and bass, would have been interesting, could we have recorded it.) If it turns out that a particular di has not humbugged people too much, it may be allowed to go. But all those that have been really bad are killed. If some person is found dead in the morning, a Kpwea man will say, "Ah! He is the one out of whom I took this di!" as he holds up something which supposedly contains the dead di. After such a hunt, the interior of a house more or less resembles a bargain basement after a day of special sales!

If the person is so unfortunate as to sleep through all the racket of the hunt, another dead di will be conveniently found—the one that possessed him and, by going out of him, made it impossible for him to awaken. (No person possessed of a di can awaken, theoretically, while it is outside of him. Yet the individual continues to live while his di is dead and in the hands of another. African logic again!) Nothing is done to the sleeper, but if he dies a few days later, that is absolute proof that it was his di that was caught.

One of the functions of the sacred bull in the town of Abi zã is to scare away prowling di. "De time he go look [see] him, one time he te'(ll) we, 'Wi' done come.'" This "tell-

ing" he does by much bellowing.

To keep these bad witches out, a Mano may stick an antelope horn containing medicine in the floor just inside the house door, after it has been closed for the night. Another form of anti-witch medicine is a lump of clay decorated on top with a cowrie shell. If this protection is set just inside the door at night, no one will enter. "The cowrie shell shines like a lamp to them. It is like an eye to see them."

There are certain persons who have medicine to put them into relationship with these bad spirits. The Mano have a number of methods for discovering whether or not suspects are guilty of possessing this particular kind of

medicine:

1. Throw a cola nut up on the roof of the suspect's house. If it stays there, he has witch medicine; if not, he is innocent.

2. Bring the suspect before a diviner, who has a dish of medicine set on the ground before him. Touching the dish with a rod he says, "Tell me truly whether or not this man has the witch medicine. If he has, stick to the ground; if not, let me lift you up." He then proceeds with his dish-oracle, which will "tell" him the truth about the accused. If the dish is too heavy to lift, the man is guilty.

3. If the suspect denies the accusation and refuses to give up this bad medicine, a zo man makes counter-medicine, puts it in water, and sprinkles it by dipping it out with the hand wherever he is "guided" to do so. With a split medicine rod he pokes around and brings out the medicine, which the zo must not touch with the hand. (This method is used when the zo "knows the accused is lying.")

4. This method is not so gentle as the above. When there is strong "evidence" that a person has this witch medicine, he is tied and flogged

until he confesses and tells where it is hidden. If flogging can wring no confession from him, then a diviner is called, who "finds" it.

There was a class of people in Gio which the informants called "wi" people," apparently an association of sorcerers. At night they go to meet at a certain place near water, where each has a skin. These they bring out and put on. The skins are covered with sparks and sparkle like a lot of fireflies. These people do their witch-work all night, but must get their skin-

shirts off and leave before daylight.

A good witch person, a zo man named Depu, who lives at Bo, made medicine that gave him power, followed some of these people one night, and looked on at their doings. With his medicine he kept them there until daybreak, saw them take off, fold, and hide their skinshirts. He then took one of these skin-shirts. As daybreak had come, the witch peoples' strength failed them, so they could do nothing to him. Depu brought the shirt home and exhibited it, then burned it publicly as a 'bad thing.' After it was burned, its owner died. So everyone knew who it was that had been working badness with the help of witches. This is the origin of the proverb, "Depu broke the day on the witch people," (quoted when anyone proposes some activity that will require too much time, or which, if discovered, will bring trouble upon those who participate.)

Witches in the Southeast. $W\varepsilon$ (Webo dialect, Half-Grebo) and wu (Sapā) means a witch or a witching spirit. Whether this sort of witch is the same as the gove or the matai or di of the north, we could not find out. They must be somewhat analogous to both the gove and di, because "some people are born with a $w\varepsilon$ (or wu)." Even as children they can be recognized, for they are constantly doing something mischievous or downright bad. "We watch them as they grow, and if they continue they must answer the charge of being a witch person. If they deny this, they must be forced to drink sasswood." (Half-Grebo and Sapā.)

"An infant can be born with a witch, but none can go into it later. Such an infant can humbug its parents and others even before it can creep. When it is left alone in the house, its witch helps it stand up, walk around, eat food, and do mischief. When it hears anyone approaching, it quickly lies down, remains

quiet, and again becomes its proper helpless infant self." (Tie.)

There are other ways by which a woman may know that her child is a witch person. "There was a pregnant woman working out in her farm. She heard a voice inside herself saying, 'I want to go to town to be born.' So she went home, where she learned what the talk was all about when she bore a child with a witch inside it." (Sapā.)

We were given an instance of what a witch sometimes compels its host to do. Near Mlannybwo, a Tiế town, some women were out in their farm digging sweet potatoes. Witches were inside two of them. One of them had a

son

The witch inside the other prompted her to say, "I want to kill your boy!"

"No, do not kill him, only 'break' his eye,"

answered the mother.

The other witch agreed to be satisfied with this and that is why he is today blind in one

eye. (Sapã.)

These we or wu which are inside people cannot leave their hosts while they are asleep and go prowling about harming people, as do the matai or di. They can move and eat only through their hosts.

By using the proper medicine, a person can capture a wu and keep it in the house or elsewhere. It must do its captor's bidding. When he wants to make use of it, he must take it along with him. It can then be set on people to injure them as a dog is set on animals, or it can be sent into a person's food. When the victim swallows it with the food he dies, and the wu

is lost to its owner. (Sapa.)

Disembodied witches who do not go into people may prowl about and harm people in various ways. An owl hooting near a village in the evening is a sure warning of their coming. They can cause insanity. As in the north, so also here, there are many ways to keep them from entering the house. Protections most frequently seen were: chewed mushroom "meal" put on the ground near the door; or, a small pot, gin bottle, large Achatina snail shell or other hollow object, containing a bit of medicine, imbedded in the floor inside the threshold. Into these the entering witch would fall and be trapped to its undoing.

During epidemics, such as the influenza, the Half-Grebo smear the blood of a sacrificed fowl or animal on the uprights of the door frame and the lintel, because these epidemics

are believed to be due to a $w\varepsilon$.

The doctor called gwele nyo (Tie) can see witches, as well as recognize people who are possessed by them, and also those who practice black magic. He can make medicine to counteract witches, but hunting-out and dealing with them is the special province of the Kwi people.⁶⁹

There are also people called *krajenyo* (Tiē) who can see witches and spirits. They can communicate with the spirit of the dead in Dula water. Whenever a *krajenyo* learns that these need a fowl, he asks for one to sacrifice

to them.

Possession by Demons. In the southeast we were told of what was locally termed "devil

possession."

This is apparently considered a severe form of witch possession, but is actually insanity. In Half-Grebo there was a man who became thus possessed. "He went to the forest, remaining there four 'sleeps.' He then came back, looking like a wild man. The demon had told him that he must kill one of his eight wives. He chose one who was pregnant and cut her up piece by piece under the demon's direction." (This crime was substantiated by a missionary who had known of it.)

There are also "powers of possession" that run in families. They may be for evil, but sometimes they are harmless. This power suddenly comes upon a member of such a family. The wife of a Government interpreter became possessed. For three days and nights no part of her was quiet. The interpreter paid witch women to come to quiet her, thinking that possibly one of them might have a stronger witch than she, but none had. Careful watch was kept over her until this demon power finally left.

A Mano doctor confided to us that the "big people" themselves do not believe in spirits and witches but use these doctrines to fool the com-

mon people.

The Hill People. The Loma called the "hill people" ka nyani, which word also means "totem." This may be because they, like the totem, are "behind" people to help them. In

Mano they are ga mia, meaning "human spirits." "There are gove that are good hill people and gove that are the bad hill people. The bad hill people do not help us as the good hill people do." (Gbunde.)

Of bad hill people, it was said, "Dey be plenty, plenty. Dey (s)top fo' top hi(ll) [many of them on each hill which is their

habitation]. Dev vex we plenty."

Beyond these and similar statements, we got nothing of value concerning them. Whether good or bad, they seem somehow to have taken up their abode on a hill instead of the regular

place of the dead.

An individual, a town, or a clan may "have" a hill on which good gove live. "There is a big hill in Blo (Gio). A chief 'has' this hill. No one else may go there. He sometimes climbs it, carrying an offering to his hill people. When he comes down, his hair is dressed very fine. His hill people did it for him."

At Zuogbei, near Zuluyi, Mano, there is a big forest with a high hill. Trees are never cut near or on that hill because the ga mia live there. In times of drought, too much rain, or anything that may spoil the crops, the people of the near-by towns can take goats, sheep, fowls, and rice and go there to kill and cook these. The old men then take some of the food to the sacred spot where it is "given" the hill people. They call by name the spirit of all the departed whom they remember, asking that they help to improve conditions so that there will be good harvests. When they return, there is a feast.

In former times, if the people wanted to start a war, all the men, women, and children in the Ga clan went to the place where their hill people live and there cleared a space, not with machetes, but by pulling up the vines and brush with their hands. No outsiders were allowed. They brought sheep and fowls and rice. These were cooked. No blood was offered, but before the people ate, the "priest" took some rice and meat from each pot. The meat he cut fine, then poured some palm oil on it. He then went to the sacred spot where he alone could go. There he gave the food to the hill people, and asked their help in making the war successful. (Mano.)

Gbwa-wimi is the hill where there is a big, deep valley. The Gio dead [from that section] go there. "Our ancestors lived there."

"If a person[of the Ga clan] dreamed that the hill people said the townspeople should do a certain thing, the priest had word sent around that on a designated day all would go to their hill, make a clearing, and cook an offering to the hill people just as they would do for help in war." (Mano.)

"If hill people come to one in a dream, saying, 'Make us an offering,' we go to the hill and kill and 'give' them an animal. Then goods

[riches] just pour in on us." (Gio.)

"Some good gove live together in the forest or on hills. They become the hill people."

(Gbunde.)

Pandamai gets its "strength" from the hill behind the town, 70 but this is because of the hill people on it. "In old times there was a broad path going up the big hill. When the big 'king,' Akolevo died, people saw him going up that path. He was the first to go. Since then people have followed him when they die. Slaves do not go there. Infants and small children are carried up [by the hill people]. Bad people cannot go there. The goveti come down from the hilltop to meet those who are coming."

The elders at Pandamai accompanying the town chief say that annually, after the rice crop has been cut, their hill people are "given" a bullock. Further offerings are made as necessity arises. "A sand-cutter [diviner] is consulted to learn if there is need for an offering. Sometimes the sand-cutter says, 'Go there and worship, so people will not sicken or die.'"

(Loma)

In Mano the people come together at a large stone at the foot of the hill. A screen fence has previously been set up around the stones. Popozo-wolo, the "high priest" of the hill people and the caretaker of the sacred fish 71 has two or three zo men as assistants, but he alone can go into the enclosure around the stone altar. The people stand about outside as he enters, taking with him several white chickens, some rice meal, and a white cola nut. The meal and cola are put on the stone, the chickens killed, and their blood allowed to run on it. Meanwhile, the assistants have killed a bullock outside and cut off its head. The head is now handed through an opening in the screen fence to the Popo-zo-wolo, who lays it on the stone.

Then he comes out, bringing the dead chickens with him. The usual feast is now cooked, the legs, breasts, hearts, and gizzards of the chicken and the bullock's heart and liver being reserved for the hill people. These offerings are cut fine, mixed with some cooked rice, put on large leaves of the swamp tree called "poplar" (Mitragyne stipulosa) and there laid on the stone. A bit of palm oil is poured on top. Having ended his official duties, the priest comes out. His appearance is the signal for the feast to begin.

The Winigi. Certain "bad things" of the Loma, called winigi, live in the hills and are, therefore, a species of bad "hill people." They follow anyone who comes near their hills, causing him to fall down and become dumb with fright, so that he will be unable to tell what he has seen. Such people can regain their power of speech only when a zo man who knows this medicine takes off the spell. Whenever winigi are encountered by people who have vision medicine, "they shoot up into the air," attaining a height such as to make their heads invisible. They then twine themselves around that person as a big snake does, but they do not harm him.

At Zolowa there is a man who has a winigi for his totem. This is known to others because he can cut his throat so that the blood spurts out. He can also take out his eyes, and he can turn his head around so that his face is behind. Many other wonderful things, he does. But when he begins to show these wonders, all people run to shelter and hide away from him.

The Water People. Wolo vo water people, is the name given by the Mano to the good spirits of their dead that for some reason choose water for their habitat while awaiting reincarnation. We learned nothing of them in Gio. The Gbunde and Loma belief about water people is entirely different and will be considered below.⁷²

There are not wolo vo in all parts of Mano. Kwolo Wolo, speaker of the paramount chief of the Ga clan, said there were none in the waters of his clan. But Yamei clan people were familiar with them in their waters. According to the members of this clan, only people living

⁷² See below, pp. 340 ff.

in the quarter of a town near a body of water can join them when they die. Men, women, and children may do so. But when a big man dies, all know that he has "gone into the water," because the Wolo vo are heard singing and drumming. The town father of Gompa (Mano) is said actually to have thrown himself into a pool at night, when he felt that his time had come to die.

Sometimes of an evening, the water people favor the townspeople with music and "play." If the people go near, they stop. Informants frankly said they feared to tell what the "play" was like, or what song they heard, other than that one chant was "hō-hō, hō-hō!" (the first "hō" low tone; the second, high tone).

When an infant is born, one can tell whether it is a wolo vo, because the water people left behind can be heard mourning and lamenting the loss (by reincarnation) of one of their number. "To them, it is like a death in town."

In each town where these wolo vo exist there is a zo man who is responsible for all dealings with them. He makes sacrifices whenever necessary. Cockerels for this purpose must be white. Before he can "give" one to his wolo vo, all present must sit on the bank of a stream in a circle, while he leads the cockerel around outside. He then lets its blood on a stone near the water's edge.

Like the zo man in Tie, he goes into the water to communicate with these spirits.^{72*} Unlike the former, he never divulges what has passed between himself and "his people down there." Nor does he return with objects that will bring people good fortune.

Sacred Fish. Near many of the towns in Gbunde, Loma, northern Kpelle, and Mano, and some towns in Ge and Gio, we came upon muddy pools, weed grown which seemed alive with sacred fish. All those we saw were catfish (Siluridae).⁷⁸

The pool containing the fish belonging to the town of Fitzibu (Loma) is in a small patch of dense forest. A raffia curtain across the path leading to it warns all to keep out. "People make plenty, plenty salo fo' dem place," our interpreter-guide volunteered. When found in other parts of the swampy meadows, they are not considered sacred and can be caught and eaten. In the southeast the only place where we heard anything similar was Baroba in Half-Grebo. "When a person of the town dies, a [sacred] fish dies. If one of these fish is killed, a person of the town dies." This is all the information we could learn about them there.

The fish in the pools where we looked appeared very tame, coming to the surface in evident expectation of food. Those belonging to a town near Zuluyi (Mano) come to eat out of the hand of their "priest" when he calls to them, "Zo kpwɔ ka nū!" Unfortunately, the priest was not to be found to give a demonstration, but as we heard the same report in other places, we have no doubt as to the truth of the statement. In French Mano, we were assured, there are plenty of places where they come to eat out of the hand of their priests.

These sacred fish may be the abode of the "old people," the spirits of the long-time dead. "Some have 'old people' in them." (Mano and Gio.) For this reason, they must not be killed. We were told in a town of the Ga clan (not far from Zuluyi, Mano), of a soldier from another part of Liberia who caught a sacred fish on a hook and brought it into town to have it cooked. This greatly angered the people. "The soldier became very ill and had to be carried home. He almost died. [Poison given him was too weak to kill?] The fish was taken by the

townspeople and buried like a person. Its grave may be seen at Yeibo."

"If a person who knows about these fish kills one, he gets sick, he bloats, or he goes insane. In any event, he will die. ['If he doesn't, he'll be killed anyhow,' came in an aside from our interpreter.] But if a stranger who knows nothing about these fish and their 'laws' kills some and the people find it out, he must throw part of the fish away out in the jungle. Their 'priest' must put the rest back into their water, explaining to the water that this person, being a stranger, did not know what he was doing. The stranger then must

^{72a} See above, p. 328. ⁷³ The Gbunde call these debe; the Mano kpw5 di. Bi yi sacred or magic

(water) is the Mano name for the water in which they are found.

offer a large, white cola nut to the fish's brothers in the water, at the same time making many apologies to them for what he has done. No harm will come to him if he does this." (Mano.)

"Suppose some man go ki'(ll) one fish lak

dis, he go die one time." (Gbunde.)

"There are not so many sacred fish left in the waters as there formerly were. The 'Melika' people [Government] officials, employees and soldiers, in this case who know white man's medicine and therefore respect none of the old things, have caught and eaten most of ours." (Gio.) Apparently there were no fatal results!

As the abode of some of the ancestral spirits, these fish can help human beings. People go to the water in which the fish live and pray there, to the fish, that their children may not die; that everyone in the town may be kept well; that good fortune and riches may come to them; that they may have many children; or, if a woman has been barren, that she may bear. (Gbunde.)

"A barren woman may go to the fish water and there say: 'My fathers lived here. They died. Here I am slowly growing older. Are my people to die out?' If she becomes pregnant not too long after that, the diviner will tell her, 'The fish gave you the belly.'"

"A woman had borne only girls. She wanted a boy. She conceived and again bore a girl. That year, her household cut bush for its rice farm near a fish water. A roof-shelter was put up near the water's edge. The new infant was laid under this roof to keep the sun from it while the mother worked. One day, as she laid her infant girl down, she again sighed, 'Oh, if I only had a boy.' When she returned to look after her infant, behold it had become a boy! The fish had heard her prayer and made the girl a boy. That boy grew to be a very old man. He never died. He just disappeared. Everyone said he went back to the fish." (Mano.)

It is the duty of a special zo man to be the caretaker ("priest") of these fish. In Gbunde he is called the popo-zo-wolo: (from popo, the "bitter-ball" or wild eggplant; zo, doctor; wolo, to break — the doctor who breaks the bitter-ball.) No explanation of this curious

term could be obtained. He makes the food offerings, the set time for which is at the new moon. If he is very zealous, the fish will be given some rice daily.

Special offerings are made before farm cutting, planting, and when the first new rice is "Ordinarily, rice and palm oil will do, but if it is for something special, a fowl or a

goat is added." (Mano.)

"When the first rice is cut, the people soak and beat it to meal. Then they all go to the fish-water, accompanied by the popo-zo-wolo. In this town [Pandamai, Gbunde], this person is a nephew of the chief. The name his parents gave him is Kakogua. He takes the rice meal and speaks thus to the fish: 'We have brought you this, the first fruits of our rice harvest. Let the heads fill out well. Let it ripen well. Let no animals come to spoil our farms.' He then splits two white and two red cola nuts and tosses the halves to learn whether or not the fish agree to accept the offering. If it is accepted, the rice meal, which has all been put into one calabash, is thrown into the water, together with the cola nuts. All go back to town after this is over. There is no cooking and eating with this offering to the fish."

We were told of at least one useful purpose served by these catfish in Mano, northern Kpelle, and Loma; namely, that when the same water as that in which these fish live is used as a latrine, they consume the feces, and prevent these too-often stagnant waters from becoming over-polluted. ("This service the fish render increases the estimation in which they are held; for they carry in their bodies substantial parts of many generations of townspeople."74

The Ninang. "Ninang spirits are not at home. Those who know about them have got the idea from the Mandingos who have come

among us. (Loma.)

"They are bad spirits that humbug people. They are not spirits of the dead. They humbug us as the gove do, coming at night and sleeping with us, having sexual intercourse. Sometimes they bother us in other ways. The zo men make the same kind of medicine to drive them away as they do for the gove. We do not know much about them." (Gbunde.)

⁷⁴ Westermann, 1921, p. 225.

Westermann 75 is of the opinion that "ninang is perhaps nothing more nor less than the Ara-

bian djinn; in Vai, dzina means specter, ghost, spirit, apparition."

WATER MONSTERS AND OTHERS

In the term "bad thing" the Liberian hinterlander includes all supernatural beings such as we are familiar with under the name of pixies, gnomes, giants, monsters, and the like. In Webo (Half-Grebo) all such creatures are called doseri or do sili from seri or sili, a "snake," which was the first among the animals to become a doseri. Animals of unusual size or aspect and those whose bite is deadly, as for example, the puff adder (Bitis nosicornis), can become doseri (Half-Grebo) but only after they have been bewitched to do evil. Informants were not clear in their own minds as to whether the witch commands the animal or changes himself into the animal. As soon as an animal begins to act in the capacity of a doseri, it goes into a stream and there joins the "bad things," or the "bad water people."

There are many different kinds of bad water people known to all the Liberian tribes, but they are most numerous in the southeast where there are more and larger bodies of water.

The "Big Man" of the Fish. One monster has two heads, one at each end; he is the chief or "big man" of the fish. Like a shepherd leading his flock to pasture, this two-headed fish leads whole schools of fish up the smaller streams when they are in flood. There he leaves them and returns to the main stream. The natives build fish traps of raffia midrib splints in order to catch some of the many fish that leave the big waters for the smaller tributaries. If this two-headed fish comes upon such a trap when returning to the main stream, he becomes angry and destroys it. If any person chances at this time to be coming along to inspect his trap, the doseri jumps out of the water and kills him. When a man is found dead near a broken fish trap at the edge of the stream, it is this "big man of the fish" who has killed him. Some say the murdered one is found with a bloody nose; others refuse to admit this. This account was substantiated by a Kitiebo man (Half-Grebo) who added, "One time he look him, he be crazy one time. He look all same fire." (To look at this creature is to become immediately insane. It resembles fire.) According to this informant, there are said to be people to whom God (Nyesoa) has given the ability to speak with this fish. Toward these the fish is often well disposed, revealing to them where money or other valuables in the stream may be found.

The Dragon With a Jewel. So-called dragons are simply crocodiles. The head of a very old one is believed to be studded with diamonds, some "as large as an egg," which shine at night "brighter than a lantern." When asked to be shown one of these stones, the answer always is, "This or that person has such a stone." Everyone in the southeast claims to have seen one at some time or to have seen the "dragon" itself. When it wishes to lure a person to his death, it lets him see the shining stones in the hope that he will come to get them. These same crocodiles are said to have precious stones in their stomachs, too, one for every year they have lived.

The crocodile is also a "very bad thing" among the water people in the north. The short-snouted one, Osteolaemus tetraspis, is called fali; and the long-snouted one, Crocodilus niloticus, is called zuzu. (Loma.) We did not get any details of how it works harm to human beings.

The Pigmy Hippopotamus. Devilish qualities are ascribed to the hippo, doubtless because it is a water-dweller and because its appearance is uncouth. It is therefore also considered as a *doseri*, both in the north and in the southeast.

The Giant Snake. The python, like all "bad things," can become a doseri only after surpassing the normal proportions of its kind. It goes once a year to a giant bombax tree and winds itself about it. When it is long enough, so that its head touches its tail, it changes color, glides into the water, and becomes a doseri; that is, a man-killing water monster.

Horned Viper. The bite of the puff adder (Bitis gabonica) being so deadly, it is easy to

⁷⁸ Westermann, 1921, p. 189.

understand why it should be designated as a doseri.

The "Red Deer." As soon as the harnessed antelope (*Tragelophus scriptus*) becomes extraordinarily large it also is considered a *doseri*. With its horns it will knock a person into a near-by stream. Despite the fact that this "red deer" lives in the bush, it can work the works of a *doseri* only near a stream.

The Cockerel. As soon as a rooster grows to be somewhat above average size, its neck is wrung to prevent it from becoming a doseri. If left to grow larger, some night it will go behind the house, make a hole in the earth, divest itself of all its feathers, and disappear through this hole into the nearest stream. The next morning the feathers will be found near a depression in the ground such as a chicken makes by scratching; but the hole itself will not be visible. From this time on the rooster will live in the stream as a doseri, killing people. No one questioned could tell what he looks like stripped, thus, of his plumage, but the legendary snake that crows like a rooster to announce calamity may be the same monster.

Water Sheep. According to our informant, Mr. Allersmaier, there is a water sheep, of which the natives say: "He look like sheep. He fit make noise like sheep. He live fo' [in] water. He be doseri an' kill man. Man fit look [see] him fo' [on] rock fo' water. He no fit do notting fo' rock. Soon he look man, he jump fo' water. You go follow him, he catch you. One time you go die." More than this they could not tell about this monster.

The Eagle. When the eagle is big and old, it flies to the ground, scratches out a big hole for itself, strips off all its feathers, and lives in the forest as a doseri. In answer to a question about its appearance, the natives replied, "He change, nobody go look him" [no one has seen its transformation]. In front of its cave in the deep forest may be seen the bones of animals it has killed. Only old people carrying guns dare pass this place; all others who venture near are killed. This eagle is the only doseri that does its evil acts away from the water.

Elephant Tusks. In the middle reaches of the Cavally River lie elephant tusks which have become *doseri*. When a canoe passes their way, they stick up and punch a hole in it, sinking

it, and drowning the passengers. (Half-Grebo.)

In Palepo also we heard of these tusks in the river and were told that "if a person falls into the water in that place, they come up and strike him on the nose, stunning and drowning him. We have seen blood from the nose on people drowned in this way."

The Bad Thing of the Cavally. A bad thing once lived in the forest along the Cavally near what is now Georgetown. Whenever a canoe was seen coming around the bend in the river near there, this monster slid into the water, swam out, and swallowed the canoe and all in it.

Becoming weary of this, people of that region one day heated a lot of large stones, then loaded them, together with sheep and goats, into a sizable canoe, and paddled downstream. Nearing the place where the "bad thing" did his "devil's work," they got out, swam ashore, and let the canoe drift on.

As it came to his haunts, the goats and sheep began bleating in terror. "Bad thing" came out and, as usual, swallowed the canoe and its contents. The heated stones burned his stomach so, that to this day he has never again swallowed a canoe. But he stills haunts the shore near there, and kills any person who cuts a tree in that "bush." All who pass through it must keep calling out, so that this "bad thing" can hide. If a man should meet it, he would die.

A Human Being as a Doseri. There was once a man who always quarreled and fought with one of his fellow tribesmen. One day he met his enemy in the forest, seized him, bound him fast in a hammock, and carried him to a near-by stream to drown him. The prisoner, having vainly begged for his life, swore eternal vengeance, not only on his slayer, but also on his whole family and his descendants. Since then, whenever a descendant of this murderer comes to that part of the stream where the murder was committed, his canoe sinks and he drowns. To this day, the clan avoids that crossing or, if they use it, they remain perfectly silent while passing. Thus, the victim has become a doseri for the descendants of his murderer. His own kinsmen and descendants can still speak with him. They go to the part of the stream where the drowning is said to have taken place, call to him, and lament, and remind him that they are "family people." Immediately the water becomes agitated, a shrub with leaves on it appears, sways with the movement of the water a few times, and then dis-

appears.

The Yidokolo. The Tië speak of the yidokolo, a dragon-monster, long, like a python, but thicker. Its body is covered with big red and black spots. It is found only in the Dugbwi River. Its head and tail are visible only to the krajenyo, who are people with the power to see spirits and monsters. Sometimes others see parts of its body, but at the price of insanity or possibly death.

The townspeople sometimes take a small oilpalm frond and a white fowl to a *krajenyo* for him to give to the *yidokolo* as a peace offering, so that they may be spared and not be caught

and eaten by it.

The GIE. The gIE has a face like the mask worn by the leader of the Gle Association, but it has no body. Whereas the yidokolo kills and eats people, the gIE is content with merely killing them. To avoid this possibility, the townspeople sometimes make it an offering through the krajenyo similar to that made to the yidokolo.

The Wolo keke. The Loma have a snaky monster which lives in the water, called the wolo keke. "The person who has this behind him [for his totem] can use it as one uses a log to walk upon in crossing a narrow stream. If the stream is wide, he can climb the wolo keke and it will take him over. It is very useful in war, because the owner can go over a stream when pursued by an enemy. He will leave the wolo keke there. The enemy will step on it, thinking it is a log. It will go down and drown him."

The Water Baboon. The zia wolo, or water baboon, is another monster of the Gbunde and Loma. "It has long hair, and spears stick out of its breast. "When it catches a person, it takes him into its arms and forces these spears through him. Sounds of singing and dancing can sometimes be heard coming from the direction of waters where these monsters are."

This is evidently one form of the "fater cow" (the other being the hippopotamus) as this description, except for the spears, tallies with that given by other tribes for the manatee. It is strange that we heard nothing about this animal

in the southeast, where the manatee is known in the large streams. It is probably too common there to be regarded as a monster.

The Sotragi. A monster of the Gbunde lives out in the deep forest, usually on high hills, where he lies in wait to catch and eat men, but he does not torment them in any way. He is very stout, not tall, and has a face resembling a chimpanzee's, but he is not a chimpanzee. Neither is he the ka nyeni described under totems. Nor was he ever a person. "He is just a 'bad thing."

The *Babolo*. There is a monstrous snake called *babolo* that lives in trees, between which it "weaves a strong web." If anyone cuts this web, the *babolo* jumps down and instantly kills that person by striking him.

The Wumelegi. The monster wumelegi is a spirit sometimes; at other times, "a thing like the ka nyeni. Wumelegi is the leader of all bad spirits and things. It can eat all the spirits of the dead that humbug people and all witch people as well." (Gbunde.)

The Ninegi. The ninegi have "one foot, one eye, two hands and ears, are about 8 or 9 feet tall and very stout. They fear to enter a town, but may sometimes come near. They frighten people by shooting fire from the mouth, then seize, flog, kill, and eat them." (Gbunde.)

"At Pandamai, there was a big zo woman who had no kin to make the required offerings and funeral feasts for her after she had died. As no one else took this duty upon himself, she made herself into a ninegi, remained near the town, and punished the people by doing all the bad things for which the ninegi are noted." (Loma.) The Half-Grebo know of a monster which resembles the ninegi, but instead of being a separate and distinct being, it is a certain kind of bad witch person who has turned himself into this monster.

The Kupabu. The kupabu, a Sapā monster, lives in the "high bush" (deep forest) and at deserted town sites. "This name is given them by witch persons who have the power of changing themselves into kupabu, so as to keep suspicion from falling upon themselves.

"The kupabu is as big around as a palmoil cask. It has only one foot with ten toes, very long and hairy arms, two blind eyes in front and two good ones at the back of its big head.

"The kupabu comes, greets a person, then seizes and beats him." Early this year [1928, sometime before our arrival in Sapa] the people say a Government messenger was caught and

flogged by one near the Hill of the Dead. Soldiers, camped behind the Hill, had their camp fires blown out by *kupabu* as they slept. Some of them were also caught and flogged.

GNOMES OR GOBLINS

In both Mano and Gio goblins are known as $p\varepsilon$, meaning simply "thing." In Gio, they are also known as $p\varepsilon$ yo meaning "bad thing"; collectively they are called $p\varepsilon$ vo (or po). They were described as "very small beings whose legs and arms almost grow out at the same place. They have the ability to make themselves very tall. A black magician who knows them and their medicine can sometimes turn into one of them. (Mano.)

"They appear as one walks along the path. When one sees them, they shake the bushes, and wave leafy twigs. One becomes so frightened that he has scarcely any strength left to

run away.

"These little things also appear in dreams, opening their mouths and letting fire stream out. Gradually they grow as tall as a house post. When one awakens, they disappear. Some zo people can see, catch, and kill them by beating or hacking them with a cutlass."

(Gio.)

After talking about visible ghosts (departed spirits), a Mano man described another class of beings that may sometimes be seen. A small, "fine" person who is very strong sometimes walks about at night. He is not a witch and not a ghost. He can catch a big man by the arm and beat him. The man's friends in town think they hear him crying out for help. On going down the road they find him half conscious, unable to talk. They take him home, make some medicine for him, and revive him. He tells them how a small person with cold hands caught him and he became weak and unable to defend himself, or even to call out. What the friends heard was the goblin imitating his voice.

There is a society of small boys (the Pepeople) which meets at night. They blow the horn and cry, "We eat cassava." Then they all gather and go along the road to the river, calling, "We make a fire." On arriving at the river they meet this goblin. The one man who is 20 for this society can catch and hold it in spite of its strength. The goblin cries out to terrify

the zo. It shoots up as tall as a tree; it puts the whole moon on its head like a halo; it breaths out fire—all in an attempt to scare the zo and to get away. The zo holds on. Finally it comes down to its normal height, and says, "Who is this that holds me so?"

The zo says, "It is I. What is your name?"

"I am your brother."

"All right, if you are my brother, then I will

kill you."

"Oh, I am not your brother. I am so-and-so," calling some person's name.

"Why have you been doing so much mis-

chief?'

Then the zo demands that the goblin stop his mischief or, if he has been too bad, the zo demands retribution. The next day the person named by the goblin will surreptitiously kill a duck, or sometimes a goat, for the members of this society to eat. If someone questions him about the duck, he will deny any knowledge of it.

If the goblin has done something unforgivable, the zo will kill it. Within two or three days the person in whom the goblin resides will take sick and die. The blood of the goblin will be strewn all over the ground at the water's edge. People passing next day will know that a goblin was killed there. They will wash themselves, saying, "Who knows who will be the one to die?" Someone is sure to take sick immediately after and die in two or three days. (Mano.)

In Gio $p\varepsilon$ or $p\varepsilon$ ya is said to be used by Abi as an assistant. Sometimes when Abi sees a person doing too much badness, he calls out, " $P\varepsilon$ ya, go bring me that man. Why let him stop

there any longer?"

The Gbunde and Loma also tell of a supernatural being called bobo(n)gi, which is either identical with or similar to the $p\varepsilon$. This, too, is

small, but very powerful.

"The bobogi sing very well. Whenever anyone hears them, the news is spread rapidly. Then all the townspeople who can get away go out into the jungle to hear them."

MEDICINE AND OCCULT PRACTICES

THE HIDDEN FORCES

As FAR as his knowledge goes, the Liberian native explains events logically. To explain those beyond his understanding he postulates, as we have seen, a host of invisible forces that he must in some way control if he is to have any security or success in this world. His methods for achieving this control may be startling and bizarre. Sometimes they are arrived at by vague dreams or the promptings of a hysterical imagination. But the native logic is what it is, and our task is to make it in some

degree understandable.

The multitude of spirits of living or onceliving creatures are only a fraction of the hidden forces that must be dealt with. To the tribesman everything that exists — inanimate objects, fluids, the very air — have as part and parcel of their substance an inherent force with power for good or evil. Some of these forces are good for one man and bad for another; or good under some circumstances and bad under others. All failure and misfortune are attributed to harmful forces of one sort or another; good fortune to the support and co-operation of good ones. Nor is this all. Not only do things have hidden power, but acts, gestures, the spoken word are capable of setting potent forces in motion.

All of these forces are used for good or evil purposes, by human beings who have the knowledge and the power to manipulate or direct them; for good by the doctor who compounds good-luck medicines and the leech who seeks to cure disease; for evil by witches and

black magicians.

It is the function of ordeal to discover persons who are thus working harm, and of divination to determine what methods must be employed to overcome or evade harmful influences and secure the assistance of helpful ones. Taboos are negative means to this end, the avoidance of what is harmful. Medicines are an active summoning of the hidden forces to one's aid.

A native man is constantly faced with situations which seem to him to require manipulation of the unseen forces. A person about to set out on a journey wants to know beforehand whether it will be worthwhile, whether it will result in success or failure, or possibly disaster, to himself. To learn this, and also whether the time is favorable for starting out, he resorts to divination, either using his own medicines and methods, or consulting a professional. His medicines are well fed in advance, in order that their influence may be "right." He may possess, or have made, a special journey-luck medicine. One of these, in a ram's horn container, the Loma call balai. It is made by a doctor. You wear it under the arm so that "you will be liked by people and they will give you whatever you ask of them." The Mano and Gio man will take certain leaves, dry, and pulverize them, blow his breath upon the powder, and then touch the forehead and nose with it. In the north the wooden figurines,2 after being fed or having medicine stuffed up their nostrils, may also be taken along. It is especially necessary to take precautions against being bewitched while among strangers. If a rain or storm comes up as one is about to start out, that is an unfavorable omen and must be counteracted. Sometimes medicine is made to stop or turn the storm aside.

A few instances of the supposed hidden power of things will perhaps make clearer the basis of this conception. The strophanthus vine contains a poison in all its substance. This poison, concentrated by boiling the seed, is used on the hunter's arrows. This sort of hidden power we can readily appreciate. Goat glands were implanted to increase human virility even in America not very long ago. The native African has the same idea, only he eats the glands. It is an easy step to the native idea that a warrior may gain valor by eating the heart of a slain foe of great renown. A chief may carry a very dense stone in his pocket to

¹ See p. 336.

make his opinion in council carry weight, particularly if that stone were taken from the belly of a crocodile. To the native, shedding of blood - no matter how much or how little - is a very serious offense, because blood is the stuff of life itself. Therefore, blood is a potent ingredient in a prescription or charm, whether for good or evil. Moreover, the spirit of the sacrificial animal is instructed to help the charm do its work, and so the spoken word becomes more powerful. The blood is rubbed on the materials, which collectively form the tangible portion of the charm, and the newly released spirit of the sacrificed animal departs on its mission with the words still ringing in its ears, linked by its own bloodshed to the inherent powers of the substances composing the charm. The native practitioner then proceeds to eat the body of the sacrificed animal and so links himself to the task in hand. He goes one step further. He offers part of this food to the ancestral spirits to beg them to help the charm succeed.

We have never seen all of these possible types of hidden power incorporated in a single prescription, but it is conceivably possible. The native has evolved special uses for special types of hidden power, so that all are not considered necessary for any one purpose. Therapeutic remedies are often combined with magical elements and the whole given the patient to drink. Spoken exorcism and ritual acts often accompany treatment of the sick. Sacrifice and prayer to the ancestral spirits may accompany the making of a charm or fetish; it is often hard to decide whether the prayer is directed to the ancestors, to the sacrificial animal, or to the newly made fetish itself. One thing is certain: after this fetish is complete, it becomes an entity in its own right, being "alive" and kept so by periodic sacrifices, and is considered able

to answer prayers in its specific line of duty. Of all fetishes described to us in detail, the "Head" of the snake society comes nearest to including all the types of hidden power. In its making are the following elements:

1. Part of a tree which even monkeys can-

not climb.

2. Part of a tree covered with thorns, even to its leaves.

3. Part of a parasite often invisible in the top of a tree.

4. Part of a tree used in treatment of cellulitis or snake bite.

5. Teeth of a python, the king of snakes. 6. A knotted cotton string, symbol of

7. Hairs from a horse's tail — which do not

decay.

8. A human calvarium, itself of the highest magical qualities, to act as a container in which the other elements are combined in male and female portions. To this is added:

9. A perfect ring to ward off witchcraft.

10. A quartz crystal, the white heart of all medicine, taken from running water, symbol of

11. Prayer to the spirits, sent through a sacrificed chicken while its blood runs into the

other ingredients.

12. Eating of the sacrificial meal by all pres-

13. A box and mat to protect the newly made fetish from contamination and from the sight of the uninitiated.

14. Subsequent sacrifice and prayer to the fetish itself for wealth, power, and protection

from evil forces.

15. Several taboos, the breaking of which would offend or even "kill" the fetish.

Of the various means of controlling hidden powers we shall first consider taboos.

TABOOS

Disregarding the fine shades of meaning for the word, "taboo," 3 we may consider it here in the native sense of something too sacred or dangerous to be used in the ordinary manner. The simplest definition of a West African taboo is "something forbidden."

^a nā vε lε [I] no eat [this] thing), Loma; tẽ, Mano and Gio; ntēa, Kpelle; ma or mwa, Sapa; ba or bwa,

Many taboos are clearly ex post facto attempts to explain the failure of normal processes, or to explain away the human frailties for which mortals the world over are constantly seeking excuses. In magical and medical practice the practitioner frequently falls back

Tië. In Sapa and Tië a food taboo is bwande.

on them to explain his failure: if a rite or a prescription does not work, some taboo must have been broken. To protect their reputations it has become the custom of professional doctors and leeches to include in their magical formulae and prescriptions some taboo that must be kept if results are to be expected. This, however, is an abuse, and before we consider such "practical" applications we should understand the basic idea.

Every individual must observe personal taboos, and others that are his as a member of his family or clan. There are also taboos that apply to all members of a craft or a cult, or to all boys and girls in initiation schools, or all women. Still others must be observed by all persons about to engage upon certain impor-

tant undertakings.

Taboos may take many forms. It may be taboo to eat a certain food or kill a certain animal; to see some object or proceeding, even inadvertently; to do some particular thing under certain circumstances or at certain times. Whatever its nature, the taboo is something believed to be dangerous either to the person who possesses the taboo or to the community.

Personal taboos may be acquired at birth or later, and they may be temporary or lifelong. Clan and family taboos are frequently very old, going back to some legendary crisis in the family history when the taboo creature or object

was a help or a hindrance.

Clan and Family Taboos. It is taboo for the clan living in the region of Tapi Town (Gio) to eat cola nuts. This was tabooed by the elders of the clan after their chief had choked to death on a cola nut.

Members of another Gio clan cannot utter the exclamation, "Ah, ha!" This was once uttered by a leopard as he fastened his fangs in the chief's throat and killed him! In the old days anyone who broke either of these taboos would have been killed on the spot, as having jeopardized the life of the current chief.

A certain Sapa family cannot use or drink rain water, because their first ancestors came

"down from the sky" during a rain.

There is another Sapa family that cannot eat chimpanzee. When their first ancestors were building their town they went into the forest looking for leaves with which to thatch their shelters. A chimpanzee, seeing them, also gathered an armful of leaves and carried them toward the new town. From that time on the chimpanzee has been considered as belonging to this family.

The forest buffalo is taboo to the family of one of our interpreters of the Webo clan of Half-Grebo. They have a legend to the effect that an ancestor of theirs came to some water while out hunting for elephant. There he found three of the brass medicine rings (niatie, fig. 75, m) ⁴ playing together in the water. A lizard on the bank ordered the niati $\tilde{\epsilon}$ to take the man across. They asked him to wait and they would call a buffalo to do it. Buffalo came to the opposite bank and told him not to fear, that he would help him. Buffalo then came over, and the ancestor mounted his back. Before starting, he invited the three niati\(\varepsilon\) rings to accompany him, which invitation they at first refused, asking how they were to know that they would be cared for.

"Come and see!" replied the man. "Every new moon we will cook you a fowl, and every third or fourth moon, a goat in addition." After hearing this, they agreed. They also mounted Buffalo, who carried them all across. The three rings are still in the collection of that

family's medicine.

Since that time, no one of that family can kill the forest buffalo, neither can they so much as raise a stick or a machete against one. Any individual doing so would be instantly killed because he had raised his hand (brought war) against the tribe of Buffalo. Also, if any member of that family were to eat buffalo meat, he would surely die unless he first "stood on a lizard." This need not actually be done; merely saying, "Buffalo, buffalo, I stand on a lizard and am going to eat some of you," will suffice.

And this is exactly what our interpreter did when, after passing through the Sapā country, we reached the first Tiē town and there found the larger part of a recently killed buffalo exposed for sale. Thus, he was not harmed by the inordinate quantity he ate in company with

all our men.

We probably would never have heard of all this had not the news been brought to our in-

See below pp. 362 ff.

terpreter, while we were in that region, that a brother of his had recently been killed by a buffalo. This brother and his wife were out working in their rice farm. Hearing a noise, the brother told his wife that he thought it was being made by wild hogs eating their rice. On looking closer, he saw not pigs, but buffalo. Contrary to the family taboo, he took his machete, picked up a stick, and shook it at the animals, shouting the while, to scare them off.

According to the person who brought the news, who took oath before us that it was true, when the buffalo heard and saw this they looked at one another and at the brother and asked him: "What? You bring war against us? Why you no clap you' hand so we go 'way?" Had he clapped his hands, the buffalo would have gone, the interpreter declared. But since the brother had broken his taboo they became "vex' plenty" and killed him.

After the interpreter had finished telling the above story our Gizi messenger told us that snakes were taboo for his family, which lived in the extreme northern corner of Liberia. No snake can harm them. The legendary ori-

gin of this taboo was as follows:

Once when the family's ancestor was out hunting he came upon an antelope and was about to kill it when he saw a big man-python following it and a second, a woman-python, following after the first. They were man and wife. The hunter decided not to kill the antelope but to follow the pythons and possibly kill all three animals. The man-snake caught up with and killed the antelope. Then an argument ensued between the two pythons as to which one was to eat the antelope. Both were very hungry. As they could come to no agreement the male began swallowing the head of the antelope while the female began swallowing its hinder part.

When they got to where their mouths met, and neither could swallow any more nor let go of what he had swallowed, they asked: "Now what? Unless someone comes and cuts the

animal, we die!"

The ancestor came up closer to see this strange thing, and they appealed to him. He refused, saying that they were both so hungry they would eat him, too. In their extremity they promised to make known to him all their snake secrets for obtaining wealth, making

medicine, curing snake bites — in short, everything snakes know. He then agreed and cut the antelope, saving the pythons' lives. They kept their agreement and told him everything. Since then snakes are taboo for that family, whose members know snake medicines and their secrets.

There is a clan to whom it is taboo to eat leopard meat because their founder was saved by a leopard. While he was fleeing from the enemy in war he took refuge in a cave where there were two leopard cubs. The mother leopard, returning later, accepted him as a member of the family, and he quenched his thirst with her milk. Therefore, his descend-

ants can never eat leopard meat.

Some family taboos are of more recent origin. Women of the Sawő family (Sapã) do not eat snake. Once when one of their women went out to the farm she put her baby in the shelter while she was hoeing and weeding. She heard the baby cry but did not go to it at once. When she finally did, she found that a snake had put its tail in the baby's mouth. She cried out, and the snake slowly withdrew its tail and crept away. Because the snake did not kill the child, snake is taboo for the family.

The following list will give some idea of the variety of the taboos. Since our interpreters could not grasp the difference between family and clan, we are unable to make a distinction

here, except for the Mano and Gio.

Gbunde Clan and Family Taboos Boigi and Bonde: wild hog

Gbomai: fowl Gwo wo giti: dog, bombax tree

Kwaiwogi: leopard

Nike: domestic cattle
Nyamai and Solopogi: small, seed-eating
birds called *solo* that live in the towns in
flocks

Wubumai: one section, the leopard; another section, the dog

Yelima: domestic cattle

Zemaligiti: dog, palm oil, palm wine, sitting on a stool or chair

Mano Clan Taboos

Bei (Bing): goat, chimpanzee, monitor lizard (Varanus niloticus), "red deer" (the antelope, Tragelophus scriptus), eddoes (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum?)

Ga: the above-named tubers, lizard, a species of millet called *gbwei boi*, wild hog, dog Yamei: monitor lizard, "red deer," chimpan-

zee, goat

Kei: fowl, except for sacrifice

Gio Clan Taboos Gbea: dog ⁵ Kwila: goat, snake Bapli, Do, Mao: dog

Blo: snake

Bo: giant rat (Cricetomys giambianus)

Gopli: sheep Sa: dog, tortoise

Sapā Clan and Family Taboos

Baibo: beans

Balenyu: ornaments of any kind Banyo: cola nuts, palm wine

Blabo: elephant Baleyu: dog Bowo: leopard

Flebo: dog, chimpanzee Jablo: dog, forest buffalo

Kalako: bola (a mushroom), "red deer"

Keakő: dog, otter

Nemabo: dog, bones of any animal, rice birds Nyenabo: "the antelope with black lines on its back" (Cephalophus dorsalis)

Nyemao: fowl, yam Sawő: snake

Senyu: fish, "red deer," buffalo, chimpanzee Tayopa: black forest antelope (Cephalophus niger and another antelope called kwe

(not identified by us)

Tie Clan and Family Taboos

Meso Division Beibo: ant-eater

Dhrowo and Zibo: forest buffalo

Senunu: fish Tolobo: leopard Zawo: snake

Zida: dog, forest buffalo, hyrax, chimpanzee

Menye Division

Bāibo: chimpanzee, polo (a small tree of the family Euphorbiaceae, perhaps Alchornea cordifolia). (The first Baibo ancestor is said to have mixed the juice of the leaves with pepper in some water and blown it in his infant's nose, causing its death.

Formerly the Gbea might not eat cola nuts. When the Government got control over this clan the officers forced clan members coming up for trial to eat cola Other clans smear this mixture on clay pots to blacken them.)

Baibo: python, hyrax. (The latter is taboo because these men are members of the Gle cult, who have a call like that of the hyrax.)

Beibo: ant-eater

Gabo: wild hog, forest buffalo, crab, fish,

goat

G(r)idabei: wild hog. "The first woman ancestor gave birth to a hog. Now, when a pregnant wild sow is about to cast her litter, she comes to the Gridabei country."

Gweibo: chimpanzee Nenao: domestic cattle

Niyala: antelope called *dri* (unidentified by us), because "the first Niyala woman gave birth to such an antelope; they are our brothers."

Seu: forest buffalo, chimpanzee, fish. "The first Seu woman gave birth to a catfish,

which is the head of all fish."

Somo: wild hog, an antelope called "gazelle" by our interpreter. "Since we have made this antelope taboo, we have borne many children."

Tabeimu: leopard

Ziamu: the "gazelle," above mentioned.

Personal Taboos. Personal taboos may be permanent or they may be temporary, as when given in conjunction with a medicine or a remedy to cure illness. Thus a Gio man we knew was forbidden to eat cassava for one "moon" only. Those of a permanent nature may be determined prenatally, at birth, or any time thereafter. In Mano and Gio we heard of a number of instances in which the pregnant mother had been told that her child-to-be must never eat bananas, or some other food. One mother was told that her child was not to go to a certain stream to fish, if it turned out to be a girl; if a boy, he was to avoid a certain part of the forest. We were told that a Gio child who was present in the palaver house while we were writing our notes had been given the taboo immediately after birth never to eat a wild fruit called bue. One of our Sapa carriers had been given the taboo never to see or cross the Dugbwi River; so when we reached the first

nuts as a mark of courtesy. Since that time this taboo has not been strictly enforced.

Tiế town he refused to go farther, as this stream was not far ahead.

The general practice seems to be for children to inherit their fathers' taboos, but they may take their mothers' besides. These must be kept for life. There is no way out of them.

Other permanent personal taboos may come later in life as the result of illness, an unusual event, or accession to office. A Gio man we met had been told by his leech during an illness that he must never again eat rats, while another sick man had been told never again to eat the catfish called kpw5 or he would again sicken, and possibly die.

When someone is very sick and suddenly begins to recover after eating a certain food, that food becomes his taboo. He may never eat it again, not even for the treatment of subsequent illness. It has saved his life once; it is taboo. Since taboos are inherited sometimes from both parents, one person may have many taboos sometimes even seriously complicating his food

problem.

A famous midwife, a zo woman of the town of Dogomai, was given two personal taboos by a "spirit" in a dream. One of these was that she must burn nothing but raffia midribs in her house; the other, that she must never again eat rice. Whenever she was given any cooked rice, she put it into a calabash and set it where the fowls could eat it. Questioned as to why she herself did not eat it, she always replied that she was "feeding her spirit."

A Mano woman must adopt her husband's taboos when she marries, besides keeping her own. This is because the children take their father's taboos, and if the mother does not keep these the children are guilty of sin by proxy. After she passes the child-bearing stage she is

free to drop her husband's taboos.

In some regions there are times when a man must keep his wife's taboos (when she is pregnant, for example), and when a son must keep his mother's if he has not already taken them for his own.

Among persons having the same taboo there exists a close fellowship, that entitles even strangers to respect and consideration and any help they may need. Such persons hold them-

selves to be brothers. They must stand together in times of danger. They may not testify against one another in court. In the southeast it is said that a woman may not marry a man who has the same taboo as she, for she is his sister.

Widespread Public Taboos. Taboos that affect the public may concern matters from polite conduct, or etiquette, to those of high

religious significance.

It is taboo to touch any medicine except one's own, or to disturb anything on a grave, or anything offered in sacrifice by someone else. It is not safe to call any article by name during the process of manufacture, or to mention the dye in the pot, or to discuss the nature of a remedy until the patient has been cured. It is at least theoretically taboo to model the human figure or to draw pictures of anything. Also theoretically, it is taboo to lie, steal, or kill.

It is taboo for anyone, including a blacksmith, to buy or sell the yini 6 or kpume; or for anyone to stand behind a blacksmith or a weaver while he is working, or to watch smelters at their task. Such prohibitions in connection with a craft always indicate that it is, or at least has been in the past, associated with cult or religious practices.

Secret societies, especially the Poro and Sande, protect all their ritual and cult objects with exceedingly strict taboos. Their groves, certain trees, all masks, and other sacred properties, and the houses in which they are kept, are taboo to outsiders. It has always been taboo for a community to make war while the Poro

is in session. It is taboo to fight or insult a Ki-La mi,7 or even accidentally to wound a ge.8

It is taboo to go on sacred mountains, to cut even a twig from certain sacred areas, to fish in sacred waters, or enter sacred towns.

Many other examples of such taboos are to be found throughout this report. They are the beginning of all law and order.

Sex Taboos. Among the most important general taboos are those relating to sex. A number of these are directly concerned with sexual intercourse. It is taboo for everyone in

⁷ See pp. 304 ff. ⁶ See p. 143.

⁸ See p. 274.

the daytime. (Violation of this taboo is believed to result in crop failure or epidemic disease.) It is also taboo for persons about to engage in certain important undertakings, such as war or big game hunting; and for certain craftsmen, notably smiths, and iron smelters, before beginning important work. A more recent taboo of the same kind, among the Bassa, prohibits a man from having anything to do with a woman the night before cutting down a tree to be sawed into boards. If he does the tree will surely split, making it of little value for boards.

A number of things are taboo to women because of their sex. They may not enter a black-smith's shop. They may not use for firewood a certain hardwood called *kmakma yıdı* (*Hymenostegia lyrata*), used by the blacksmith for charcoal when he forges important tools. (Mano.) If a smith spoils a piece of iron, women are held somehow to blame. Such taboos arise from the idea that woman is a contaminating influence. If a woman accidentally sees a zo's small personal mask it is thought that dire calamity will visit the whole community. In the old days she was killed.

In some sections a woman who allows herself to give birth to a child before she has been "cut," sins against all women, threatening their fertility. A mother may not have intercourse with any man until her infant can walk, or at least creep; if she does the child will never

walk.

Intercourse is prohibited to all young men and women during their terms in the Bush schools, and was formerly punished with death. In fact, a boy paid with his life for even look-

ing at a woman during this period.

In all the north the eating of eggs ("unless there is a chicken inside") 9 is forbidden to all girls and women until they have passed the child-bearing stage; and to boys and men (except in Gio) until they are no longer able to procreate. In Gio "real men" may eat eggs of any sort.

All kinds of calamity are supposed to result from broken sex taboos, but especially crop failures, sterility, and misfortunes related to child-bearing. If a woman's labor is difficult, if she has no milk, if her baby dies, or is sick, or cries a great deal, she must have broken some taboo. Failure of a patient to respond to treatment is often blamed on the breaking of specific sex taboos prescribed during illness. Leprosy, insanity, and elephantiasis are often attributed to broken taboos of the Poro and Sande—not sexual, yet closely linked with sex.

Sex taboos must be observed by all mature individuals so long as they are considered able to have children. A man who becomes senile or a woman who has passed the menopause is spoken of as no longer having sex. Formerly these old people were distinguished by a square pad of cloth that they wore on their heads.

The old cult mother (Wai) in the Poro is thought of as sexless, as is the old man who has

a parallel function in the Sands.

Community Taboos. Here and there we learned of taboos for whole communities. In most sections of Half-Grebo it is taboo to bring a chimpanzee into town, ¹⁰ a Kelepo chief informed us. If one is killed it must be cooked and eaten outside of town. If it were brought inside all the medicine would spoil and become powerless to help anyone, crops would fail, and people would die. This is because the chimpanzee's cries resemble those of people mourning for their dead, especially those of children

when a parent dies.

The town of Gbaishelo in the Mano country was built a little off the road to avoid contamination by goats passing through, because goats were the brothers of the townspeople. Then an old man dreamed that it would be a good thing to let the goats come into town and really treat them like brothers. The people thought this a good idea, and goats became a favorite investment. They were kept in the house. They were never eaten. When they died they were carried out of town and buried like human beings. If a man of this town took a wife from a town where goats were eaten, she would have to refrain from eating goat so long as she was likely to have children. When her child-bearing period was ended she would be allowed to eat goat meat again, provided no one saw her do it. She must kill the goat outside of town and wrap it up to take it into her house.

⁹ See pp. 69 and 209.

¹⁰ See below, p. 355, footnote 16.

In Gio only the zo people may eat of the neck of the forest buffalo. If anyone else eats of it, not only he, but all his family, will die and their quarter of the town be entirely broken up. Boys and men of this tribe may never eat the vine kambo, which has an edible root.

Professional Taboos. Though we know little about them, there are doubtless a number of taboos that apply to all practitioners of certain professions. In Sapa we heard of two that must be observed by the bauwēī after he takes

office. He cannot eat the flesh of the bushtailed porcupine or the giant rat, because both go into a hole like Ku the oracle-spirit that the bawwē5 consults. The forest buffalo is also forbidden to him, because a buffalo skin is hung up to screen off his medicine place.

In Gbunde "zo people," from the time they come into office, cannot eat crabs, that is a "law" of their medicine. In company with other zo's they may eat fowls, birds, eggs, and white cola nuts, but never with any person not

TOTEMS

A totem ¹¹ is taboo to its possessor, but it is more than a taboo. As explained to us by the natives the difference between a taboo and a totem is this: The taboo-thing is usually something venerated and held sacred because at some time it has helped an ancestor or ancestors, near or remote, and has helped or will help the individual at some time. The totem is a purely personal thing that helps the individual only so long as he "has" it and keeps its laws. It is always "behind" a person; therefore, he and it are inseparable. No matter where he goes or what he does, it is there to help and warn him — or punish him if he breaks any of its laws.

Practically anything may be used as a totem, provided it has the essential quality of an ability to help. The Loma say that they do not use as many things as their neighbors the Kpelle. The animals most frequently mentioned as totems were the leopard, the snake, and the elephant. There were also animals that had become demons, including some of the "water people" — the crocodile, hippopotamus, manatee, and others. Monsters such as the ka nyeni and ninegi were also mentioned. The favorite plants seemed to be the banana and plantain, the oil and raffia palms, the cola tree, cassava

¹¹ A totem is called *plege pulu* in Gbunde (*plege*, to come down; *pulu*, the back [of a person]; therefore, "the thing behind one's back.") "The followers of a chief are called *plege pulu*, because they follow on behind him." (Loma.)

Another term (Loma) is ka nyani, not to be confused with ka nyeni, below, p. 354. (Ka, to see; nyani, thing; a seen thing, because one takes as his totem only something he has seen in a vision.) "Ka nyani ga zea is the 'thing one sees [and has] in the hand'; ka nyani ga pulu is 'the thing one sees [and has] behind the back'

bush, the yam, and the pepper plant. Rocks, water, various utensils, even the wind, were in the list of inanimate things. One Mano chief is supposed to have ships as totems. These come and go secretly. (This particular man is one who has learned to read and write.)

From a native we heard the following story: "One night I caught a gecko [a nocturnal lizard-like creature, Hemidactylus sp.] and brought it into the house. The boys were very much alarmed; they said it was a 'bad thing' and would not touch it. On being questioned, they explained that this little animal would come to a big person and offer to make an alliance with him [become his totem], that it was in reality one of the 'fine little people'—apparently comparable to our fairies or pixies. The gecko would offer to make the person rich, provided the person agreed to carry out his end of the bargain. It would come to him at night only, when no one else was present."

An individual's totem may sometimes be known by the qualities it imparts. "If you see a person who is a very swift runner, that person is sure to have a leopard behind him." (Loma.) "If you have a leopard behind you, it can help you to run fast whenever you need

[as Helper]. One may use either expression when talking about a totem. Or one merely says, ka nyani or plege pulu." (Paramount chief's relatives, Loma.)

In Mano totem is bole and in Gio, bwole. "It is the meat [animal] or thing 'behind' me." (Mano.) "It is the thing that is 'behind' one to help him as a friend would." (Gio and Half-Grebo.)

In Sapa and Tie it is kwolo-jt-de (kwolo), the bush or forest; jt, to see; de, thing; the thing seen out in the forest—which will be "behind" one to help him.

to. There was a Gio man in prison at Tapi Town. He had a chain fastened to his neck. One day he ran away. Though all at the Government post pursued him, it was useless. From that day to this, he has never again been seen. He is in hiding somewhere in another district. When he escaped in this manner, it was known at once that he 'had' a leopard, so no one has ever gone to locate him and bring him back. There is no use even trying. If you see a woman whose skin shines beautifully you know that she has behind her the nue, the water-cow [manatee]. Its skin always shines, and it can help women to keep their skin fine." (Gio.)

"The Gizima section of the Loma is renowned everywhere for its hard workers. Many of them have the machete as the thing behind them. You can tell those who have it

by the way they work.

"When you see a woman who has a fair number of children, you may feel reasonably certain that she has the banana or plantain tree for her totem. These help women to get plenty children.

"Those who have pepper [capsicum] for their totem will often be found growing

wealthy." (Loma.)

"If you see a man holding a certain thing in his hand and the dust flying not far from him, he has ninegi 12 for his plege pulu. He has told them to dance before him. The ninegi bring him goods during the night, or they will perform tasks. When he speaks to them, one hears their answers, although they remain invisible." (Gbunde.) Our interpreter confided to us later that a Gbunde man living among the Kpelle was reported to have these "people" for his totem.¹³

Certain kinds of totems, especially the leopard, snake, ka nyeni, and elephant can be sent by a man to get rid of anyone for whom he has a dislike. "If a person has an enemy, his kwolo-jn-de will go and kill that person for him whenever he wishes it." (Tiē.)

12 See below.

Elephants, leopards, antelope, "bush hogs," and other such totems can help a person who is a hunter to get game. His bwole goes out ahead of him and finds one or more of its friends (animals like itself), and leads them to him so that he may kill them. But he must not kill the leader! To do so is to kill oneself.

Once a person has accepted an object as his totem, he must keep all its "laws." If not, punishment is certain. "If you do something to offend it, your plegs pulu can come at night and beat you so that you will fall down senseless. Friends will find you and take you near your plegs pulu, if this is at all possible. [They are not supposed to know what it is.] You will beg it not to be angry any longer and to forgive you for having offended it. You make an offering of a fowl to it." (Loma.)

One "law" everywhere is that one must never eat one's totem. "Your totem is yourself. If you eat it, you eat yourself." (Loma and Tiē.) "But if you do so unknowingly, you may tell it what you have done and make an offering. Your totem may accept this and merely punish you with a bad sickness. Or it may refuse and make you sicken and die."

(Tíế.)

Theoretically, a father's totem is taken by his son and a mother's by her daughter. But, as we understand the matter, this can only be done through suggestion. A person may seek suggestions from a household or family member,

but one never asks directly.

"The bwole is a personal matter. Whatever the individual chooses, he may take. A father may, but need not, help his son choose a totem. If he sees his boy has good sense and is worthy, he may suggest that the son take a certain thing, which is generally that of the parent. Or when he is about to die, he may tell what it is he has had behind him all his days as his helper, and suggest the boy take the same. The son may refuse. No one knows the bwole of another person." (Mano elders at Zuluyi.)

"A son may take his father's, a daughter her mother's bwole, if they have seen it in a vision

who is supposed to have supernatural helpers leads people out to show what his 'people' did for him while he was asleep. Sometimes he has them bring a lot of cooked food to a certain place, or a lot of goods, to show people." (The Mebeya are a tribe in the Cameroun related to the Ngumba.)

¹⁸ After hearing this, and talking about *ninegi* with our interpreter, our Cameroun "boy" remarked: "That is a thing such as the Mebeya tribe claim to have. A Mebeya man 'gets' them for his helpers. He has a number of friends in the secret with him. They hide themselves, work at night, and next morning the one

and it has been revealed to them that it is behind the parent. But they must keep the vision secret." (Gio.)

"No person can take another's plege pulu,

unless secretly." (Loma.)

The snake, the *ka nyeni*, and sometimes the leopard seem usually to be acquired through the mediation of a person who has one. (Loma informant.) (These will be dealt with further

on.)

One essential of having a "thing behind one as one's helper" is absolute secrecy as to what it is. "If asked what it is, a person will generally make an evasive answer, or will say, I was thinking about the possibility of taking such and such a thing.' Everyone knows this is not so." (Gbunde.)

"If you tell anyone what your plege pulu is, it can't help you any more. Its powers are

gone." (Loma.)

"If you speak the name of your bwole, or tell anyone what it is you have, you spoil it for helping you. If a parent should say to a child, 'Take this, which is my bwole,' it would spoil it for the parent. If anyone even dreams of the thing that is your bwole and tells you of the dream, though he does not know it is of your bwole he has dreamed, it is spoiled for helping you." (Mano.)

How this dreaming about another's totem can spoil it, was told us by the Gio. "We had a good warrior here at Tapi Town. He was proof against gunfire. When we fought the Melika people [Government] he walked about and the shots of the soldiers never affected him. Then one day a woman noised it about that she had seen his bwole in a vision. It was water he had chosen. Next time he showed himself

and was shot at, he was killed."

"If those who have a kwolo-ji-de tell another person, it will run away and often kill them."

(Τiε̃.)

Of all the totems, we most frequently heard about the snake, which may also be "kept as the Snake people keep them"—as sacrificial animals. They seem to have a desire to become people's helpers, as they frequently try to get people to "take" them. "If one comes into a house, it is kept and fed by the owner of the house, who will then have it behind him as a helper." (Sapã.) The mother of a school boy we met there, had one, a small python, "which ate up all the hens' eggs, so there was no

prospect of getting any more chickens."

"If a snake wants to be your totem, it may meet you on the path as you are going somewhere and tell you so. If you accept, you make an agreement with it. If not, it may keep on following and "humbugging" you until you

do agree." (Loma.)

"A snake that wants to be a man's totem often comes to him in the shape of a woman of pleasing appearance so that it cannot be known for what it is. It says, 'I like you very much.' If the other party agrees to like it also, it then asks what the man will give it to remain with him as his helper, stand behind him to make him rich and powerful. He may promise a bullock or some other thing. If the snake is satisfied, it will reveal itself. From then on, it will be behind him." (Gbunde.) It seems that such a person will either get a snake himself or get one with the help of the Snake people.

This is carefully kept and fed.

With the help of his snake totem, a person can get rid of anyone he chooses, or he can accumulate riches and become powerful. The commander of the garrison at Zigida knew men who, he felt certain, had such a reptile as totem. "The man who has one carries a small piece of cord twisted into the shape of a snake; a bit of wood, carved to represent its head, is fastened to one end of this cord. When he throws it on the ground, it becomes a snake and will do as he bids it. Those Mano and Gio who have the snake as totem can also do this. When a person's name is called before the snake that person dies a lingering death as the snake slowly 'eats' him away inside. Sometimes a person named and given to the snake in this way suddenly cries out that a snake has 'got' him. He can feel it." (Loma.)

"Snake totems are especially fond of infants. If you see one whose skin is flabby, that remains weak, that has 'no bones' you know it has been given to someone's snake totem. Jealous [childless] women often choose the snake for their totem because they like to kill other women's infants. Now there is our old Chief Tapi. His wives lost many infants. He was the big friend of a woman who was suspected of having a snake totem to which she was 'giving' these infants. The diviner found this out and revealed the fact. But Tapi refused to bring her to trial because of their friendship. He preferred to lose his children. But when people

say, as they did to Tapi, 'Get the diviner to find out who has given this person to his totem'; and the chief says, 'No, let it be, Abi [God] has called that person'; then we all know that the chief either gave the person the totem which did the killing, or that the suspected person and he have the same totem and he does not dare to let the trial take place." (Gio elders at Tapi Town.)

As totem, the snake is the most difficult to please. It begins by being satisfied with animals sacrificed to it, then demands human beings with increasing frequency. For a time it will be satisfied with any person given to it. Then it demands specific persons, then relatives, especially those nearest and dearest to the owner.

When the individual finally says, "I have given you all I can," the snake totem will say, "If you have no more, then I must take you." So the owner at last becomes the victim and is

killed by his own snake totem.

While we were at Beleyela, in Belle country, we saw the wife of a man who had supposedly been killed by his snake totem. The young man had been working on the Firestone Plantation near Monrovia. He had promised the snake his own mother but had repeatedly put the snake off. This vexed the snake, which then turned upon the young man and began "eating" him. As he felt himself being eaten, he asked permission to leave his work and go home. Since he was unable to bring himself to give up his mother as promised, the snake finished "eating" him. Those who were digging his grave told us about it.

There seem, however, to be ways of escaping this fate. The animal totem may be sent to Monrovia, for example, to bring a bag of salt, with the promise that the person demanded will be given to it as soon as the salt is delivered. The animal goes in good faith, but is unable to return with the salt, because it must make its journey through the water of the rivers. The salt is dissolved in the water and as the animal dares not come back emptyhanded the chief is permanently rid of the bad

alliance. (Mano.)

The Gio claim to have a medicine to prevent totems that are "bad things living in the water" from catching or "eating" human beings, provided one can get and apply the medicine in time.

Another totem frequently mentioned in Gbunde and Loma is the *ka nyeni*. This is, according to Gbunde informants, "a frightfully ugly monster, in shape like a huge chimpanzee. It lives in the big rocks out in the forest. Sometimes it goes into the water. It has even been seen in towns."

"It lives in the forest and is like the thing that the Kpelle call kasheng." (Loma.) Westermann ¹⁴ writes of a monster that the Kpelle call kaseng, seng kete, or seng polo, he calls it "waldteufel," [bush devil] "but not to be confused with the Poro leader."

The ka nyeni appears only to "fine" men or women. "When it comes and says to a person, 'I will be behind you to help and to make you rich,' you must take it. If not, that very night you will die. After you have agreed to the bargain, it will show itself in its true shape. Then it exerts itself in your behalf, influencing others to give or share what they have, causing crops to grow, or what not. It is especially helpful in showing a person what leaves to use in making poisons to kill others and get their possessions." (Gbunde.)

Ka nyeni, like the snake, must be "fed" the thing it desires or it will eat its owner. Sometimes it prefers human beings. If it wants a fowl, this is killed and its blood allowed to run into the water near the town water supply. Sometimes it wants to eat utensils. These are put into the water. If one has a ka nyeni as totem and tells of it he will become insane that

very night.

The Gio make a small offering of rice to a totem that is not "strong." If it is a "strong thing" that needs proper feeding (snakes excepted) it is generally content with a sheep, goat, or bullock. Any strong totem animal may demand a human being about once in two years. Human beings are "fed" to it by naming them.

There exist also family, town, and even clan totems, but where these group totems are concerned we are not able to distinguish the line drawn between totem and taboo. It seems that the good hill and water people and the sacred fish may be used as town totems. At Zorzor

¹⁴ Westermann, 1921, p. 227.

(Gbunde) and Sakripie (Ge) the town totem was a species of monkey. At Zorzor they were held sacred only so long as they remained in a certain part of the jungle. Any that left that region could be killed and eaten, as there were

no "old people" ¹⁵ in them. At Tapi Town the chimpanzee was both taboo and totem. ¹⁶ In the southeast we also heard of "family people" (animals) that were at the same time taboo and totem.

FAMILIARS

"Familiars" are helpers, distinct from totems. Like the totem, the familiar goes out to help one, but in the case of the familiar, the zu of the person himself enters into a bird, an animal, or another person chosen as the medium. "One need not necessarily keep the same thing once it is chosen, but it is better to do so, because one knows better how to act when using only one thing as a medium." (Gio.)

This same idea and practice is current also among the other tribes. Those who enter other beings are usually actuated by motives of personal profit at the expense of others. In the guard house or prison at Nyaaka, on the Cavally River, we saw an old Baroba (Half-Grebo) man, who had told a woman never again to go near a certain place in the forest or he would go into his leopard and kill her. She went, and was attacked and killed by a leopard, which in the court proceedings that followed was "proved to have been a real and not a human leopard." Yet the old man insisted that it was himself and that he, and not the leopard, had done it.¹⁷

Our interpreter says that Chief Towe (Gio) takes his big sacred bull with him into his secret medicine house and "talks to it" for a long time whenever an important palaver is brewing. He

15 See p. 330.

¹⁶ In this region the chimpanzees are half tame. Formerly they were allowed to go and come at will inside the town. The taboo has partly broken down since Government troops came in and began to kill these animals for food, and they are now rather scarce in the vicinity.

We may add that nothing we heard about the supposedly fierce and violent chimpanzees of Liberia would bear out their reputation. (The only one we saw ourselves was in the hilly country of northern Mano, and he was moving as though all the hornets

in the land were on his trail.)

Persons questioned in the southeast said: "He be so-so meat [animal]. He live fo' bus(h). He look lak ol' man. We look [see] 'im we fit kill 'im; we go chop 'im. We no fea(r) he too much." Some people ad-

would not tell this himself because of his fear of ridicule.

There is a story of a time when Towe was on the verge of war with another chief. He (his zu) entered into the sacred bull and walked down to the other town. When night came, he again changed his form. This time he entered into a fine young woman. The woman went into the house of the rival chief and presented herself. In the course of the evening's conversation, she remarked that Towe had said so and so, and was talking as if he thought he was a "big man," but for all that, all his medicines would be of no help to him. The rival chief said that if Towe only knew enough to make a certain kind of medicine, he would be wise indeed and would enjoy full protection. That night the little woman disappeared. The next day Towe made the medicine as described by his opponent and won in the ensuing war palaver.

From a missionary's journal we have the following:

June 22, 1926. The appearance of an elephant in the neighborhood of Ganta brought out the fact that certain big and powerful chiefs are supposed to be able to change themselves into elephants. This elephant was supposed to be a local chief. It killed a woman.

mitted that a man without weapons would be no match for an adult chimpanzee if attacked.

The Gbunde, Loma, and Mano all stated that one or more companions of a wounded chimpanzee would help it, or actually carry it away if necessary, while others advanced to fight the men attacking them.

Mano hunters actually gave this "monster" credit for a tender heart! They affirmed — and would have taken oath had we desired it — that when a chimpanzee came upon a dead animal in the forest it wept (set up a howl)! They said the chimpanzee would never fight when this sadness was upon it, but would allow a man to pick up and carry off the dead animal unmolested. This statement is at least worthy of further investigation; for the Mano who made it were strong in their insistence that they now and then got meat in this manner.

17 See also p. 298.

December 1927. We saw a full-grown elephant cross the road. It had been chasing people and breaking down rice kitchens. The boys said it was a person, probably the same Mano chief who had come last year

in the shape of an elephant.

A stray elephant or leopard, especially if he is vicious, is supposed to be a person, as for example the leopard that killed a goat at Ganta. Later, after I shot this leopard, the story was told of a certain man in Lao that died the next night, confessing before he died that he was the leopard I had shot. He said he had been enticed by an enemy leopard to go and "play" in Ganta and had come to a bad end.

People can also enter into "bush hogs." When a "bush hog" spoils somebody's farm, it is not really a hog but a person. If such a hog is chased and hard pushed by the dogs, it will run straight for its own village and into the house of the person who has gone into it. If it has been wounded so that it dies, the per-

son will die that same night.

February 20th, 1928. I stopped in the small blacksmith shop at Gompa. The gossip of the day related how a man had been run out of his farm by a stray "deer." The blacksmith's father told very dramatically how the deer had looked at the man, how the man had tried to drive it away, how the man had finally been forced to flee from the deer. Se Cook, acting as interpreter, volunteered the comment that it was not an ordinary deer, but a person, and in case of such an encounter the man would not try to kill the "deer." If such a deer was wounded or killed its "person" would die the same night. If it was hunted it would flee to its own house in the village and no one would try to stop it.

Sometime ago, a girl died near here from the effects of poison given, I suspect, by her father. But she herself claimed she had been "bewitched" while out walking in a farm after having gone into an antelope.

May, 1928. Several owls were seen around the dispensary. Blege, my assistant, believes they are patients returned to "see all the medicine." Women can enter into owls. Sometimes they take the form of owls and try to spy upon the doings of the men's [Poro] Bush. But if they are seen the $M\tilde{a}$ $G\varepsilon$ will kill them.

Another kind of bird into which people sometimes go is described as "large as a dove, red in color, and with a yellow beak." (Sapã.) "They come out at night and triumphantly sing, nwã-ka, nwã-ka, whenever they have succeeded in causing illness or death."

Sometimes it happens that a man and his wife have chosen the same animal. For instance, if it should be an antelope, the wife may one day say to her husband, "Go out and shoot an antelope today." He at once knows that they both have the same animal familiar, but says nothing of it to her. He knows, too, that she will go out and enter into her animal, and through it lead one of its "brothers" to him for him to kill. (In the same way a totem animal will lead others of its kind to the hunter, as noted above. 18)

The "water-cow" ¹⁹ is chosen by women, the crocodile by men, as a familiar to help catch fish, just as a land animal familiar helps lead its "brothers" to a hunter. A person who goes into one of these will bring home fish of a size far surpassing those which others can ever hope to catch. (Gio.) When taken as totem, these "bad things in the water" can be behind one to help catch fish. In fact, there is some confusion and overlapping between totems and familiars.

One's familiar may sometimes get hungry and "possess" the one who "has it." In the mission school at Zolo (Loma) there was a bright youth who was perfectly normal in all ways except that occasionally he became possessed by his leopard. At such times he went about acting like a leopard. Once, when he became "possessed" by his familiar, he caught a small sheep belonging to Dr. Lape of the Mission and ate it, skin and all, picking the bones clean. A heavy dose of croton oil, administered as soon as it was learned what the youth had done, helped him to get relief from this orgy. A slight fever was the only adverse effect it seemed to have upon him.

There is a certain class of witch people who can go not only into animal familiars, but into

other objects as well.

"Dis be true t'ing my frien' he be Baroba (Half-Grebo) man done te' me," said David, our Sapā interpreter, as we were discussing this subject. He then told how one evening, as his friend, the young Baroba man, was sitting by the fire in his house, a stranger came to the door and beckoned to him. The young man went out and followed him; neither of them spoke a word to each other or to those whom they passed. They both went into the bush for a considerable distance. There they stopped and waited.

¹⁸ See above, p. 352.

After a time, people in the form of witches began to arrive. First came a very old and short man with a long white beard. On his shoulders, he had a chair so big that no mere human could have carried it. This he set down, then sat in it, remaining silent the while. Soon witch people who had gone into their familiars began arriving. A few were birds or snakes, but most of them were banana trees. As they whirred into place, the men and women in them came out and stood beside the old white-bearded man.

The witch people then began talking about how they would kill the young Baroba; one saying, "I'll take his ear to make medicine"; another, "I'll use his finger"; others saying which part they would use.

Then a witch woman spoke, saying, "It is not good to kill a young man who 'knows book' [has been to school] and has been to war for our people. He can help in our palavers with the Government. We must let him go free."

Having their attention drawn from him momentarily, as they discussed the woman's proposition, the young man took courage and slipped away, making his escape. Next morning he was found in the jungle by his townsmen who had gone to look for him.

This story is an index to popular belief.

THE THEORY OF MEDICINE

Control of the Forces of Good and Evil. We must now consider the native's ways and means of controlling the hidden powers more specifically for the good of man—always keeping in mind that the good of one man may be bad for his enemy. We shall see eventually that he believes man capable of controlling these hidden forces in many ways: for personal or family benefit, for the overcoming of personal or family calamity, for healing diseases or preventing them.

Much of this attempt to control hidden forces is directed toward the future, as though future events existed now in a sort of embryonic form and could be controlled by direct action in the present. The weather man with his modern instruments can discover a storm in the making, and the astronomer can predict an eclipse, but neither can do anything about it except make the information public. The native diviner-doctor-medicine-man deals similarly with unseen forces moving toward an event, but he does not make the information public, lest the unseen forces hear and change their plan of attack. He tries instead to combat them secretly by setting in motion contrary forces.

At first glance, he is more of a magician than a scientist, more of a witch than a physician, more of a sorcerer than a priest. But his magic is closely parallel to his use of a truly therapeutic drug, his witchcraft is reinforced with a real poison, and his sorcery is a combination of magic, drugs, and poisons with a truly religious

evaluation of the forces inherent in elements both physical and spiritual which go into the making of his charm.

The diviner actually looks less into the future than into the present. He is interested in what to do now. His prescription may be either to protect against impending death or to remove danger of death, but his findings are frequently ex post facto: to discover the cause of sickness or calamity or accident in order to remove that cause from the community or counteract its influence upon the individual. The same diviner may deal with taboos, therapeutic remedies, magical procedures, the ancestral spirits, and spirits of inanimate objects.

The same practitioner may prescribe a therapeutic drug, a magical substance, a ritual act, or sacrifice to the ancestors. He may even include all these elements in a single prescription. It is, therefore, difficult to decide whether we should call him magician or doctor or priest. He is something of all three.

The substances he uses, the elements of his prescription individually and collectively, all have the same name. The native speaks of big medicine, strong medicine, personal medicine, town medicine, good medicine, or bad medicine. In short, anything with a hidden power is medicine. Anyone who knows how to combine or control hidden power is a medicine man.

It is only in an attempt to analyze and understand the native practices and beliefs that we have tried to separate witchcraft and magic from true therapy. In our personal acquaint-

ance with individual practitioners, we see much overlapping of these functions in some individuals, specialization in others. The same is true in the native thinking. Many ideas overlap and interlock. Others have gone off on a tan-

gent into the realm of legend.

In Gbunde and Loma the word for medicine is sala, signifying a remedy, a poison, witch-craft, or magic. It, therefore, denotes any and every object which "in a direct and striking manner produces either a salutary or a harmful effect." The other tribesmen's words for medicine embody this same inclusive concept. The Mano word $ny\varepsilon$ may mean remedy, magical substance, fetish, poison, or the paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery. In this report we have used the term "medicine" in its broad sense, as the native understands it, reserving the word, "remedy," for medicines used in the practice of leechery. By "leechery," we mean the art of healing.

There are two sorts of medicine: the beneficial, or "white magic," and the harmful, or "black magic." Medicine of either type may give rise to a cult. The object or task of white magic is to attract the useful and keep away the harmful. Through divination, it also makes known what is hidden. The object of black magic is to work harm, either actively or by counteracting the good effects of white magic.

Beneficial medicine works only in favor of its possessor, exerting its power to promote his well-being. It is well-wishing toward him and those belonging to him, indifferent or illwishing toward all others. Wherever such medicine comes into conflict with that of another person, they work in opposition and the stronger annihilates or cancels the efficacy of the weaker. If medicine does not fulfill its purpose, it has been made inoperative by the stronger medicine of an opponent, or possibly through the malice of a demon. At the bottom of all this lies the view that by far the greater majority of all misfortunes are caused by persons, living or dead, and can, therefore, be counteracted by persons. It is always a question of being stronger, through one's own medicine, than the known or unknown opponent. In the opinion of the natives, it is the two medicines which are at war with each

other; in reality, it is the will of the possessors standing behind the medicines.¹⁹⁴

An instance of this struggle between two medicines was brought to our attention in the southeast. While we were in Konibo, news came to our Half-Grebo interpreter that a sister-in-law of his had died. She had got medicine "to make witch" (poison) against a certain man, but he had a medicine more powerful than hers. His medicine, therefore, "caught and held" her and her medicine, so that she died. (He had probably learned of her intention and anticipated her action.)

Any medicine which has not been discarded by the owner is under his influence and subject to his will. Therefore, it is safest to let other people's medicine alone. One can never predict what reaction it may have. Even a desirable object — a hat, cutlass, or knife found on or near a path, will be left untouched unless it is close to town. Who knows but that it has been put there with bad intent, or possibly as a sacrifice? A Loma remarked that "only small boy, him get no sense, go take him." Yet there are those who will take the risk of stealing another person's medicine. Some do so to employ it for their own ends, others to make the owner powerless. This is considered a most serious palaver. When the object of taking it is to destroy it, it is usually disposed of in the river where no one else is likely ever to come upon it.

It is believed that many medicines may work without conscious effort on the part of any individual. The influences emanating from a medicine or venerated object can be transferred without the owner's intention or knowledge. The spear, staff, or belt to which a man fastens his medicine, or the bag in which he carries it, by contact with the medicine, acquire its virtues, and may in turn transfer its influence to other objects. In the same way the beneficent influence and desirable qualities of an ancestor are transmitted through his personal possessions to his heirs. Grandfather's spear is more than a family relic. It actually contains something of his prowess.

The Active Principal in Medicine. Medicines are frequently made up in convenient little packages. Their containers or wrappings may be, but are not necessarily, part of them.

¹⁹a Westermann, 1921, p. 177.

So far as we have been able to learn (and we have questioned and discussed this matter with many natives in Liberia as well as in other parts of West Africa), the active principle contained in the medicine or imprisoned in the container is not exactly a spirit. In fact, natives have often been much amused and even laughed when we have asked about "spirits" in medicines and in objects about to be made into medicine. "How can one be so foolish as to think that anything but a person has a spirit?" they asked. The active principle of a medicine seems rather to be an influence or a force inseparable from the substance of which the medicine is made. The indwelling power all substances are considered to have may be thought of as a mystical force rather than the individual personality implied by the word, "spirit." Yet one cannot fail to get the impression that the native makes much less exact a distinction than we do, between the "spirit" of a person and the force that resides in inanimate objects.

This active principle also seems to exist in the human voice. Words of encouragement or warning are supposed to work upon inanimate objects as they do upon people or animals. Thus, before a hunt or a war, arms and weapons are talked to and told how good and superior they are and what is expected of them. We have heard words of encouragement shouted at a fire, set to burn the dried tangle of trees and vines felled to make a farm clearing, urging it on to greater fury. This is sometimes done also to medicines before they are

The champion bush-cutter dancing the bushcutting dance before cutting begins, imparts to his fellow-workers the forces latent in his person and medicines. The chief does the same when he dances the war dance, and through it presents the conflict before he sends his men out on a campaign.

This might seem to disprove the statement made above that inanimate objects have no individual personality of a spiritual nature. There is a fine distinction to be made here. The key to understanding lies in the fact that the native makes little distinction between the spiritual and the material worlds. Every ma-

terial has an impalpable essence inherent in its physical characteristics, making it what it is. Both the material and the essence are divisible, and a small piece of substance contains as much magical power as the large piece from which it was taken. Moreover, this magical power may radiate like the emanations of radium, or pass into another object by contact like heat or magnetism. It may also be commanded by the human voice and sent on a distant errand by proper ritual.

The difference between this essence and a true spirit is seen best when the human body is considered. Parts of a corpse possess this essense to a high degree even after the various spirits of the person have abandoned it. In fact, a part of a corpse is a vital ingredient in many of the strongest medicines.

Ingredients of Medicine. As ingredients for medicines, any material things can be used, but it is important that they be generally recognized as suited for the purpose because of their inherent qualities. Some of these ingredients are described below.

Bones, claws, beaks of birds, scales, nails, hair — because they endure long after the rest of a body has perished — are very "strong" for medicine. In Gbunde and Loma, when a fowl is cooked to be eaten, it is a very serious matter if the gizzard, wing tips, heart, head, and feet are not all in the dish when it is served. The cook is suspected of having retained any missing part with intent to use it in making bad medicine.²⁰

Hardwood trees; parasitic plants like the wild fig whose roots eventually strangle and kill their hosts; thorny vines or spiny plants and nettles; mushrooms (Nepatica), called ge toro in Mano, because they grow only on the decaying stumps and logs of the sacred bombax tree; puffballs (Morchello) and another mushroom, said to be the "dung of the moon," are all used for medicine.

Plant materials for "tying," such as fibers, cords, and ropes are used for medicine to tie or render a victim helpless.

Tools, scrapings from wooden heirlooms, parts of personal possessions, especially clothing, are all desirable objects for special medicines

Stones and metals, as has already been noted,

are used as strong medicines.

However, no one is confined to these groups of objects. Medicines may be compounded of anything. In order to describe the number of different kinds possible, it would be necessary to ascertain the number of different objects and substances of whatever nature available in a region and then apply to them the laws of permutations and combinations. A brother of Paramount Chief Towe (Gio) dreamed the details of a good-luck medicine he wanted to make. The container was to be in the shape of two elephant tusks. These he whittled out of wood, ornamenting the lower part by carving them like a bracelet, and making an orifice at the top into which he put medicine compounded of animal and vegetable substances. The orifice was then sealed with beeswax, upon which he stuck four cowrie shells, a silver three-penny piece, and a pants' button, all according to the dream-formula.

Some objects are restricted in the possibilities of their employment. Stones are practically limited to town medicine. The eating of human flesh as medicine was practiced only by secret cults, or by sorcerers practicing black magic in league with each other. Eating certain animals (Half-Grebo) is limited to the privileged social classes; the skin and teeth of the leopard (Gbunde and Loma) are used only as

chief's medicine.

The tray of powerful medicines on which oaths are taken contains a gradual accumulation of objects that have belonged to persons who have died because of perjury. The medicine upon which an individual had sworn to speak the truth had "caught and killed" him - after he had been proved by a diviner to be guilty of lying. Objects seen in such a collection were made of metal or wood, or the everpresent antelope horn. Some were models of utensils. Some were said to have been the personal medicines of their late owners. One medicine tray contained twisted knots of vine and unusual plant "tumors" and woody excrescences. Each town has such a big medicine tray for swearing in witnesses.

Compounding Medicines. In making a medicine one must take special precautions.

²¹ Unless otherwise stated, native names are Mano.

These depend largely upon whether the maker is a professional doctor or merely a layman, and also upon the nature of the medicine to be made. The most common restriction is to avoid sexual intercourse the night before. In the case of "big" medicine or poison, the maker must put aside all clothing and wash his body with other medicines. This has a triple purpose. First, to avoid the possibility of bad influence affecting his clothing or person; second, to avoid contaminating the medicine he is about to make; third, to consecrate himself as a priest to the task. In addition to the precaution of nudity, the sorcerer says, as he is about to begin making his medicine, "This is not [ordinary] medicine. This is witch [poison]." (Mano.)

Caution may also be taken in making less powerful charms. Old Gio men asserted that the de (diviner) had a special cloth with a big patch-pocket in which he kept his paraphernalia for making medicine. This cloth he wears only when he is making certain kinds of medicine. The zo (leech) may also have a special cloth he wears only when compounding certain remedies. This may be any kind of a cloth; it becomes zo cloth as soon as the zo has put medicine inside it. In any high ritual the

"priest" is naked.

Medicines may be made at home or out in the jungle. The latter course is safer, insuring greater secrecy and freedom from disturbing influences. In the north a crude fringe-curtain of raffia was occasionally noticed hanging across a side path, meaning: "Keep out; we assume no responsibility for what may happen if you come this way." We were told this indicated that a man had gone in there to make medicine. Again, a number of tofa 21 plants (Costus sp.) barred a side path, giving notice and warning that a woman had gone that way for the same purpose.

Where Medicines are Kept.²² Medicines are kept in various places, depending on their nature and use. Those intended to prevent bad influences from entering a town are often kept in a small cylindrical clay hut erected near the entrance, figure 7. (North.) More interesting by far are the shed-like structures erected over the paths leading into Half-Grebo towns (fig.

²² See also p. 32.

36, b). One side of these huts contains a miniature museum of medicines. Inside the town there is also the chief medicine place; and nearly always, several smaller ones. Some of these latter are as much places of sacrifice as medicine places. In Sapã and Tiế we saw only the smaller ones.

The chief medicine place is made when a town is founded; the others are added as needed. All chief medicine places we saw centered about a tree or shrub (figs. 36, f, j, k, l; 37, d, e). This had been grown from a cutting of a tree that grew in the medicine place of the mother-town. When the tree grown from the original cutting appears to be dying, a cutting is taken from it and a new tree started. Typical of these chief medicine places in the north is the one at Yala (Loma), figure 36, l. It is enclosed in a fence made of living sticks. Behind this is a second medicine place enclosed by a Musanga slab fence. Near it, outside the fence, a ball of vines woven over medicine, hangs from a crossbeam supported by two posts. Some of the Half-Grebo medicine places have no surrounding fence.

Personal medicines are kept in the house. In Half-Grebo some are fixed to one or more of the interior supporting posts. Others are kept in portable cases on "shrines" (fig. 36, i). One or more may also be placed outside the house (fig. 36, h). Sometimes a particularly "pious" individual has a small shed-like structure near the house in which are medicines enough to suffice for the whole town.

Before a person dies, his "real medicines"—those that may not even be seen by anyone else—his "standby's"—he gives to a son with instructions as to their use and care. A woman may give her strong medicines to her daughter. If this is not done before death, they are put into the grave or on top of it. Medicines that are suspected of being harmful are disposed of in the river.

Family medicines are kept in the house of the family head. The personal medicines of a clan chief, which serve not only for his own welfare, but also for that of the whole clan, accompany him wherever he goes. They are carried in a small bag by his medicine woman.

Clan chiefs in the north always have a special medicine house. A typical one was seen in the Gio town of Zupie. Inside the back wall of this circular structure is a niche in which medicines are kept. Surrounding it, at a distance of about 3 feet, is a stake fence, with an opening before the house door. Outside this fence, at each side of the opening, are stone seats. Under these seats lie buried medicines for "luck with women and for getting plenty children." Anyone may acquire procreative power by sitting on these seats! When matters requiring the influence of the strong medicine inside the house are to be discussed, the chief sits at the door inside the hut; the others sit on the stone seats outside the enclosure. Only the chief and his medicine woman may enter this house, though we were permitted to stand at the threshold and look inside. A raffia-fringe curtain concealed the medicines in the niche.

In Half-Grebo the clan medicines are kept in the house of the *bodio*. The most interesting collection of medicines we have ever seen anywhere was arranged in what might be termed cabinets (fig. 77), on the floor, posts, and walls of the house of one of these high priests.

Cult medicines are usually kept in the loft of a house in which the local head of the cult lives with an attendant. There are separate houses for the various cult heads.

A Mano blacksmith, a member of high standing in the men's Poro cult, said that the cult medicines were formerly kept in the shelf-like loft of the smithy, ²³ or in an elaborately ceiled open type of "kitchen" such as we saw at Sakripie. ²⁴ In this, at one side, suspended from the ceiling, were a cult drum and a large bundle of cult clothing. Small boys volunteered the information that "plenty other things," including medicine, were up in the loft. The remains of a similar structure, with beautifully worked ceiling and exceptionally strong supporting posts, was, until recently, standing in the town of Gompa near Ganta.

The Poro cult medicine house and everything near it was formerly regarded as being so sacred that anyone trespassing near it was likely to be killed. At Pandamai (Gbunde) the Poro cult house was originally in the center of the town. After he had learned that a number of

²³ See also p. 271.

persons had been killed because they came into contact with it, Reverend Dwalu (a native Episcopalian pastor of the Vai tribe) persuaded the chief and elders to have another one built on the edge of town, where people would be in less danger of unintentionally breaking its laws. Among those killed were a boy whose hand had touched the house, and a girl whose garment had merely brushed a plant growing next to it.

Twins' Medicines. In the north some twins' medicines, intended for public view, are to be found in "the temple of the god of twins," called yokotai. (Loma.) There seem to be none of these in the southeast. One noted at Zigida (Loma), near the west entrance to the town, was a small raffia-thatched shed, 4 feet square and 3 feet high. Another, seen in Gbunde, was a miniature house, open on one side. These crude shelters for medicine and sacrifice are put up by twins when they are old enough. The special twin medicines are nests of the termite (Termes mordax, or a related species) called kokogi in Gbunde. These are brought in from the nearby jungle and set up or "planted," as the local term is, under the protecting roof. A small mat is first laid on the ground inside the "shrine," and on the mat, in a small earthen pot, is water containing "medicine grass" and a bit of iron. An offering of rice meal is then scattered over the shrine and its contents. Other medicines, as well as objects of a sacrificial nature, are put there from time to time. In the one at Zigida were eleven termite nests and some other objects. Another contained five of these nests and a piece of broken gourd.

Mothers may take their twin babies to one of these shrines — girls, or a girl and boy, on the third day after birth; boys on the fourth day. By rubbing them with a bit of clay, from the termites' nest to be found there, the mother confers on them the power of hearing what any other twins are saying no matter where they may be. These shrines may also serve as healing shrines for twins. A mother takes her sick twin-child to a twin-person who has such a shrine. This person will take them to the shrine and throw a white and red cola nut inside, saying to the spirit that supposedly makes

its headquarters there, "This child must get well this very night."

It is possible that these nests have some connection with an obsolete fertility cult, the idea of which still persists. They are undoubtedly phallic symbols. When a pregnant woman has very bad pains, she goes to the "twin shrine," if there is one near enough, breaks off a piece of one of these ant-hills and rubs herself with it to obtain relief.

Metals as Medicine. Though most medicines are compounded of several ingredients, there are some substances so powerful that they alone suffice. These are used as "big, big medicine, dee one he go pass all t'ing fo' (s) trong."

Some metals are in this class, especially iron and gold. Peldi,25 the Mano word for money, or what formerly was used as such, literally means "the mother of all things." A round hammered-brass or cast-brass rod, ½ inch thick, by 8 inches long, was a very old medium of exchange. This was originally included in the meaning of the word, pelds. Iron, in the form of the native axe-head, is the strong medicine of the Half-Grebo, not only because it is the hardest metal, but also because it is a symbol of great power and strength — "it can bring down the biggest and hardest tree." The exact status of gold we were unable to learn. The Vai have it as their supreme medicine, according to the son of a prominent man of that tribe. It is possible that at present it is on an equal footing with iron, as we heard that in Gbunde, Loma, and Mano it is customary to make a sacred Poro grove of any place in which gold has been found. There were, however, hints that this was done in order to keep the discovery secret lest, when it became known, there should be an influx of foreigners and the country should be "spoiled."

From an old soldier we have the following: Spears may be made at the direction of the diviner and so become medicine.²⁶ The man who wishes such medicine goes to the diviner to ask what he should do to be successful in war; the diviner "cuts the sand" and delivers the answer. On one occasion, the warrior was directed to have a spear made of iron alloyed with both silver and gold. These metals cannot be alloyed with iron except as medicine,

²⁵ See p. 181.

²⁶ See also p. 254.

and at the direction of the diviner. Such a spear cannot be sold or bought. It is inherited by the son, who must also hold it sacred. It is rubbed with the blood of every sacrificial animal slain by the owner. This sacrifice is

preferably a white fowl.27

Medicine to rival the iron axe-head in Half-Grebo is the four-knobbed brass or iron ring, miti (fig. 75, m), generally shortened to ti when mentioned by the natives. This is handicapped, however, in that it can "die." The rings vary in size, weight, and ornamentation. The lightest and smallest one that we saw weighed about half a pound and was worn by a Tie man on his ankle. The heaviest weighed 15 pounds. No collection of medicines is com-

plete without one of these.

The two most common views held locally by Europeans as to the possible origin of these rings are: (1) that they were copied originally from rings that were part of the decorations of brass cannon left by Portuguese traders, or (2) that they were brought in by ancient traders, who gave them in exchange for ivory and "grains of paradise." However this may be, they do not belong to any present local culture. All that we can say definitely is that they are relics of a vanished race who either came or went by way of the sea. The native legends about them are rather bizarre. These vary among different clans but are in general the same. These niatië are "water meat" - water animals! They live in small brooks and creeks in the deepest recesses of the primeval forest, where several of them may sometimes be seen playing together! Sometimes they come out of the water to lie concealed on the bank. As long as a nitiē is on land, he is harmless. But if anyone should chance to be standing in quiet water near him, nitië would seize and hold him until he died. It is, however, a very simple matter to free oneself from his fatal grip. By merely touching him with any sort of metallic object, one may kill a $niti\tilde{\epsilon}$ instantly. To be on the safe side, always prepared for the eventuality of meeting him, all persons who live near water wear rings of iron or other metals. Even a very strong man with otherwise powerful medicine, would be liable to capture by a nitis if he got too near him. To prevent the man's

escape, other *niati* in the vicinity would come rushing along to form a chain reaching to an enormous "father *niti* iving somewhere on the bottom of the stream.

In order to capture a nitië alive and use him as one's own medicine, it is necessary, according to local belief, to let three drops of one's own blood fall upon him, whereupon he becomes weak and may be captured. The Half-Grebo state that there is also a certain leaf with which a nitië may be struck to make him powerless. He may then be picked up and taken along. This leaf is known only to the big medicine men.

If a nitiē is brought home, he must immediately be laid in a vessel containing cold water. If left lying on the ground, he will wander about the house during the night, knocking down and smashing any vessel of water in order to get into his natural element. He may be bound, but it must be with a cord made of new fiber of swamp raffia. Otherwise he will break the strongest rope. (Swamp raffia, like himself, is a "water thing.") Thus secured, he lies in the house of a Half-Grebo die bodio (commander or general), enriching his collection of medicines. Among the Grebo and Kru coastal tribes, he serves, as long as he lives (as long as he is not touched by a piece of metal), as the watchdog of the house, catching all thieves or anyone else coming with bad intentions. After a long time, nitie's powers become exhausted and he finally dies. After this, he is retained as evidence of his possessor's great knowledge of and proficiency in medicine. Rings bereft of magical powers were formerly used as money in bride transactions or in purchase of cattle.

The Grebo of the coastal region believe that nitiē guard treasures of gold and silver that lie in waters. A nitiē met in the forest is, therefore, followed. Just before he reaches the water, he is caught with the three drops of blood. In the water, at the place where nitiē was just about to enter it, the treasure will be found.

These accounts were obtained from the very old people. None of the younger generation seems to have seen or "caught" one of these rings out in the forest.

²⁸ See above, p. 346.

Feeding Medicines and Making Sacrifices to Them. Medicines gradually grow weak and tired from "working" - sending out their influences; therefore, they need to be fed from time to time in order to be kept strong. They are fed either by applying "food" directly or by setting before them offerings of a sacrificial nature. There may be a combination of the two methods; for example, the blood or fat of an animal is smeared upon the medicine, and parts of the animal cooked with other foods are given to it afterward. On special occasions and for specific purposes, parts of human beings used to be given. Formerly, human sacrifice was practiced.29 While the feeding or sacrificing is going on, it is customary to talk to the medicine, possibly thanking it for anything of a special nature it has done. At this time petitions are also made in behalf of oneself or others. Our Gbunde interpreter, the son of a chief, said that his father asked his big medicine to keep harm from coming to his boy while he was away from home. Paramount Chief Towe's big ancestral medicine is two iron hooks, hung from the ceiling. Upon these are hung his own personal big medicines. When at the beginning of the new moon he is about to make a sacrifice to them, he first takes them down, holds them in his hands for a time, and talks to them.

Sacrifice may be made to a medicine when someone has broken its laws and thus given offense. One medicine in our collection from Mano has the "law" that fire may be brought into the house in which it is kept only during the day. If it is brought in at night, the offender must "pay" the medicine a fine of a white cola nut or a fowl. This fine is given in sacrifice the next day, whereupon the medicine is pacified.

For most medicines the regular time of feeding and sacrifice is at the first appearance of each new moon, though a Gbunde chief states that in his region this practice is not always observed nowadays. The reason for sacrificing at this particular time may well be, as Westermann states, that "the moon is for primitive people the most regular and visible example of

dying in consequence of exhaustion, and of being reborn. In that same interval the strength of the medicine and that of the sacrifice made to it the previous moon are also at the end and must be renewed. In Kpelle nearly all sacrifices are renewed at the new moon." 30

Other feedings and offerings are made upon occasion to strengthen the medicine for some specific task or to make it favorably disposed when a special favor is desired. For example, one's medicine is fed before undertaking a journey,31 settling an important palaver, or negotiating for a prospective wife, or when one is in great difficulty or danger. Sapa informants state that it is the custom to sacrifice a fowl to medicines on the fourth, sixth, and seventh new moons, called, respectively, Foa tuo, Kaile, and Plegbala; and to rub them with white clav on the first, second, third, and fifth new moons, called Bobstjo, Tjagbe, Kiambwe, and Wutjo, respectively. Once a year, on the eighth, the moon of $Pow\varepsilon$, a brass ring is given to a big medicine. (There were only eight specially named months given us by the Sapa.) 32

Of the nature of these "foods" and sacrifices and the manner of offering them, there are examples throughout this report. Some people cut the throats of fowls, some twist the heads off. The head doctor of the Za Ze, a fertility cult at Pandamai, says that after cutting the throat of the sacrificial fowl she drops it on the ground. If it falls with wings outstretched, that is the sign that the sacrifice has been accepted.

Every big zo man keeps his small personal mask ($m\tilde{a}$, in Mano) in his pocket or shut up in his private box or trunk (fig. 91). Every new moon he must "feed" it; ³³ otherwise it will not do its work. This feeding should be the sacrifice of a chicken and a little blood rubbed on the $m\tilde{a}$. Nowadays, rice is usually substituted for this food if the man cannot afford a chicken. But he must say, "Here is your chicken," or, "Here is your cold water [token offering in promise of better next time]. I'll give you a fine chicken next month." This token offering has so far replaced the real thing that even the $m\tilde{a}$ has forgotten about it and is

²⁰ See p. 297. ³⁰ Westermann, 1921, p. 213, footnote 1.

flattered into doing something very special for its owner if a real chicken is sacrificed to it.

Since the eating of one or two cola nuts relieves human hunger without filling the stomach, a little bit of cola nut chewed up and spit on the $m\tilde{a}$ is quite often used to "fill the stomach" of the little mask. In fact, this custom is so widespread that the idea has been carried one step further in the daily sacrifice. Every morning, in secret, the owner takes out his $m\tilde{a}$, spits in its face, rubs its forehead against his own, and says, "You there, good morning. Give me good luck today. Don't let any witch come to me. So be it."

The Sapa claim that their town medicines do not need food, but all the other tribes feed their

town medicines.

WHITE MAGIC

Magic to Draw Beneficent Influences. Magic is employed most frequently for personal interest. Forces and qualities valuable for this purpose are usually made operative through bodily contact with objects or by making them part of oneself. Most highly valued for this latter purpose are parts of animals and human beings: the flesh, heart, kidneys and kidney fat, spleen, blood, spittle, and excrement. In some regions the spleen is considered the seat of witch power. Spittle is rubbed on the body. The other parts are eaten. Discussion with natives regarding the eating of these things has led us to conclude, as Westermann does, that the partakers do not make any great distinction between this kind of eating and an ordinary profane meal. These things "are given only a sort of consecration, as it were, through the accompanying circumstances, and also because it is a question of appropriating the power of a person. However, one may in the same manner also appropriate individual qualities of a person or an animal." 34

Reference has already been made 35 to some of the qualities that were sought after when parts of a slain enemy or great person were eaten. These same qualities may be acquired by drinking from his skull, after it has

been made into a drinking vessel. Similarly, the flesh of animals is eaten to acquire their characteristics: dog meat gives the ability to "smell meat" (scent game) or to sneak away with things; that of the pigmy antelope, swiftness and cunning; that of the water chevrotain, sagacity; that of the leopard and eagle, strength and courage. A chief in the north must have the skin, claws, skull, and teeth of every leopard killed because of certain inherent qualities they impart to him. For this same purpose, the Sapa or Tie hunter tries to keep these parts, while others try to take them from him. For this purpose, too, the skulls of certain animals - for example, the forest buffalo - are kept in the house.

Big stones and stone heaps (fig. 37, d, e) serve as family or town medicines. For example, whetstones, are partly buried in the ground at a chief's grave; historic stones from the mother town are sometimes suspended from a crossbeam between two posts at a town's place of sacrific. They also import their beneficent influences to the individual who passes by or goes under them. Helpful influences also emanate from the town medicine at the entrances to the town (fig. 36, b, c).

It is possible for members of a cult, by putting on their cult garment, to come indirectly into contact with the cult medicines and thus secure their aid in performing tasks easily and in a creditable manner. It was stated that in "bad" cults, such as the "leopard people," the "water people," or the "fish people" (these last in the southeast only), the dress or medicine may be symbolically put on; it need not actually be worn if one wishes to keep secret the fact that he is a member of one of these cults.

The beneficent influence of a medicine can also be sent out to work at a distance. Instances of this were noted in Half-Grebo where magic was being invoked for the ripening rice.³⁷

Magic to Ward Off Bad Influences. The medicines for warding off bad influences are far more numerous than those for attracting influences of a beneficent nature. It is im-

³⁴ Westermann, 1921, p. 176. ³⁵ See pp. 239, 83, and 360.

³⁶ See p. 32. ⁸⁷ See pp. 59, 62.

possible to conceive of any circumstance in the life of a primitive African which cannot be influenced by medicine, or for which no medicine exists, or in which there is no need for medicine. In fact, we have never known a single primitive African who did not have medicine of some kind, either on his person or in his house. Yet one of the greatest concerns of the tribesman is to discover new preparations of this sort. Since many formulae for different purposes are given throughout this report, a few will suffice here. In the north the more important persons are all plentifully supplied with the leather-encased talismans made and worn by the Muhammadans of the Sudan. The principal ingredient of these is a square of paper on which is written a few words from the Koran, or the ninety-nine names of Allah. A small town in Ge was protected by an encircling vine to which medicines were attached. Occasionally, houses were guarded in the same manner. We sometimes went over or under sticks or vines with medicine attached, which lay across or were suspended over the path near town entrances (fig. 36, a). Some were to prevent bad influences from entering; some, to annul the powers of medicine brought in with intent to harm; some, to keep out harmful animals that might be "sent," such as a leopard or "bad" snake. In Gio cassava leaves were hung from the eaves outside the houses and stuck into the roof thatch inside the doors to keep out mosquitoes. To tie and hold fast any bad influence and thus insure health and long life to the household, there hung from the eaves of a vine-encircled Loma house, a sizable ball formed of stones around which strong wicker work had been woven. For a similar purpose, in a town near by, were two other balls, over a foot in diameter, made by weaving strong vines around a small bundle of medicines wrapped in cloth. One of these hung from the eaves, the other from a crossbeam supported by two stout posts near the door. Under this ball were two pots set into the ground to receive sacrifices made to this medicine. A few of the other innumerable medicines we saw included: a flat iron chainlink at the threshold; wooden rings around a post; old and worn axes, or miniature axes, stuck into the top of a post; anklets of wire strung with washers, both appropriated from the Firestone Plantation (a recent introduction and very strong medicine, because the Firestone enterprise is so big, powerful, and rich); a bracelet with woven fiberwork around it to hold medicine (the wearer claimed that this was so good he had not been ill for over ten years); a brass ring (to keep off human leopards); a gimlet; cotton; and iron hook; old smith's hammers, leaves and pieces of vine carried to insure a safe journey; snail and tortoise shells; animal bones and teeth.

Human images were seen in Half-Grebo only; elsewhere they are kept secretly. How widespread is the use of wooden figurines for medicine to draw good luck and ward off bad influences, we are not certain. They are sometimes crudely, sometimes well executed and made to represent either sex. The Loma blacken them by rubbing them with a certain leaf. Among the Loma their possession is limited to men, but in Mano they are for both men and women. These images are not to be confused with those of the Sande cult. One of our Mano interpreters had two figures, 6 inches in length, which he sometimes carried in a bag. They had been given him by his father, who had several of them. A person may have as many as he fancies. In Loma we heard of several of about a foot long. They are essentially a private medicine, and not to be touched by anyone else. Our Mano interpreter kept his hung up in his house while he was at home. Before he left to accompany us to Gioland, he consulted them as to the advisability of his going with us, by tossing the halves of a cola nut in front of them. Having obtained an affirmative answer, he rewarded them with a small sacrifice stuffed into their nostrils, and shut them up

A Mano woman of some fifty-five years had a wooden figure she called *selama*, that she had been given by her mother. She kept this figurine in a bag 3 or 4 inches long, ornamented on one side with three transverse rows of cowrie shells. She used it as "big medicine" to obtain favors, attract good influences, or ward off bad ones. First placing it in its sack on the ground, with the ornamented side uppermost, she knelt down before it, but her palms downward, on

the ground, then lifted them to her forehead, in the manner of a Muhammadan at prayers, and addressed her petitions to the image.

In Half-Grebo we found fire being used not only to ward off bad influences, but to annihilate them completely. A person may, for example, misuse or break the "laws" of a medicine obtained from a doctor. In consequence, he fears that harm, or even death, may come to him. To prevent this, he takes a native axe to the doctor, asking him to make "fire-medicine" to appease the anger of his outraged medicine. With proper ceremonies the fire is kindled and the axe and certain magical substances put into it. When a powerful medicine has taken offense and caused the death of its owner, a friend of the victim will have this fire ceremony performed by the doctor in order to break the spell of the angry medicine, lest others also be injured by it.

Before a Tuobo (Half-Grebo) town palaver house, and near its medicine heap, we saw an extinct fire in which three native axes lay (fig. 37, b). The doctor was absent, so we did not learn what particular affliction had been dis-

pelled by this means.

Noting a fire burning at the entrance to the Loma town of Yala, we expressed our surprise that anyone should feel the need of fire on such a hot day. With greater surprise at our ignorance our interpreter informed us, "Dem no be fire, dem be med'sin." We then learned that it is customary to make sacred fires near the entrances of towns at that season of year (the end of April), when farms are being burned and heavy thunderstorms are prevalent, as a sort of town fire insurance.

There are special medicines to protect one against being bewitched. Their power is so feared that only the owner and his wife can look at them. One such medicine is called

jolwε by the Sapã.

Sacrifice. Sacrifice is the soul of ritual. One does not approach the spirit world without some sort of offering. Like the rest of the ritual it must be carried out to the letter in order to obtain results.

Just as "prayer," to the native, is half request, half command; so the sacrifice is half gift, half lever, to pry the spirit loose from its indiffer-

ence. These two phases are recognized by the natives. Among the Loma sale ws refers to sacrifice in general; sala giko sacrifice to "feed" a fetish. The term "fetish" is used here in a specific sense, to mean an object or concoction of supposed magical substances made for a specific purpose. After suitable ritual concluding the process of its manufacture, it is supposed to be the dwelling place of a spirit — a composite spirit including the spirits of all the substances used in its manufacture. It is a living thing and must be kept alive by "feeding" it with proper food at proper times, according to the prescription of the medicine man who made it. The fetish also has its specific taboos, things that must not be done, if it is to do its work properly.

It might be possible, if one had sufficient information, to discuss this type of sacrifice as distinct from the greater sacrifices made to the more intangible spirits; but one grades imperceptibly into the other, and it is impossible to complete such an analysis with the informa-

tion on hand.

Occasions of Sacrifice. Sacrifices are made at many various times and places and for a number of reasons. They are made by people in all classes of society — men or women, individually or in groups, publicly or secretly. The individual acting for the group may be either the clan father, or the zo who is the ritual head of the organization, or the diviner acting as priest. Frequently, the chief officiates for the people of his town, but in Half-Grebo it is the duty of the bodio.

Some sacrifices are made at regular fixed periods. Others are made only on the recommendation of a diviner, either when he feels a sacrifice is due, or when someone seeks his advice. Some diviners have special duties along this line.³⁸

The principal occasions of sacrifice may be classified as follows:

- 1. Individual physical crises: birth, puberty, marriage, sickness (including sterility and impotence), death.
- 2. Events of importance to the individual: taking a journey or starting an undertaking.
- 3. Community crises: drought, famine, locusts, plagues, war.

⁸⁸ See below, p. 372; also pp. 35, 409.

4. Events of importance to the community: changing of town site, opening of the Poro, building of blacksmith shop or palaver house, planting time, harvest, inauguration of a chief.89

5. Routine: annually, to a chief at his grave, to the ancestors at a sacred tree, and to the great fetish of a secret society; monthly, to practically all fetishes and sacred objects of secret societies, as well as to private fetishes, to sacred animals, such as the python (Loma), to the less important ancestors, to spirits in trees, etc.; daily, to the small mask called in Mano mã (fig. 91), which is the personal fetish of every member of the Poro.

6. Special occasions: As advised by a diviner when a dream or accident seems to indicate that some evil may be threatening.

The timing of routine sacrifices is fixed at the time of the new moon, or at the beginning of the new year, which comes at planting time.

Offerings are made to Gala, to the ancestors, to spirits collectively, to demons, to hills and streams, to sacred fish and other totems, to ceremonial masks.

Recipients of Sacrifice. The sacrifice is always directed to the indwelling spirit. Even when this is a spirit which possesses godly attributes, it is very frequently approached indirectly, and the sacrifice is made in such a way as to lead a casual observer to think that the sacrifice is being offered to an inanimate object. The annual sacrifice to the ancestors, for instance, may be made at the foot of a great tree, so that the tree itself appears to be the object of sacrifice.

Gala is now and then remembered with an offering. "Sometimes if a $d\varepsilon$ man [diviner] sees harm coming in a vision, he warns the chief. An offering for the town or the whole clan is made to Zã (not Abi himself), with the peti-

tion, 'Zã, help us now.'" (Gio.)

A far greater number of sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits. Since the social and economic status of the dead is the same as it was during life, these dead are useful (or valueless) to the living to the same degree in which they were while alive. To those who are of little account in the spirit land, one makes a small offering now and then "to keep them quiet." Not so, to those others who have influence there. It is necessary to keep them favorably inclined by placing offerings on their graves with some regularity. Of these offerings, blood, food, and drink, are the most important. Cotton, white clay, and other objects that may be useful to a spirit take a secondary

Fires in the nature of offerings are also made before house doors or at the private medicine "shrines" near houses, and the spirits invited to come and warm themselves so they may feel better. Numbers of shrines seen were provided with seats for the use of people during the daytime and for the ancestral spirits at night. "They can come and sit here if they like and be at ease while warming at the fire" (fig. 37, a, b). (Tuobo clan, Half-Grebo.) More of these fires were noted in the towns of this clan than anywhere else. We were assured that formerly it was otherwise, and that "everywhere, even away up in Putu (Sapa) and Tie there were plenty, plenty fires."

Spirit-warming fire-offerings are also made (Half-Grebo) for special occasions. When, for example, an undue amount of misfortune comes upon a village, in consequence of which its people want to leave it for a new site, the chief can take a native axe-head to a doctor and beseech him to intercede with the spirit on behalf of "the town that my fathers left to me." The axe-head, together with the proper medicines, will then be put on the firewood with appropriate ceremonies, the fire kindled, and the troublesome spirits invited to come and warm themselves and become more friendly with the living. There then follow more ceremonies. These fires are said to be "very good for this

kind of [witch] palaver." Streams, or, more accurately, "the bad spirits that live in them," come in for a fair share of offerings for a town's safety — to prevent war or conflagration, or to bring good fortune.

One of these offerings is a python. It is captured by locating its hole, usually in a deserted Termes bellicosus nest, digging until the head is visible, slipping a noose over the head, and drawing the reptile out. As it comes, it is tied to a pole. This is carried to the stream, where

stones are fastened to pole and python and they are put into the water with appropriate cere-

³⁹ See p. 172.

monies. The townspeople must all be at the waterside to participate in "giving the snake to the water." (Gbunde.)

As we were going through forests in Gbandeland, we noticed leaves and twigs, some fresh, some dry, on top of a number of the smaller *Termes bellicosus* nests we passed. Asking the meaning of this, we were told: "A big black snake will be found having its hole in every one of those nests. All passers-by are supposed to lay an offering of a leaf or a twig on top of the nests." It was said that the Gbunde have the same custom.

Other offerings to the water follow:

Loma: rice meal, sometimes a fowl. "We have no large waters, so larger animals are seldom used."

Half-Grebo (Webo): "When the river [Cavally] is high, it wants a man before it will go down. This happened just the other day before you came here. Two men went out in a canoe to set fish traps. They had finished when one said, 'I see a hole in one of my traps. I must go into the water to mend it.' He dived down and never came up again. He could be seen down there, dead! No, it was not a spirit or 'bad thing' that got him. It was the river."

Half-Grebo (Palepo): smaller animals (domestic), and sometimes a bullock, "never human beings" — at least, not at present.

Sapā: Behind the Hill (of the Dead) there are two waters. The one is the Sino, the other is the Dugbwi. People who live near them give them a white fowl at each new moon.

Tiē: "Formerly a whole white sheep was given the Dugbwi River. It was killed so that its blood could run into the water, then cooked. Rice was also boiled, then mixed with the meat and all of it given the river. In these days of the 'Melika palaver' [Government] we give only a white fowl." (As often, when a sacrifice was made to the spirit in Dula, so sometimes here, the animal was thrown into the water alive. If acceptable to the river, it would sink; if not, it would flounder around or swim out.)

Objects of Sacrifice. This category may include anything that is useful to the native and may under suitable circumstances be used as a sacrifice to a spirit, but certain things are more

suitable than others. Inanimate substances should be spoken of as offerings, and the word sacrifice reserved for animals killed during the ritual, but it is doubtful if the native makes any great distinction between the two. Moreover, there is a tendency to substitute meat or an egg for a living animal, or even to make a token sacrifice. This custom is so well established among the Mano that the term "cold water" means token. When it is not convenient to offer the prescribed sacrifice, a man may bring a substitute of almost any nature and say, "Here is your cold water, wait for me until I can give you the proper offering." Frequently, this token is literally cold water sprinkled on the object or spewed out of the mouth. The simplest form of the token is merely to spit upon the object. An old diviner (Gio) wishing to put his blessing upon a distinguished visitor began by spitting upon the visitor's beard, then blessed him with health, long life, and many children. The cola nut is also a token offering, especially when it is chewed and spit out upon the object. Perhaps the most common offering to minor spirits is a bit of food shared by the worshiper. It may be only rice or other starchy food, but it is better if it has a little palm oil on it. More properly, it should have meat cooked with it. When a sacrificial animal or fowl is killed, the meat is usually cooked and eaten with rice by those who make the sacrifice; but a little of the food, including especially the liver or gizzard, must always be given to the object before the people eat.40

Of the various animals used in sacrifice, the cow is most acceptable to the high spirits. Following in order are the dog, sheep, chicken. Goats are used as substitutes for sheep by some tribes.

Dogs were formerly not used as sacrificial animals, because they were not indigenous. "They came from down the coast, so they were strange animals. Our fathers, not knowing them, could not give instructions as to what to do when sacrificing them. But now they know, so they can be used like other animals." (Half-Grebo.)

"No common person eats dogs. They are only for big men. A dog is used as sale for the dead. When a grown person related to a chief

dies, a dog may be killed before the door of his house on the third day after death. Its blood runs on the ground. The dog is cut up, cooked, and a portion taken to the grave in the pot in which it was cooked, together with cooked rice and palm oil. At the grave all is thoroughly mixed and the mixture divided into three equal portions. These are laid on leaves of the fold tree (Vai language). Three cola nuts are halved and the six halves tossed to learn whether or not the offering is acceptable. (They are tossed until a favorable reply is indicated!) The chief mourner then eats a bit of each of three halves; the other three are disposed of as he sees fit. Children of the big men always follow the rest of the dog meat to the grave and help eat it there." (Gbunde.)

The highest possible sacrifice (no longer offered since the Government obtained control of the tribes) was a human being. In the old days, when slaves were kept by the natives, it was no uncommon thing for one of them to be offered as a sacrifice whenever the occasion demanded that a man should give the very best that he had. Indeed, on certain sacred occasions, such as the succession of a priest to a high office, his own first-born son was considered the least that would satisfy the gods. He dared not offer less. Such sacrifices were frequently made in the highly religious rituals of the Poro and other secret societies. The body of the victim was eaten by the worshipers as a solemn sacrament.

The object sacrificed should, if possible, be white, which is the color of peace. White is for sacrifice, we were told in Gio. A white chicken or white cola is very commonly recommended by the diviner for everyday sacrifice. If a sheep is to be sacrificed, a white ram is most desirable. Since white cows are practically unknown, the black bull is most desirable. If a piece of cloth is to be used in the ritual, it must be white, except for special uses in the Poro where red is the sacred color. Male animals and fowls are considered most suitable for sacrifice, yet the females are considered commercially more valuable. The use of mushroom meal 41 is an interesting parallel to the use of various kinds of meal by other peoples. The mushroom itself is a mysterious and sacred object among the natives, especially the tiny puff balls which are comparatively rare. In a Nitiabo (Half-Grebo) town we came upon a man making an offering of chewed puffball mushroom to his medicine (fig. 37, c). Unfortunately we were too late for the preliminary ceremony. The medicine was laid out on an antelope's skin. Some cooked rice and palm oil had been put on it. A line of this chewed white mushroom encircled his medicine, then led through the center of the house, across the doorsill, out into the street, where it ended in another circle. Inside this latter circle, there were two dots, and near it, two cross lines. Inside the house, between the doorsill and the circle around the medicine, there were three more cross lines; while from this circle itself to the medicine on the skin, there was another line. As the "meal" line was being formed, the man kept muttering something. Other ceremonies, if such there were, were performed after our departure. The man refused to say anything about the meaning of the various lines. In Seabrook's "Magic Island," 42 there is an illustration showing a cornmeal tracing of this same general character. This puffball mushroom (Lentinus tuber-regium) the Mano call mene gbo (moon droppings); and the Gio, belo gbo (mushroom droppings). "When the moon defecates, this drops down from the sky." (Mano.) The Tie call it bola, meaning "white" (?).

The Tie and Konibo tradition for its use is this: "In far, far back times Ku, who is now called Nyesoa, sent the first man and woman 'down'! As they journeyed to get to 'down,' it grew so dark they were no longer able to see the trail. So they went back and asked Ku what they were to do. Upon this, Ku gave them the puffball mushroom, showing at the same time how they must chew and blow it out and thus get a light for their journey.

"He then gave them all the 'laws' [of this bola or 'white thing'] for its use as medicine and as an offering. They took the mushroom, did as instructed, and finally came to 'down,' built their town, and raised children.

"The laws of the mushrooms as given by Ku

"Chew and use it to rub on face and body.

⁴¹ See also p. 63.

⁴² Seabrook, 1929, p. 57.

"Take it to the village whetstone, chew it there, and then blow it on the stone before undertaking anything.

"Put some of the chewed mushroom near the house door to hold fast or drive away bad

spirits."

Places of Sacrifice. "Different localities have their favorite places for making salo - a hill; a waterside; a big rock; at the forks of paths or at the crossroads; sometimes wherever local custom prescribes that place will be preferred when sale is to be made in the town itself. But all people go to graves, whether in town or in the cemetery. The town medicine place, too, is always a sale place." Sacrifice may also be made at certain trees, in groves, at the farms, in dwellings in town, and in the various cult houses - anywhere, in fact, where people gather or where they work.

Since the greater part of the public offerings are made to the dead, it is to be expected that the most common place for sacrifices is at the graves. When Volz went through Gbundeland (1907), he found many offerings between the stones surrounding the stone-covered graves of big chiefs. On one of the few that we saw, in Loma, located near the town's medicine place, there were six clay cooking pots stacked one on top of the other, with sticks for stirring food that had been recently

placed there.

The village whetstone, which probably originated as a grave stone of the founder of the village, is another place of contact with ancestral spirits. One of the rules given by Ku

to the Tie people is as follows:

"Take the machete or axe to the whetstone before farm cutting, the gun before a hunt, the fish net before going to fish, the hoe or any implement before it is to be used. Put the object on the whetstone, lay a piece of puffball mushroom near it, and tell the object what it is about to be used for. Then make a petition to the ancestors that no harm may come to you and that you will be fortunate in your undertaking."

Town medicine places (fig. 36) come in for a fair share of offerings, whether at the entrance, like those in Half-Grebo,43 or within the town itself. "The heads of fowls or animals

killed in sacrifice to the town medicine are often buried under the medicine or in the medicine place." (Loma.)

There are also said to be purely sacrificial places in many towns both in the north and southeast. In all of these there is some sort of medicine, which is, perhaps, why they are known as medicine places. Some are for the town as a whole, some for a family or household, some purely individual. Typical of these was a place in Gio consisting of a circular space about 2 feet in diameter surrounded by a stick fence about 18 inches high. The sticks were all tied together near the top. A raffia-fringe curtain had been fastened around the whole. In the center of the enclosed space was a depression in which there lay a piece of monkey skin. A cassava root and some straws were stuck into the ground. Outside the fence was a scattering of feathers from a recently offered fowl. Each woman or girl coming from the town's source of water supply stopped here, lifted her water pot from her head, poured a small libation on the monkey skin, put the pot back on her head, and went to her "This must be done every time a person brings water into town and before she enters the house. If not, some badness will 'catch' us. Someone may be killed. In former times a war might have 'caught' us. A leopard might come and kill our goats or sheep or even a cow. It is very bad not to pour the water." (Gio.)

The Mano carriers and interpreters accompanying us remarked, at the conclusion of this recital, "We get dis fashun fo' we country same like Gio people." In Loma and Tië we also heard of libations for this purpose at similar

places of sacrifice.

When we descended the ladder-like structure leading down from the vine suspension bridge over the Nawo Creek near the Loma town of Nekehuzu, we stepped across three flat stones set into the ground at the foot of the "ladder." On them were the remnants of food offerings. Inquiry brought out the fact that these were sacrifice stones on which offerings were regularly made to the bridge. Since bridges are inanimate, we made further inquiry and were finally told, "No, the food is given not to the bridge itself, but to the 'bad things'

⁴⁸ See p. 32.

which live in the water, so that they will not pull it down and cause someone's death while crossing it." Twenty paces from these stones the path branched to the right. In the angle made by this fork and close to both paths was a miscellaneous collection of offerings. Among other things, we noted three old rattan palmclimbing belts, two old baskets, broken pots and calabashes, a small section of a plantain stalk with a hole cut through it (in imitation of the "stick" put on the leg of an offender). Some of these were for the "things in the water," others to keep bad gove or matai from bewitching the bridge to fall or harm people while crossing it. This was the best collection of offerings that we saw at a bridge.

Several times we noted offerings near the doors of the miniature native houses where medicine is kept, in towns or at the entrance of

towns.

Dedicated Offerings. When the head of a town or clan and his council of elders feel that ordinary offerings are not sufficient, or that possibly the interests of their territory would be furthered if something of an extraordinary nature were done, they sometimes decide to make a living or "dedicated" offering. A diviner is called to determine its nature and sex whether fowl or other domestic animal or even a human being. Having done this, the chief and diviner, accompanied by some of the elders "who know animals" select what appears to be the strongest one from among the local supply. This is then known as the sale animal of the place. Such an animal is occasionally given a handful of food by anybody who is moved to do so when it happens to be in the vicinity of his house. We obtained no details of the ceremonies, if any, in connection with the dedication of such animals.

The color of such animals is restricted. "Only black or spotted can be used" (Loma.) "Black is the color of badness, of witch spirits. It is useful to fight them. It is the color of animals for keeping [dedication]. A white fowl, goat, sheep, or bullock may be dedicated to Ku." (Southeast.) However this may be, the few sale animals we saw (in the north only) were black. That which we saw at Abi zã was a

powerful bull.

The young of dedicated female animals may be disposed of by the chief as he sees fit, unless a diviner says otherwise.

When the animal itself grows too old and feeble to be of further use in "making the town or country strong" it is dispatched and replaced by another. Its blood is sprinkled on the paths leading out of the town; if it is a fowl, its feathers are also scattered; if a sheep, goat, or "cow," its skin goes to the chief for his bed. (Southeast.)

In the north the general practice is to keep such animals until they die, when they are re-

placed by others.

An animal may be only temporarily dedicated, and sometime later killed and given as an offering. (Gio.) All animals of a particular kind, or even all the animals of a town, may be so dedicated, though not killed.

In some instances this seems to be in the nature of a "closed season" for the good of the animals, so they may increase in number. (Sapa.) This idea, we also heard expressed in Gio, where "there is great rejoicing when the dedication time is over."

The "scape animals," such as the goat or white fowl upon which the badness of the town has been put, might be included in this class of dedicated animals.44

Dr. Néel 45 mentions snakes as the most common living sacrifice to be found among the north. (Loma.) The Sapa treat any snake that comes into a town as a "dedicated one," as long as it voluntarily stays. When it leaves and goes back to the bush, "dat be no palabah, he tiah fo' we" — it has had enough of that place and wants a change.

The sale woman or sacred wife of the chief, called saloga or zaloga nya zai, is a dedicated person. (Gbunde and Loma.) In Mano she is the sale li, which means "mother of sacrifice."

The Tie call her 'ma yū no ('ma, meaning "law" or "taboo"; yū nō, "wife" or "woman"). All the big [clan] chiefs, but not every town chief, has one. A sale wife may sometimes be taken only after the diviner finds it will be good for the chief to have one." (Gbunde.)

The first requirement for this position is that the woman be a virgin. The chief often

[&]quot;See below, p. 373.

⁴⁵ Néel, 1913, p. 473.

chooses one from among his young girl-wives. (Gbunde.) "If he 'looks a girl good' anywhere, he pays the dowry and takes her home for his zaloga nya zai." (Loma.) "If the chief sees a young girl who does everything well, is faithful, and does not look at the youths, he makes her his sale li. (Mano.)

"When she is made his zaloga nya zai, the chief stands behind the girl, with his hands on her head. A man 'who can talk good' stands behind the chief. He asks Gala, the chief's ancestral spirits, and his mother if she is dead, all to stand behind the chief and this his zaloga nya zai to strengthen his medicine and make him richer. The girl then goes to the chief's compound as his medicine woman." (Loma.)

In Mano the chief takes the girl who has been found good for this position and presents her to a de mi, saying, "I want to make this one my salo h." The de gives her medicine and she becomes the sale li. (There are ceremonies in connection with this, but these were "not known" to informants.) The chief then tells all the leading men of the town, and they, in turn, spread the information, that this girl will be treated in a way becoming her office. From now on until she has matured, she lives in the house of the head wife. After maturity, she gets a house of her own.

Once she has been chosen for this position, she must have no intercourse with any man other than the chief; to do so would "spoil"

her for her office.

If the sale li commits adultery with any man, both she and that man must pay a fine. This is carried to a $d\varepsilon$ man, as payment for new and stronger medicine. That which he made for her when she became the salo h has been "killed." If she repeats her offense, she will be deposed in favor of a new sale h. (Mano.)

În Gbunde, if she has anything to do with other men, she is deposed. Sometimes, when his medicines do not work properly, the chief will ask her outright, "Have you committed adultery with anyone?" If she has, she will confess it. The chief then calls his confidential medicine zo, who is a high Poro man. He washes the badness from the chief's medicine with the blood of a fowl. This is cooked and eaten, together with rice and palm oil, in the chief's sleeping quarters. Then he must look for a new woman for the place.

Only rarely is a man daring enough to have any sex relations with a zaloga nya zai - the chief's retribution is too much feared. Moreover, the man's own medicine would be spoiled. (Loma.) In Kpelle the law is that such a man must die.

The Tiế say: "If his 'ma yũ nỗ commits adultery, the bio will die. If for any reason she wishes to be rid of him, she simply commits

adultery. This will cause his death."

Through her medicine's influence all evil and misfortune directed toward the chief will fall upon her, his medicine woman. It is for this reason that she accompanies him on all his journeys (a shock-absorber, as it were). "She must do no work; if she persists in working, she can be removed. [An instance in which this had been done was cited.] Her work is with medicine. If her husband's medicine does not work well he tells her so, explaining what he thinks is the cause of it. She may be able to tell him why." (Gbunde.)

"While the chief is in town she may go to the farms and work with the other women."

(Mano.)

Special privileges, as well as heavy responsibilities, are hers. She can take anything belonging to the chief. All he has is hers. "If she goes to market and sees anything she fancies, even if it belongs to a Mandingo trader she will take it and there will be no palaver about it." (Loma.) The chief will make a settlement privately, we learned at a later time.

The "Scapegoat." A procedure to "get rid of badness done," was told us by the Gbunde. In one town things were not going too well, and the chief and elders felt the time had come for a "cleaning up." At a council meeting it was decided that an animal should be caught and told of all the wrongs done in the town, after which it was to be released to carry the evil away. Men were called and ordered to catch and bring in a live animal. The kind of animal was not specified. They went out and brought back a python.

"How can we lay our hands upon that animal! It will swallow us. Instead of cleansing ourselves, we shall become sacrifices to it," the

chief told them.

So the python was killed, cooked, and eaten, and the men ordered to bring in something a bit safer.

Some days after this, they came back with an antelope. When everything had been made ready, the chief came, the elders after him, each in turn, and laid his hands upon the antelope. It was then told why it had been caught: that all their own and the town's badness was being put upon it, and that it was to go back to its "bush" carrying all this away. Then it was led to the edge of the town and released. No medicine was used on this occasion. We heard of one other instance of this kind.

While out in the forest, a missionary in Half-Grebo came upon a white fowl. Upon her return to a native town she reported this and expressed surprise that a fowl should have strayed so far from its home. She was informed that all the badness of the town had been "put" upon it, and it had been carried out to the forest.

Doctors of Medicine. The qualified medicine man, either leech or diviner, has fair knowledge and skill.46 He must know the trees and plants, the animals, and other things, and the potentialities of them all, whether for good or ill. Most persons know how to make some kind of medicines. The difference between the professional and the others is much the same as may be found between a trained expert and layman in any land or any field. It may well be that in the course of time the professional doctor has developed out of the dabbling amateur. At any rate, he represents the accumulation of the skill and knowledge of many generations of practitioners. This store of learning is guarded with extreme care.

Certain people are fitted by birth and position for becoming makers of medicine. The clan chief, by virtue of his office, is supposed to have great indwelling magical power.

Although they are especially endowed to become doctors or leeches and to make medicines, not all twins do so. If they do not, they are regarded with a certain suspicion in the north because of the supposed hidden powers they may at any time make use of. An instance of this was given us by a Gio women's cult leader. Her twin nephews, sons of her own brother, had "been like other people until one day their inborn spirit-power 'caught' them to

bewitch and kill their own mother." Any twins is considered to be antagonistic to the parent of the opposite sex.

But an even greater inborn power for the use of medicines than that of twins is possessed by the child born immediately after twins (Gbunde.) A child both of whose parents are doctors may also be "born for medicine." ⁴⁷ But most people who wish to become proficient must learn the art by a long and expensive apprenticeship.

In Mano the ordinary medicine-maker is called ny \varepsilon k\varepsilon me (medicine-making person); the leech is called yidi la ke mi (tree-leaf-making person, or the person who uses leaves of trees). In Tie the medicine man who can see and recognize black magicians and poisonbrewers and users, is called gwele nyo. In Mano a medicine man may also be called zo, since a 20 of either sex is a master of his cult or profession. There is a zo in each cult; and there are zo's in the guilds. The Mano speak of a blacksmith zo, a warrior zo, a medicine zo, or a zo of the Poro. There are zo's of the Sande. It is easy to confuse the zo of the Poro with that of the ge; 48 but the zo is a known entity, a man of standing in the community, whereas a $g\varepsilon$ is always an unknown spirit, a masked figure, a being more than a human.

The Zo. A zo of medicine is a man who knows how to make the best medicine for the field in which he specializes. That may be treatment of a snake bite, in which case he will be known as a zo of the Snake Society. It may be that he is skilled with the knife; he will then be called a zo of the Poro. He may be supposed to know how to control lightning. He may specialize in bone-setting. If a zo is at the same time a big chief, it may be public knowledge that he knows the art of poisoning. In fact, any big zo is supposed to know about poisons and witchcraft. Otherwise, how could he dare to catch a witch or defend himself against poisoners?

Sometimes a man zo will marry a woman zo. Their child will grow up in the family profession. A boy will be likely to follow his father's branch of medicine; a girl, her mother's. Sometimes the child in such a family is sick, cries too

⁴⁶ The picturesque "witch doctor" of Bantu African areas does not exist in Liberia.

⁴⁷ See p. 269.

⁴⁸ See also p. 274.

much, is troublesome in other ways. A diviner's advice is sought. He may reply that the child is a zo and must be treated accordingly. He may prophesy that the child will surpass his parent in power. The diviner will outline some act that must be performed — perhaps a common procedure, perhaps something very unusual. The $g\varepsilon$ (country devil) will be called to come and dance. A sacrifice of some sort will be made. If the child is a boy, a small yini will be made to hang around his neck (fig. 75, b). If it is a girl, a miniature blunt razor (fig. 65, i) is made for her to wear.

The parents may take a fowl and show both it and the zo medicine to the child, saying: "This kind of medicine is your medicine. It was the medicine of your forefathers. We have asked the diviner about you. He says you are a zo. We did not know you were a zo. Now we know it. You must get well. You will be a

bigger zo than I am."

They will then kill the chicken and eat it with rice and palm oil. They will rub the medicine with the oil and rub the child with the same oil. The child will recover from his illness. He will have the best of care after that. A boy may have a small model of the Devil's mask.⁴⁹ It will be wrapped in cotton thread and worn about his neck as his personal medicine.

Of a girl baby, the diviner may say, "This girl will become a man-zo." She will then be trained and go to the men's Poro initiation school. She cannot go to the women's Sande. Though ritualistically a man, she may marry and have children. She will be able to accompany her sons into the Poro school. Here she is known as the "Devil's woman."

The father and mother of one of our employees were both zo's. The paramount chief at present consults this boy before making important decisions; e.g., when a visiting $g\varepsilon$ is to

dance in public.

He says his father's duty as zo was to conduct (carry if necessary) the boys into the Poro grove. When he did so, he had certain tricks (sleight of hand?) that he would do. One was to take a pot with a hole in the bottom, hold up his finger, and cause it to rain in

the pot—nowhere else—until he had water there sufficient to cook rice. He cooked the rice in this same pot with the hole in it. Another stunt was to build a big fire in a basket and carry it around town on top of his head. These things, he says, are common knowledge.

When a zo dies (Mano), the initiated Poro members gather in the zo quarter where the corpse lies. The son who is to be his successor is called. He accompanies the others to the sacred Poro grove, as they carry the dead zo out to it. When they arrive at the spot in the grove at which he is to be interred, he is laid on the ground. To the accompaniment of appropriate ceremonies, the son steps four times over his father's corpse. He is then given his father's medicines and other things that make him zo in his father's stead. The zo is not actually buried, but propped up in a sitting position between the buttress roots of a bombax tree. 50

In Mano and Gio the zo people may all live by themselves in a fenced-in quarter, called zo gu. (Gio.) In Gbunde and Loma there is no such special quarter for them, nor, so far as we could learn, in the southeast. At Zorzor and at Pandamai we saw fenced-in compounds in each of which two or three houses were reserved for the use of the biggest zo—the Big Devil of the Poro cult of those regions—when he visited the town. We were told there are similar com-

pounds in other towns.

It is conceivable that children living in the zo quarter learn much about medicines and their making even before they deliberately set about to learn the profession, by observing their parents or others engaged in practicing their arts. A Gio leech may take an apt and interested young son or daughter whom he finds with him when he goes to gather the plant ingredients for his healing medicines. In this way children early get to know what to use in certain cases, though they may not know the secrets of compounding them until later. As parents hand down this knowledge of leechery to their children, a respectable body of knowledge accrues in the course of a few generations. Outsiders (Gio) who wish to learn these healing secrets first go to the professional (male) leech with a small gift. After they have

⁴⁹ See p. 278.

⁵⁰ See pp. 241-64, for other burial customs.

been taught, they make payment of either a sizable sum of money, or a woman. If it is the latter, the zo-leech to whom she has been given makes a small token payment to her people "so that she will bear him children." In the southeast knowledge of leechery is also handed down in families; the father's to his son, the mother's to her daughter. Here, too, outsiders may acquire a certain amount of knowledge for a consideration. Sometimes this is as little as five shillings. (Sapā.) In Tiē it is said to be one cow or the equivalent.

The customary "course" in Tië was formerly four years for all leeches, diviners, and medicine-makers. But if one's family was rich and influential, the time required might be only a year or so. The "laws" of learning were: no bathing or washing in public during the whole term of apprenticeship — not even washing the hands after eating; avoidance of pain, so far as possible; no sexual intercourse. If any of these "laws" were broken, and it came to the knowledge of the instructor, the apprentice was sent

In a Gio town we came upon a hut with the mene or raffia-fringe curtain hanging at the entrance (fig. 95, a). Before it, guarding the entrance, sat an elderly woman. We were informed that her husband had been the big medicine man of the place, and that upon his death the chief had appointed her to be his successor. No man is now allowed to enter this house, but women may do so in the daytime. In it at the time were three women.

The Bodio. The Bodio of the Half-Grebo and Grebo) is not so much concerned with the making of medicines as with the care of the clan medicines. He is more a high priest than a big medicine man, though he is something of both. This office is hereditary in one family. Eligible for it are all the family's physically perfect males, provided they are not living in a civilized settlement and have not become Christians.

The Half-Grebo have been in contact with Christian influence for a considerable period with apparently little effect upon them. Our interpreter and his brother of the Webo clan, in whose family this office is hereditary, are both disqualified because they live at Nyaaka, which is counted as a settlement, and because they have both been baptized.

Despite the great prestige it conveys upon the individual, the office of bodio is the last one any man desires. To escape being a possible candidate for it, younger men have cut off a finger upon learning of the death of the old bodio. As a precaution against such an evasion, or the candidate's running away and hiding until after someone else has been installed, the death of the old bodio is kept as secret as possible.

The induction of the bodic into office is as follows: When the elders have determined upon the successor, they send out a sufficient number of strong men of the clan to seize and carry the unlucky individual into the medicine house. Under no circumstances must he come into contact with the ground from the time he is taken until he is set down inside this house. He is immediately forced to drink an infusion made beforehand from the bark of a tree. He is then seated upon the hereditary chair of the bodio. Thereupon, all sexual feelings and impulses die within him. — "Soon [as] he go drink him, an' he go sit down fo' him chair fo' melsin house, him penis go die." 51 He is now the official high priest.

His wife continues to live with him and cook for him. By virtue of her position, she is now the first woman of the town to plant rice at the beginning of the year when the new farms are being made; also, the first who can cut any of the season's new crop.

From the time of his installation until his death, the *bodio* may never bathe during the daytime, but must wait until after dark in order that no woman or child shall see the skin of his body. Fear, rather than love, is the inspiring motive of the respect in which he is held.

As a sign of his office, the high priest carries a long walking staff. Whenever a person of the town gets into a quarrel with another whose

any youth or maiden who may accidentally enter the loft. There is no medicine which can be made that will reawaken the destroyed sexual function when the potion is actually drunk.

st The same infusion is also used as a rat poison. For this purpose, it is made by some old woman, who sets it in a loft where rice is stored. This medicine is so powerful that it is supposed to kill all sex feelings of

vengeance he has reason to fear, he goes to the town elders and lays his case before them. They go to the *bodio*, get his walking staff, summon both offenders, and lay this staff down between them. This is the sign that all differences between them must be "buried." If not, the one who reopens the affair must die. The elders will see to it that "the staff gets him."

An old and infirm bodio is not able to keep the clan medicines strong. When the bodio becomes old and sickly or feeble, and it is apparent that he cannot live much longer (or if for some reason it is found desirable to remove him), the elders go to him in his house at night, seize him, strangle him, and cut out his tongue with a razor, so that he will bleed to death. As soon as he has expired, a rope is fastened about his neck and he is dragged out into the forest. His corpse must not be carried. There, he is secretly "buried" with great ceremony. All this must be done while the town is still asleep, so that neither women nor children see it.

Almost simultaneously, the bodio's successor is installed. When the news of the demise of the old, and the appointment of the new is given out, a "big play" — dancing, merrymaking and feasting — is held in town, in which all clan members participate.

The big man of the Sapa is said to be one Koi, the son of Solo, the son of Tolo, who is said to be living near a "hole in a hill" near the town of Fabli. This hole is "big enough for thirty persons to stand up in it." Inside, there is a place screened off by forest-buffalo skins. Here lives the spirit of Ku 52 the "real and big, big doctor," long dead. Ku was the son of one Bluyoyuma, "a very big devil doctor who lived on the Cavally River" (region and tribe not stated). Of Koi himself, it is said that he has never yet entered the big hole; "he feah too much" that he may never come out again. But he remains near by and consults Ku, who is dead yet alive, behind the buffalo skins. Sometimes he also consults Solo, his own dead father, with regard to troublesome matters and the proper medicine to correct them. If, for example, a number of people die in a town, Koi will be informed by Solo as to who made the witch medicine and where it can be found; also, what medicine to place near by to counteract the evil. Barren women make pilgrimages to consult Ku through Koi, and learn the laws to be observed and medicines to make them fruitful "without fail and very quickly."

Post-graduate Courses in Medicine. Some individuals are naturally fitted or talented for the professions of medicine-making and leechery. 53 It is as impossible for the tribesman to "build up a practice" merely because "he has been to school" as it is for his brother in this land of ours. He must be able to point to results - or get results which others will point out for him. He can put the blame for an occasional bad guess upon "breaking of the laws" which he gave with the remedy. Too many bad guesses, however, with clients ending in the local cemetery, will lead to his being proclaimed as a quack or a failure. Recognizing this, the professional medicine-maker, leech, or diviner 54 may desire to augment his knowledge or to perfect his technique. For this purpose, he goes to study with another who has made a reputation for himself. The regard in which he will subsequently be held will depend to some extent upon which "grand old man" he went to for the finishing touches, and whether he takes this "post-graduate work" at home or "goes abroad" for it. "Foreign" medicines are usually held in greater repute than the home product. The native professional man knows, too, the value of the professional mien and bearing toward laymen, and does not fail to exhibit them, especially when engaged on a case. He also has some knowledge of the value of propaganda and sometimes makes clever use of it to increase his reputation. He knows that by virtue of his calling he is held in awesome respect by his more unassuming fellow-tribesmen, even as the doctor of medicine is with us. His claims, his medicines and remedies, the mystery, incantations, ceremonies, and general hocus-pocus connected with their making, all tend to place them and himself in the category of the supernatural. All this is not without its psychological effect on the professional himself and contributes to his "bedside manner." As we write this, there flashes into memory the dignified poise and self-confident serenity with which one of these, a Gio doctor-diviner, undertook to try by ordeal, and with the help of his medicines, a per-

son accused of theft.

Professional medicine-makers and leeches of renown may make a journey through the country of another tribe in order to increase their wealth more rapidly than they could at home. People will generally pay such a stranger a "stronger" fee than they will one of their own professionals. Or he may be sent for because there is a case to be dealt with which is too much for the home talent. We met such a one, a Loma man, at Goulue (Kpelleland) - a tall, slender man with an intelligent, sensitive face, who "knew" certain diseases and had been sent for by the chief to cure people afflicted with them. (We may incidentally say that he was a most decent and generous individual, voluntarily taking upon himself the host-duties of the absent town chief when we arrived at dusk, after a hard day's trek.)

It is sometimes dangerous, however, for a doctor to enter foreign territory without obtaining permission from local practitioners. Unless he takes this precaution, he may be a victim of professional jealousy and treachery.

BLACK MAGIC 55

One dread of the decent and law-abiding tribesman is that some day he may be under the accusation of being one of those persons

who uses "witch."

Bad Medicine. Fortunately, there are comparatively few medicines which are purely malevolent in purpose. The tribes of the north declared that there were fewer in Gbunde and Loma than among the Mano and Gio, but this statement should be discounted, because a man usually goes to some other tribe to get his witch medicine.

Portions of the human body are important, if not essential, to the making of medicines for black magic, according to Mano informants. Pieces of skin from the forehead, abdomen, palm of the hand, or sole of the foot, or a piece of heart or spleen are sometimes obtained by murder. Missionaries in the southeast said they

never permitted children in their care to go out along the beach after dusk for fear of their being caught and killed for such purposes.

The methods of the black magician or sorcerer of the Liberian hinterland are essentially the same as those of his counterpart in other sections of Africa. His bewitching medicine works most surely when it can operate on something that once formed part of, or was intimately associated with, his intended victim. With the help of his medicine, whatever harm he inflicts upon this object in his possession, is automatically transferred to the individual of whom it once formed a part, or who formerly wore or used it. Since no one knows who may be plotting black magic against him, one tries not to let his hair-trimmings, nail-parings, teeth, spittle, or excrement get into the possession of another.

Some of these may be temporarily disposed of in the dry season by hiding them in the roof thatch. After a meal, the floor is swept to prevent any food dropped from getting into the hands of a sorcerer. (North.) For this same reason, the cautious guest carefully sweeps the house he has been occupying before he takes

his departure.

The latrine, where it exists today, is doubtless of very recent introduction — a sign of the dissolution of the old order. To prevent another person's getting access to one's excrement, a flowing stream was formerly chosen. Where no stream was convenient, one went to a pool containing sacred fish. (North.) When no water was available, the feces were buried or deposited secretly in the bush. Many natives still follow these practices. The employment of dogs to dispose of infants' feces has been noted.⁵⁶

Earth over which the shadow of the intended victim has passed, can be used for the purpose of the sorcerer. By putting the proper medicine in his eye and fixing his gaze on the ground over which a person's shadow is passing, the black magician can "hold" it there. (Gio.) By scooping up a bit of earth from the spot, he can "take up" the shadow, and use it like any other intimate possession to bewitch the person. Because they feared we were attempting to catch their shadows for this purpose,

many persons of both sexes and all ages fled and hid themselves when we tried to photograph them. (North.) Even old Paramount Chief Katakow, of Salayea (Kpelle), hurried away to "find carriers for us" when we asked him to stand while we took his picturethough we were to stay two nights in his town and all the men were away.

At Zorzor market a man had bought three fine pots that we wished to photograph. He refused and hurried away with them, fearing that the pots would break if we "caught their

shadows." (Loma.)

Some of the medicines used for the purpose of black magic are symbolical. In our collection is one medicine definitely suggesting a brain in shape and appearance; it is called "the lock." By keeping the laws of this medicine, its possessor can use it to "lock the brain" of any person he names, in regard to any subject he chooses. The necessary formulae of the medicine are recited, the name of the intended victim is called, the circumstances stated, and the request made that that person's brain be "locked" in whatever way the owner may wish. The purpose of this "locking" need not necessarily be the physical injury of another, but it is always used with intent to profit at the expense of the other person.

When planning to commit murder, the professional black magician often uses a special medicine. He takes this, throws it down on his mat, and says, "I fear no one." Throwing it down again, he says, "I am a bad man." Repeating this performance, he says that he fears no man, no medicine, no spirit, nothing but this medicine alone. He curses all men. He curses Gala (God); he curses God's mother; he curses his own father; he curses his father's mother. Thus he denies all respect for everything he formerly held sacred and proceeds to swear full allegiance to this medicine. Having done this, he asks the medicine to support him and give him strength and success in his evil deed: "Stand behind me so Gala cannot see me when I do this thing." Thus fortified, he goes out to commit the crime. (Loma.)

Psychology and Poisons. 57 However powerful the black magician believes his medi-

cine he does not rely entirely upon it. He is more certain of their accomplishing his purposes if he aids them a bit. This he does by the use of poisons or by the power of suggestion.

Although he has never heard of psychology or suggestion, he knows the state of panic that seizes an individual, and its physical effect upon him, when he learns that someone has "made witch" against him. To induce this psychological state, he uses the most subtle means. It is possible that he sometimes practices actual

hypnotism.

But since, by such tactics, the sorcerer incurs considerable risk of being exposed to public disfavor and punishment, he often prefers the secret use of poisons. These are always powerful drugs, of which a very little is sufficient to kill a man. Strophanthus sarmentosus is often used alone or as the chief ingredient of a mixture. A bit concealed under a long fingernail may be flipped into food or drink while one partakes of a meal with one's victim. In Gio it was said that poison is often put into a pipe, or into snuff, or on tobacco leaves intended for chewing; or on one side of a knife which is used in order to cut off a piece of

The making of poisons requires special study, which used to include, also, a knowledge of their effects. D'Ollone 58 records witnessing in Sapa, an autopsy performed on the body of a man about to be buried, to ascertain whether poison had caused his death. The intestines were examined for evidence, and none being found, the corpse was lowered into the grave. As the autopsy was performed "d'une façon forte experte," it would tend to prove that those who performed it must have had considerable previous experience in this sort of thing.

Poisons may conveniently be divided into two groups: those intended to be fatal and those that are for punishment only. Fatal

poisons include:

1. Poisons for killing quickly: these usually contain a mixture of poisonous herbs and the gall of a crocodile, a minute dose of which, if put into food, is said to kill within twenty-four hours or less. Therefore, when a crocodile is killed, the gall bladder is cut out and given to

⁵⁷ Poisons are called nu, Gbunde; wi, Mano; wu, Sapā; gu, Tiē.

⁵⁸ D'Ollone, 1901, p. 133.

the chief in the presence of witnesses. They go with him to a stream, where it is cut open and the contents allowed to drop into the water, after which the bladder is also thrown in. Black magicians may band together to kill a crocodile and divide the gall bladder among themselves, for their occult purpose.

2. Poisons to cause illness and a lingering and painful death: sa yua, Gio; wulu batje,

3. Poisons to cause bloating and a slow death: gupala, Gio.

4. Poisons to cause sickness of the head and a slow death: bangoga, Gio.

5. Poisons that cause the victim to fall into the fire and be burned.

In the group given as a "punishment" are:

1. Poisons for permanently crippling: baudi,

2. Poisons for causing insanity or loss of memory: be, Mano; so, Gio; wu ("bewitch-

ing[?]") Sapã.

3. Poisons producing temporary disability. One of these is called dia (needles) in Sapa, because of shooting pains that feel like needles being stuck into all parts of the body. Another kind causes the victim to roll and groan with abdominal pains. We came upon an instance of this in Loma, where a man who had long refused to pay a fine had secretly been given a dose of this kind in his food. He spent the night in agony, howling and writhing upon the floor.

Traffic in poisons is not monopolized by the black magician. Some people who have use for them may order them from a sorcerer, but there are many who know how to make one or more kinds themselves.

To insure himself against an accusation of poisoning a guest, a host, or anyone offering food, tastes it first himself. Whenever an older man, who still adhered to the "things of the fathers," presented us with a fowl, he first pulled out a wing feather and put it between his lips to show us that the fowl had neither "bad medicine" nor "witch" in it. In Sapa a man who had a cola nut to share with four others first washed the knife to remove the

danger of "witch" or any other bad influence that might have been put upon it. The nut was then cut and the pieces washed in salt water. Each dipped his morsel into the salt again to make doubly certain that any remaining "witch" would be annihilated.

Killing by "witch" is usually motivated by greed, envy, jealousy, hatred, or revenge. In Mano and Gio we heard of persons who had killed father or mother by poison in order to make special medicine to become rich. An old Sapa confided to us that a man known to him had killed a daughter for this reason, cut off the forefinger of her right hand, cut out her tongue, and her heart. These parts he cooked and ate. He also cut off her head and gave the skull to a medicine man to make "big medicine." The rest of her corpse was given a "fine burial!"

Professional Sorcerers. 59 A constant dread of the decent, law-abiding tribesman is that some day the charge of witchcraft may be brought against him. In Half-Grebo, this may be done merely by taking a person's hand and saying: "you have bewitched so-and-so." If the accused denies the charge, he may be required to prove his innocence by ordeal.

Such accusations, however, are somewhat risky. If the accused is proved innocent by ordeal, he and his family have the right to destroy all the property - house and farm included - of the accuser, who must also pay a heavy fine for defamation of character. In the "old days" this consisted of three or four guns, two or three goats, half a dozen cutlasses, a trade box or trunk filled with cloth, and a girl or woman.

The Gio people say that a professional sorcerer may be recognized by "plenty of water running out of his eyes." (He may be suffering from a conjunctivitis!) When such a man is seen, he is immediately accused, "Oh, you! You are one who kills! You are the one who killed so and so." If he denies this, he may be required to prove that he is innocent by

Really big sorcerers, however, are not recognized. They are supposed to know how to make themselves invisible. (Mano informants.)

⁽Gio), wonyo (Half-Grebo), widio weō (Sapa), go nyo (Tiế).

The black magician is semi (Mano), de be i ya

People practicing black magic are variously dealt with when convicted. Those who confess when accused, or confess of their own volition, are generally allowed to go free, but they must first give up all their medicines. These are secretly buried in the water by persons specially appointed. Then other medicines are made for the individual to prevent his ever again becoming a black magician.

There are towns that have become infamous as centers of black magic. Molawu in Lomaland, to which several references have been made, is one of these. Another is Beneta, near Yopita, which is located on the Mano-Kpelle

frontier.

A Mano man said: "All the good and all the bad that comes to Mano country comes from that town, because all kinds of medicines are made and kept there and all the good and bad medicine people go there for their strongest medicine."

There is no special cult in the southeast, but since most of the practitioners are known to each other, they sometimes hold secret meetings out in the deep forest. In spite of this appearance of fraternity and of common danger, they greatly fear each other. Consequently, in the manner of gangsters, and with the same benefit to the general public, they try to kill

each other off.

In Sapā when a black magician wishes to get rid of a person, but does not care to do it himself, he makes all sorts of accusations against him. If this fails to arouse the public to action against his enemy, he himself finally "bewitches him to death." The other black magicians, knowing what their fellow has done, but not daring to denounce him openly, will band together to "witch him so he will die." Then they send word around that the spirit of the first man killed came in the form of a snake and that he bewitched the magician by biting

There was some question whether a real snake could be sent to do this, or whether the black magician introduced the "witch" (poison) into the body through wounds simulating a snake bite. Our interpreter added, in

⁶⁰ There is a distinction between the sacred fish in sacred water, and the fish in this witch-water. These latter are not eaten because they may have eaten some

conclusion, "Dis be fashum he come from Bassa people. We no get him fo' we country."

Those who practice black magic are in danger not only from each other, but also from their own medicines. These may be so strong that they turn around and catch their makers. Another danger lies in the possibility of being challenged by a powerful "talking" medicine which is owned by the intended victim. (Mano.)

Such a talking medicine may say, "What is

it you have there?"

The person who wants to make witch, answers, "Nothing."

"Then eat it," says the medicine.

Then the witch-person must eat his own poison and he becomes sick and confesses to his people. His people will have nothing to do with him. They will not try to cure him, they will not bury him, nor mourn nor cry at his death. His body will be thrown into a certain water hole. The fish in the stream flowing from that water hole cannot be caught for food; no one can drink the water, nor wash himself there.60

Accidents and Witchcraft. The native explanation of accidents is very easily stated. There is no such thing as an accident. Such events are really the effect of "witch" deliberately thrown in the individual's direction by some other person. Even if one man hurts another accidentally while they are working together, the offender will say: "Pa [my father], it no be me, it was the axe that did it." Then, with much ado, the injured one demands blood money if blood was shed, or at least a token payment if the offender is a friend or if the injury is of a slight nature and no blood was

Then the offender takes his first opportunity to consult a diviner secretly to discover who had cast the spell that resulted in the accident. Such accidents are rare, for it is the offender who must always pay for shedding of blood, no matter who cast the spell. Blood is blood, and the fear of bloodshed makes men very careful not to hurt one another while at work.

of the witch-person, and so become witches themselves. Anyone eating them might be bewitched or become a witch-person.

"Acts of God," such as lightning or a falling limb, are the occasion of public search for the witch. A really big witch is supposed to be able to control lightning, and when anyone is

killed by lightning the community sets out en masse with much ado to locate the one who is the Public Enemy No. 1 of the moment.

COME years ago, after discussing the possible I value of native remedies, the chief of the medical service of one of the West African colonies said: "Well, we have looked into the matter, but there is too much ju-ju and nonsense mixed up with it. So we have let it all

drop."

It is greatly to be regretted that this has been, and still is, the attitude of nearly all members of the medical profession who go to West Africa to practice. It has always seemed to us that these people were missing a wonderful opportunity not only to make valuable contributions to medical science, but also to render a real and constructive service to those among whom they are working, by showing the native doctor how to make a better use of the knowledge and experience already in his possession. As a member of the profession, any foreign doctor of medicine with a sympathetic and understanding spirit should be able to gain and hold the confidence of the native practitioner, to their mutual benefit. But it is necessary for the foreigner to come with an open mind; for in dealing with primitive Africans, there are things to unlearn, as well as learn. To do his best work, such a foreign doctor needs to have a wide knowledge of the use of medicinal plants, of psychology, of hypnotism, and a full understanding of native beliefs.

Many of the native medical prescriptions contain elements which are of real curative value. The sincere effort to cure disease can often be recognized even in those practices which we regard as purely magical. This sincerity of approach to the problem has naturally resulted in the discovery and perpetuation of a surprising amount of rational therapy. In this section we have attempted to appreciate the occasional specialist who most nearly approaches the physician, and those remedies which are most probably of true therapeutic

We propose to consider the leech himself as a man worthy of his calling; then to study the problem of treating disease as he sees it; and finally to describe a few of the remedies he

uses to treat more or less correctly those conditions he recognizes and understands. We include one or two instances of psychotherapy by sleight-of-hand which reveal more sound judgment in dealing with a situation than is

superficially apparent.

The native practitioner or leech in West Africa represents a professional class as truly as does the physician in this country. Each has behind him a respectfully guarded store of traditions and remedies. The African physician is extremely conservative, but not without some progressive tendencies. We met an itinerant Mandingo doctor of a family skilled in treatment of eye conditions. He had added to this family skill all the lore common to the leeches of several tribes. There was also a certain leech of the Mano people who had "bought" information from a guild of diviners and from other sources. He occasionally visited other men of his profession, exchanging information with them. He himself had discovered several new remedies, a few by revelation in dreams.

History shows that many of the drugs used by primitive people have been adopted by modern medicine. Even in this day of chemical therapy, a list of useful drugs published recently by the American Medical Association contains no less than seventeen herbal drugs exported from Africa. In the old Pharmacopoeia the number was much larger. It is safe to suppose that there are others still to be "discovered." What is even more important is that there is an ample supply and variety to meet the native need for the treatment of many diseases. Native leeches should be encouraged to continue the use of these in an intelligent manner.

The native does not entirely separate the real from the magical cure. He knows the difference between the purgative taken by mouth and the piece of cotton apparently extracted by sleight-of-hand from the patient's stomach; but he does not draw the line, for example, between the white man's hypodermic needle and the sasswood ordeal.

¹ See above, pp. 377 ff.

To him, the surgeon's knife and the witch-doctor's poisoned cup are equally powerful in removing witchcraft responsible for disease. If the white doctor's treatment is unsuccessful, he will not be blamed. There will merely be further search for the real "witch." This close relation of drug to magic extends through practically all the native ideas of therapy. A real drug is usually included in a prescription, but the ingredients giving color, taste, smell, or sting are the ones that impress the patient.

So far as we were able to get the "medicine maker's" and the leech's viewpoint, they seemed to consider it bad policy to name a medicine or a remedy in the presence of the patient for whose benefit it is being employed. The illness seems to be thought of as a sort of entity capable of independent action. Knowledge of the agencies being used to expel or annihilate it would give it an advantage, enabling it to counteract the remedial agencies. It is also "good business" to keep the identity of remedies from the public. Professional secrets are rigidly guarded.

Native remedies may be classified as of three general types:

1. Remedies for the more common minor diseases and accidents known to everyone.

2. Remedies dealing with demonstrable pathology such as cuts, bruises, fractures, foreign bodies, boils, ulcers, venereal diseases, etc. For these the native doctor has remedies more or less efficacious.

3. Remedies dealing with diseases of obscure diagnosis and unknown pathology, and with stubborn cases of maladies ordinarily yielding to treatment. These cases are beyond the limits of his knowledge; but since the African native demands a reason for everything and takes it for granted that his knowledge is correct as far as it goes, he believes that a disease of obscure nature, having unseen pathology, must have an invisible cause. The spirit world furnishes that cause, and the remedy must be one calculated to reach the spirit world and reverse the process leading to the disease. The general practitioner must, therefore, know something of divination or call in a diviner for consultation. As a

diviner he has to decide between four possibilities as the hidden cause of a disease:

1. Broken taboo.2

2. Displeasure of an ancestral spirit.3

3. Subconscious magic of a neurasthenic person called a witch,⁴ whose dream-soul may wander about at night causing sickness or even death.

4. Wilful black magic of an enemy — frequently reinforced by poison secretly given.⁵

There are a few leeches who "cure" by sleight-of-hand. One method is to rub the afflicted part with medicines. This rubbing done, the leech shows the patient his hand, which is empty. He now gently strokes the sick spot and pulls out the sickness in the form of objects, which are shown one by one as they "come out."

Another method is to suck out these objects causing them to emerge through an incision made in the skin. They are then dropped from the mouth into the hand and exhibited. A man came to Ganta from whose ear three butterflies had been sucked in an attempt to cure him of headache. At Beleyela a "civilized" native woman, living as the mistress of the stationmaster, had acquired an illness supposedly by stepping over a sorcerer's charm. Because her complaint did not yield to ordinary treatment, she went to a Belle leech who had been recommended to her as a specialist in that particular ailment. "He cured me," she said. "He gave me medicine to drink and drew from my stomach lead shot, whole pepper seeds, cotton, grains of rice, and I have forgotten what else"!

The psychological element is strong in many cases of sickness. (It may even be the sole cause, if the patient has a guilty conscience.) If a native believes that a butterfly inside his ear is the cause of his pain, a sleight-of-hand performance that appears to extract a chrysalis is more efficient than any other remedy. The magician does his stunt; the patient gets up and walks. What happens to the pain is a matter of speculation. This type of "witch doctor" practice is rare, however, in Liberia.

It has been said that the mind of the black man reigns so powerfully over his body that

² See p. 350. ³ See p. 325.

^{*}See pp. 331 ff.

⁸ See p. 379.

when he believes himself bewitched he becomes melancholic and may die in spite of European medical skill, surgery, nursing, diet, and all the rest. Reported instances of primitive people dying from pure witchcraft, however, cannot yet be accepted as proved. Not until an adequate number of instances are observed and checked by post-mortem examination can the medical profession accept the theory that a man otherwise healthy will die within a few hours from the effects of mental suggestion or fear, without the help of poison.

If a sick man thinks that a spell is the cause of his illness, and there is no chance of its being lifted, then he may die from a disease he might otherwise survive; but he usually fights the

magic with a counter-magic.

Medicines and remedies are eaten, applied externally, inhaled, blown up the nostrils, or worn as charms. They are sometimes eaten "raw"; at other times they are taken mixed with palm wine or other liquid, cooked in a "soup" of meat and palm oil, or mixed with honey and lime juice. A practitioner sometimes finds it advisable to make an incision in the skin and rub his remedy into the cut. This incision forms a convenient path for the remedy to enter and the sickness to leave the body. Sometimes people who are very ill can be cured if they can be made to sneeze (disī, Mano). An old Mano woman, strong for this kind of cure, was pointed out to us. We saw a patient being thus treated after the breakup of a high and prolonged fever. The patient had been left very weak, and the sneezing was induced to rouse him and put new life into him. They say, "If he could only sneeze, he would get well."

Every native who has reached the age of understanding knows at least a few simple remedies and treatments which are good for this or that ailment, which he uses upon himself and, occasionally, applies to others. Many of the common household remedies are known only to the women, who learn them secretly in the Sande school.

There is an occasional individual, not a member of the general profession, who is widely known for his ability in treating a particular ailment. As in other parts of West Africa, cer-

tain individuals have somehow discovered a remedy or treatment for a particular trouble. Others have been taught it by a parent or other member of the family, in which it has been a secret for generations. It is not uncommonly alleged that a remedy was discovered "in a dream." In the long run this procedure is equivalent to "trial and error," because only the better remedies are passed on from one

generation to the next.

The knowledge of anatomy is naturally limited but is probably more exact than might be expected of primitive people. The tribesmen are accustomed to cutting up animals, both wild and domestic. In the past, they also used to cut up human beings for a cannibal feast. On occasion they did the same for ritual or magical purposes. There is also a practice closely parallel to our custom of performing an autopsy when the cause of death is obscure. The native leech will open up a cadaver and remove a diseased organ, especially if this organ was the seat of a tumor which was recognizable before death. This organ will be buried separately from the rest of the body, so that the spirit of the deceased will not pass the disease on to some member of the family or to some other person upon reincarnation. Autopsies are sometimes performed in a case of suspected witchcraft, ostensibly to discover whether the deceased himself was a "witch." 6 An enlarged spleen is considered proof of this, the inference being that his own witch-power had caught and killed him.

It follows that leeches have considerable knowledge of both normal and pathological anatomy. They are familiar with the shapes of the important organs and have names for them, but they know little of the functions

of these organs.

The practices and remedies described below were learned largely from Mano and Mandingo men. There is some tendency among the Mano leeches toward exchange of ideas between different "schools" of the profession. One of the Mano informants was a member of several societies, each kept "secret" by initiation fees, ritual, and a certain amount of magic.

The Mandingo leeches were members of a famous family of medical men, who claimed to

have collected, through various sources, all the medical knowledge of all the forest tribes. Since the Mandingo are semi-nomadic traders, and recognized everywhere by the natives as skilled in both magic and leechery, it is safe to credit this boast with a considerable amount of truth.

Furthermore, this particular family of leeches was descended from a man who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and had there learned the Arab method of needling for cataract. This superior knowledge gave the present head of that family, Soko Sirko, the position of Dean of Leeches. Certainly, this title does not confer upon him any more dignity than he himself assumes, nor any more than the tribesmen yield to him.

The practices and remedies herein described may, therefore, be considered as representative of native leechery among the forest people, but no claim is made that the list of remedies is by any means complete. On the contrary, it is a mere beginning, and in its present form this chapter is no more than a preliminary study.⁷

General Practices. Sometimes a patient is cared for in his own house in town, but more often he is taken elsewhere, either to the house of a leech, or to some place outside of the town, perhaps his own farm clearing or that of the leech. Sometimes there is a definite part of the forest temporarily set aside as a "sick bush." It may be near a town and serve as a sort of a pest house where any sick person can be taken if he is considered a menace to public health. The natives were very prompt to set up such a bush for each town during a recent smallpox epidemic. A patient was removed to the bush as soon as a diagnosis was made and a rude shelter was built by members of his family. Here he stayed, attended by someone who had recovered from smallpox. If he was not too sick he took care of himself. He was rubbed with analgesic "chalk" and urged not to scratch! He was not allowed to re-enter the town until all the sores had healed. When the illness had run its course, the house was burned and his old clothing along with it. The people had a very definite idea that the patient was more dangerous during certain stages of the illness than at other times. Isolation seems to

be an old smallpox custom, how old we cannot say.

The "sick bush" may sometimes be an old farm where a given practitioner customarily takes his patients, but the fee charged for this kind of care is too high for any but wealthy people. Frequently as much as four "cloths," homespun cotton blankets, must be paid in advance. It can scarcely be compared to the sanatorium, with a number of patients under the care of a single staff of skilled attendants, but it has some points of similarity.

When patients go into this "sick bush" under the care of a leech, the family of each patient must build for him a small temporary house enclosed in a fence. An assistant, who is usually an apprentice of the leech, is put there to care for the patient. The assistant, in turn, has a small boy or girl to help him collect firewood and prepare food. There are two beds in the house, one for the patient and one for the attendants. No one else may even enter the fence. It is taboo for the patient to have any sexual intercourse or to leave the confines of the fence during the course of treatment. If he breaks either of these taboos, or eats anything except the special food provided by the attendant, or refuses to take the medicine or follow instructions left by the leech, then the leech is absolved from any responsibility for a fatal outcome of the illness or for failure to effect a cure. The patient's family may bring him certain foods, but instead of approaching the fence, they must call out from a distance for the second attendant to come and get the food. Sugar-cane is considered one of the best foods for a sick person to eat. Palm oil and specially prepared tonic-soup containing kwanai (Strophanthus sarmentosus) is frequently prescribed for obscure diseases and yaws sores. A very small red rooster is kept inside the fence. When he gets big enough to crow, the patient is due to recover. If he has done so, the leech eats the rooster.

From time to time the leech collects a fee. In addition to the initial fee he also expects an occasional "dash," which is given to keep him in a good humor. In a certain case where a Mano paramount chief had sent his favorite wife to a leech, the fees during her two years' residence

by Dr. Harley. Harley 1941a.

A detailed study of native medicine has been made

in the "sick bush" amounted to four pounds sterling. If a cure had been effected, there would have been an additional fee of fifteen "cloths." Her small rooster grew up and crowed, but it was claimed that she had broken the taboo by having sexual intercourse with the attendant, so she did not recover. She finally left the place, worse instead of better, and came to the Ganta dispensary where she was cured for a fee of two shillings. The chief immediately forced the leech to refund his total fee.

The idea of caring for a sick person in a temporary structure separate from the usual residence is also seen in the custom of caring for a chief or other "big man" in a rude open shed behind his compound. Here he reclines or lies on a mat with nothing to indicate his high standing in the community. Only the most intimate members of his family attend him. His sickness is not to be talked of openly. A big chief of more modern ideas once shut himself up in the back part of his house. He received no visitors and tried to keep the fact of his illness as secret as possible. Too much talk might invite poisoners to get in their fatal work without exciting suspicion; the fact that he had been sick to start with would be sufficient explanation of his death.

An enemy may sometimes bribe the leech to poison his patient. Another paramount chief who was not in good health went to a famous leech to find out whether or not he might have been poisoned, and to get counter-medicine. An enemy, hearing of it, went to the same leech and paid him well to poison the chief. The leech accepted the fee, but told the chief all about it. The chief promptly paid the leech a larger fee to buy off the plot and added a fee toward poisoning his enemy. The leech considered it good business to poison neither. As a matter of fact, he was probably not a poisoner, but was shrewd enough to make capital of the situation. He had his fees and hoped for more.

Epidemic and Infectious Diseases. The native does not always recognize that a disease may be spread from one person to another, but when a disease assumes a definite epidemic form, he sometimes gets the idea. On the other hand, if the epidemic is widespread and sweeps very rapidly over the country killing hundreds

of people, as did influenza in 1919, he is completely puzzled. During this epidemic, a leech very much worried about his patients dreamed of the following remedy: Take a handful of thorns of gene zolo [Combretum aculeatum, commonly used for other medicinal remedies]. Put them in a pot and cover the pot. Put the dry pot over the fire. Char the thorns and grind them to a powder. Mix the powder with red palm oil. Use as an ointment on ankles, knees, and elbows.

Ordinarily, fevers are treated by the native with teas. Typical of these is one made of the lemon grass. The juice of limes is also used. The inner bark of a small tree called moa yide (Rauwolfia vomitoria) is used for making a fever tea. For the same purpose a handful of leaves is taken from the bushy vine with cubical fruiting structures, called yini za (Morinda confusa). A strong brew is made, to which is added a small quantity of "country salt." This mixture is drunk at intervals until the fever comes down. Coastal tribes use "slippery elm" (Dalbergia hostilis).

Malaria is very prevalent, but is not recognized as a disease. While a certain immunity is acquired in time (if one does not succumb too early), many adults suffer moderately from it. A half-Mano baby in an official's house, suffering from an attack of fever with convulsions, was treated by giving it a bath in swamp mud. It was then washed in a basin of water, some of which it was forced to drink. Asafetida was rubbed on the head, tobacco smoke blown into its mouth, and aromatic herbs rubbed on its face. A Mandingo physician administered a solution of ink made by washing off sacred verses from the Koran written on a wooden tablet. (This ink is made by boiling down an infusion of certain plants. It is probably not without real value as a remedy, aside from its supposed magical power.) After this, a sneezing powder was blown up the child's nose. It was fed a mush of certain green leaves. Its clothes were burned at the crossroads. Finally, the white doctor was allowed to administer an intramuscular injection of quinine and urea hydrochloride. The patient recovered soon afterward.

The disease causing the most general discomfort and disability is yaws. The primary eruption is not recognized by the native as a disease; it is "just something everybody has." But he has treatments to relieve the various

symptoms.

Tetanus or lockjaw is usually attributed to "witchcraft." In Loma we saw an attempted cure by a doctor who "knew medicine to make the dumb talk." As this was considered to be a case of dumbness, the doctor called a woman to act as his medium and followed the procedure calculated to loosen a man's tongue. On her head he put a dish containing a piece of white clay with medicine in it. This was taken out, rubbed on the woman, then returned to the dish. Soon she began to sway - "the dish began to sway her." Then it led her to the forest, the doctor following behind. After having caused her to walk for a time, the dish suddenly stopped her, whereupon she fell down before a bush. The doctor picked leaves from this. Then he helped her arise and the medicine again led her on. The operation was twice more repeated, the doctor taking leaves from each of the bushes before which she fell down. He now asked her if she "saw any more bushes." Upon getting a negative answer, he led her back to town, where he took off the spell from her and asked what she had seen.

"A dumb person. I told him we were looking for him, but he said he hadn't time to wait; he must go on. He refused to let me detain

him."

This was considered a bad omen by the doctor. However, he went to the dumb man and made medicine with the leaves just gathered in the forest. But the man was unable to drink it as his mouth was "locked" and the doctor was

unable to force it open.

The doctor now made a second attempt to get the right medicine, taking a man as his medium this time. After finding other leaves by the same procedure and picking them, the doctor led the medium back to town, where he, in turn, was asked what he had seen in his trance.

"I came to a stream, crossed it, saw many people, but all were distant and refused to let me get near them. I asked them where the dumb man was, and they said I was too late;

I couldn't have him."

Upon hearing this, the doctor said that his medicine made with the new lot of leaves would be too late to help the sufferer. He made it, nevertheless. When they reached the

patient's house, they found he had expired as the doctor had predicted. (The correctness of the prediction heightened the doctor's reputation as a "proper doctor"; i.e., he knew his medicine.)

Leprosy (fig. 98, c.) (gi, Loma; yodo kwe, Sapa; gbei, Mano) is believed by the Gbunde and Loma to be acquired in three ways:

1. A man may get it if he reveals Poro cult secrets to a woman.

2. A person, especially a man, who persistently harms others by means of witchcraft may be "caught" by a "medicine" called wologi in Loma.

3. A person may be poisoned with a big half-blue, half-red earth worm which comes out of the ground when it rains (probably of the genus Acanthodrilius). The worm is dried, and beaten to a fine powder by an enemy. This put into a small leaf bundle and concealed in the roof thatch near the entrance of the house in which the intended victim lives. When some of the powdered worm touches the person, leprous sores are supposed to break out. To avoid possible infection by this powder, one avoids putting his hand on the wet roof thatch; one also tries to keep water dripping down from the roof from falling on his body.

Native treatment of leprosy is admittedly prolonged and unsatisfactory. It consists mainly of rubbing the skin with chalks and palm-oil ointments. One chalk is made up with the leaves and bark of a shrub called zopa (Caloncoba echinata) beaten up and mixed with kaolin. It is of interest to note that the seed of this shrub has been shown to contain a high percentage of chaulmoogric acid, one of the fractions of chaulmoogra oil. The possibility of using this seed in the treatment of leprosy is being investigated.

There is some tuberculosis, but since natives do not spit, its spread is limited. The native

leech considers it incurable.

About chicken pox we did not learn much, though it is said to occur. Smallpox (so) is feared. Some of the Mandingo practitioners in the north inoculate as a preventive, a practice occasionally copied. One of our Mano interpreters, a youth of about eighteen years, had scars that he called kpwono, resembling scarification marks, on his arm. He stated that he had been vaccinated by a Mano woman when he was about seven years old, with virus from the pustules of a man who was ill with this disease. She had learned this practice from a Mandingo woman.

Mumps are prevalent at times; we got no information about the treatment. Whooping

cough is occasionally seen.

There is also a disease called measles by the coast people, but measles is difficult to diagnose on a brown skin. The natives treat this disease with the leaves of yue, the ordinary cotton (Gossipii sp.) used for making cloth. The procedure is as follows: Take plenty of the leaves and beat to a pulp. Mix with enough white chalk (kaolin) and water to form a paste. Rub all over the body at night. Avoid scratching. The patient should sleep in a cool place, i.e., alone in the open. In the morning the skin should be bathed with water strained off the pulp of cotton leaves.

Kweaweagi, or "kernels," (Loma), are small lumps appearing on the neck. "If they get to the stomach, one dies. If not cut out they make you sleepy." From the description given it seems as though this were sleeping sickness

(figure 98, b, trypanosomiasis).8

Other General Diseases. For general pains of unknown character, the native leech will use a steam bath. The procedure is as follows: Take a potful of the bark of bo (Mitragyne stipulosa), also called "poplar" by the Americo-Liberian; scrape off the outer layer, and beat up the inner part in small pieces. Boil with sufficient water to cover. Remove the pot from the fire and set it upon the ground. Let the patient sit down, bending his face down over the pot to inhale the fumes. Cover patient, pot, and all with a blanket. Let him steam until the water has cooled. He must then bathe in the water. The attendant who removes the blanket must not get too close, since the fumes may carry the disease to him.

For tired muscles and for aching bones, the leaves of *flāla* (Christmas Bush; Alcornea cordifolia) are beaten up with an equal amount of leaves from the lime tree and mixed with sufficient white clay to form a mass. This is dried slowly in the shade, as some of the constituents are too volatile to be dried in the sun.

This clay or chalk mass is typical of many remedies used to rub on the wet skin.

For a "dizzy chill," take a young branch of lolo gbea (Vismia leonensis) put into a pot and cover with water. Boil a long time until the liquid turns red. While it is still warm, inhale the fumes and bathe the entire body. Repeat

morning and evening.

For pain in the back, take plenty of the rolled buds of duā dī (Aframomum baumanii), a spicy plant resembling melegueta pepper. Beat up with white clay and add four black pepper grains, powdered. The doctor sits down behind the seated patient, puts the medicine on his (the doctor's) foot and rubs it down the man's back four times. (Or, if the patient is a woman, three times.) Then the patient may rub himself with the medicated clay as he feels inclined.

Diseases of the Nervous System. The mentally afflicted and lunatics are believed to have been bewitched. Mild cases are allowed to go about at will. If the insane are troublesome they are kept in some half-town and put in stocks.

In Sapa the patient is held head downward while the practitioner runs medicine into the nostrils. He then forces him to drink a quan-

tity of it to drive out the witch.

The insane in Sapa and Gio are still considered "persons" and, therefore, still members of their respective households and families. If one of these unfortunates is mistreated or killed, the matter is taken up by his relatives and settlement must be made as in the case of normal individuals.

For convulsions in children, the remedies are as various as the imagination may suggest. The treatment of a case of convulsions has been mentioned above. One of the herbs used in this treatment is suzu (Eryngium foetidum) or garden stinkweed, found commonly around old town sites. For headache or convulsions, it is applied as a poultice directly to the forehead, or a few leaves are crushed and the juice is smeared all over the face.

Chorea or Saint Vitus' Dance is called *lo yo*, "squirrel's sickness," because of a habit the African squirrel has of sitting in the path and

^{*}See p. 390, for details of this disease.

See above, p. 387.

chattering at a person, with jerky, useless motions. (It is thought that a pregnant woman who eats squirrel meat before her baby is born may give birth to a child with convulsions or epilepsy or even complete idiocy.) It is logical, by their reasoning, that the natives seek to treat this disease by using an herb associated with the squirrel. It is prepared as follows: Leaves of the lo guo, "squirrel peanut" (Desmodium ascendens) are rubbed up with water, which is then strained off and used as a bath; the leaves are made into a paste by mixing them with white clay. This paste is rubbed on the skin and allowed to dry.

For vertigo and dizziness they use the root of m5a yidi (Rauwolfia vomitoria). The outer bark is scraped off and discarded. The scrapings of the inner bark are saved and put into a kind of funnel made of a leaf. A little water is poured in and allowed to drip from the funnel into the eyes of the patient. The idea is that dizziness is caused by a "turning" of the

eyes.

For the trembling stage of sleeping sickness, and for a disease resembling "Paralysis agitans," the chief ingredient of the medicine used is the tree-dwelling ant called yim. It is a rather large-sized ant of bright yellow color, which builds its nest by cementing leaves of the tree together. The medicine is prepared as follows: When the river is high, look for a stick that stands out of the water and is shaken by the rushing current. Break off a piece of the stick and burn it together with one ant-nest. Make an ointment of the ashes, using raw palm oil. Anoint the arms and legs of the patient while he stands grasping with both hands a stick driven into the ground. When the doctor finishes rubbing the patient, he rubs off the excess ointment upon the stick. The stick is then thrown away, and the sickness with it.

Another treatment for the sleeping stage of sleeping sickness employs the bark from the root of a shrub called diā (Newbouldia laevis); it is prepared as follows: Scrape the bark off and to the bark fragments add a handful of red peppers (Capsicum) and a handful of cockroach droppings. Beat all together in a mortar. Shave off all the patient's hair and rub the mixture on the scalp. It will keep him awake!

Diseases of the Circulatory System. Very few women with varicose veins were noted. One of these was a Sapa woman, mother of three small children.

We secured the following information in the northeast, where dropsy due to schistosomiasis is prevalent. Dropsy (kuba) the Gbunde say, is usually caused by wologi (swelling medicine) being "thrown" at a person who has revealed cult secrets.¹⁰ In Sapa it is said to be caused by having sexual intercourse during the day. For treatment, the patient must drink an infusion made by boiling the bark of a certain tree. Dropsical swelling (datuwe, Loma) of the legs may also be acquired by revealing Poro cult secrets or by stepping over datuwe medicine. This medicine is said to be made by professionals when they take a violent dislike to a person. They are said also to have a treatment that will cure it: Certain leaves are boiled in a pot. The foot is held over the steaming pot and covered with a cloth. The "water" causing the swelling is drawn out of the foot by this steaming process.

Diseases of the Respiratory System. For whooping cough, the Mano doctor catches and kills a frog, wraps it in a leaf in which small holes have been pricked. This leaf bundle, the contents of which are known only to the doctor, is dropped into a pot of boiling rice. When the rice is done, the bundle is taken out and thrown away. The rice, mixed with the broth which has cooked out through the holes in the leaf, is eaten by the patient.

For an ordinary cough, a Mano was seen drinking the juice of wild bitter oranges, gāi, mixed with native "salt" and pounded capsicum

pods.

Another remedy for coughs and sore throat in children consists of an infusion of the yellow tree-ant called *yini*. We did not find out the exact dosage, but it is said to be very efficient.

Another more pleasant cough remedy contains a bit of magic together with the fleshy weed commonly called pusley, to yuno la (Portulaca oleracea). Take a large handful of the plant. Add a quantity of dried ginger root (Zingiber africanus). Beat up together and add a small amount of water. Mix with meat

and salt to make a savory soup. The water must be from a "talking" stream, i.e., one that is running audibly over the stones. If such water cannot be had, take a vessel of water, dash it up on the roof of the house, and catch all you can of the drippings from the eaves. Use this water to make the soup. The soup is eaten at will. If the illness is chronic, the soup must be eaten several times; if recent, two days should be enough.

For pain in the chest, Mandingo people use leaves of a tree they call woni mulu, prepared as follows: Take a quantity of the leaves and dry thoroughly. Add some hot charcoal (not burning). Mix and dry further over fire. Add three melegueta pepper seeds (Aframomum melegueta). Add some oil to make a paste.

Rub on the painful area.

The Mano people have a similar treatment for pain in the chest which seems to be largely symbolical. It uses an ointment made of ashes of the Spanish needle (Bidens bipinnata). (Possibly other ashes would do as well!) The stalks are burned to ashes and rubbed up with palm oil. The ointment is put on the hands of the doctor, who sits in front of the patient. If the patient is a woman, the leech makes two false passes and rubs with the third; if a man, he makes three false passes and rubs with the fourth. The passes are made with the hands beginning around and behind the patient's chest. With the third (or fourth) passage the chest is grasped firmly with both hands, in the region of the scapulae, and rubbed firmly down and around to the front of the chest. Then the rest of the ointment is wiped on some trash on the floor and the trash thrown away.

Diseases of the Digestive System. Intestinal parasites sorely afflict most of the population of all ages. An American doctor in the north found twenty-five per cent of the Loma he had examined over a period of a few years infected with hookworm, and something over fifty percent of the Kpelle. At Ganta (Mano) the percentage is also rather high. Other intestinal parasites are also common. The Sapā declare that abdominal pains are the result of "worms walking in the belly."

A remedy probably for hookworm is made by clipping some of the buds of woma (Trema

¹¹ Diarrhea and dysentery are kalendagi, Gbunde; gibogoa, Gio; diide, Sapa; gidie, Mano. (Literal trans-

guineensis) and stewing them with the meat dish. The meat is eaten first, then the soup is drunk. The patient is warned that he will not see the worms. (Usually the patient thinks only of Ascaris and expects a good vermifuge to produce great wiggling worms as long as his hand.) The Mandingo doctor explains to his patients that this remedy causes the worms to die, after which they are digested. This is, of course, very doubtful.

The bark of the lolo tree or "pain-killer" (Harungana madagascariensis) is said to be a specific for tapeworm. Take two pieces of bark the size of the hand from a mature tree. Put these into a moderate amount of water until all the red sap that oozes out is washed off the bark and dissolved in the water. All this water is drunk at a single dose. This will bring

out the worm - head and all.

The Sapā say diarrhea is caused by witch-craft.¹¹ A specialist is called to drive out the witch or witch "medicine." The Gbunde say it is brought on by eating too much okra or too much native "salt," and they try to cure it by regulation of the diet. The Mano have several remedies.

Intestinal ulcers associated with dysentery, the Sapā call bude. They believe them to be caused by worms gnawing at the intestinal wall! For these, the remedy is to drink water in which pieces of the blidibu vine have been boiled. If the ulceration is near the rectum, leaves of this vine are applied externally. (The knowledge of these ulcers denotes familiarity with the post-mortem appearance of the inside of the human body.)

For bloody diarrhea with mucus, a piece of bark is taken from the tree called gbolo (Ficus vogeliana). The following is the prescription of a Mandingo doctor: Take bark the size of a hand from the gbolo tree, and one white kola nut. Beat together in a mortar. Mash this into a cupful of water with the hand. Strain off the water. This liquid is one day's remedy, to be given in three doses. The next day add another cup of water to the mash and repeat.

Unripe fruits from several varieties of wild fig trees are used as a tonic and corrective. They act as a cathartic, and frequently as a vermifuge. The remedy is prepared by boiling

lation: "belly runs.")

the half-ripe figs and mashing them to a pulp, mixing with cold water, and soaking for an hour or so. The dose for children is one-half

cup of this infusion.

A good tonic for indigestion and vomiting can be made by cooking the root of bai bulu (Mandingo) (Sarcocephalus esculentus). To the decoction, capsicum pods and lime juice are added. A little is drunk after each meal. This tonic is really effective. It is made even better by adding some of the inner bark of m5a yıdı (Rauwolfia vomitoria) and the leaves of luba bulu (Mandingo), wein yıdı (Mano) (Sarcocephalus diderrichii).

For nausea the stems of the shrub zã (Costus sp.) are cut into lengths and cooked in water with a little native "salt." A cupful should be

drunk on an empty stomach.

There are various cathartics used by the native. A common one is made from the leaves of pusley (*Portulaca oleracea*), cooked up with lime juice. The root of "groundsel" is used to make a tea, one cupful of which is a good pur-

gative.

For rectal trouble with constipation, klekle, the Mano takes a cupful of gbā ("spice"; Xylopia sp.) beaten up and cooked. It is given as an enema, using a gourd stem inserted in the rectum. The patient is put in the knee-chest position so that the dose flows in by gravity, the patient sometimes administering the remedy himself. Another device used by the Mano leech for giving an enema is a short section of wolo (Musanga smithii) stem hollowed by punching out the pith. A rude syringe is made by tying over one end of this some wilted banana leaves with the medicine inside. The hollow stick is inserted in the rectum and the leaf "bulb" squeezed like a syringe.

The Sapā people also give a warm-water enema by inserting the pierced neck of a small gourd (duwe, Sapā) into the patient's rectum; an assistant then forces the water into the rectum by blowing into a small hole in the bottom of the gourd. Remedial agents may be mixed with the water. The Sapā sometimes use finely ground capsicum seed. The Loma say that they give a purgative made of an infusion of herbs. They also give enemas as described above.

The far-famed poison, sasswood (Erythrophlaeum guineensis) is said to act both as an

12 See below, p. 398.

emetic and a cathartic, but its action is too violent to make it very popular as a remedy. One way to weaken the action is to roast the bark, grind it fine, and thoroughly mix it with burned palm oil.

Another poison, called in Mano wana (Mareya spicata), is sometimes used for a cathartic. It is a very dangerous drug. It can be given, however, as an emetic in cases of poisoning. The infusion should be diluted according to the patient's size and vigor. It should not be given at all to children, old people, invalids,

or pregnant women.

The preparation of the drug is as follows: Take ten to twelve fully developed leaves. Boil thoroughly in about a quart of water. Strain off the liquid. Dilute this with an equal quantity of water, or more, according to the size and vigor of the patient. Of this, a big spoonful is a dose and should be taken in a cupful of water, only on an empty stomach. A dose of the proper size should produce brisk catharsis and moderate emesis. The action follows within ten mintues after taking. Over-action may be checked by eating a piece of raw cassava. If the patient has been weakened so much by its action that he cannot chew the cassava, this should be beaten up and the juice squeezed into his mouth. If cassava is not available, rice can be used, boiled soft and mashed. The rice water will tend to check the diarrhea. The addition of "country salt" makes the action

Diseases of the liver were recognized by an old Mano leech. He considered three kinds: one, acute, due to poisoning or magic; another, to actual local disease — probably an amoebic abscess, which he treated with local irritants to induce rupture to the outside; ¹² and a third type, chronic schistosomiasis, for which he said there was no cure.

Diseases of the Genito-Urinary System. Genito-urinary diseases in the male are definitley recognized and are treated symptomatically. There are definite words or phrases for a number of symptoms: dysuria, haematuria, bile-stained urine, stricture, impotence, and so on. Their term for venereal disease is literally "woman sickness."

For the treatment of these and other symptoms, there are a large number of remedies.

Whether the multiplicity of remedies is an index to their worthlessness or to the universality of the interest in such things, the reader may choose. We will give here a representative list of the remedies, to emphasize the prevalence of venereal disease. Syphilis is very rare in the interior because of the cross-immunity conferred by the highly prevalent yaws. Urinary schistosomiasis is common enough, but is not distinguished by natives from gonorrhea except when urinary fistulae result.

Remedies for gonorrhea:

1. The leaves of the cottonwood tree (bombax). These are made into a tea to be drunk.

2. Kping ke ko fu (Mezoneurum sp., near benthianianum; cat-claw thorn vine). Short sections are cut from mature stems, beaten to a mass between two stones, and put in a pot of water to boil. The decoction is to be drunk at intervals.

3. Flala (Alchornea cordifolia). The leaves are beaten up, mixed with lime juice, and the

infusion drunk.

4. Yei fua (Mussaenda elegans). The leaves are beaten up with water to a slimy pulp. A cupful is drunk on an empty stomach. Or, the leaves may be cooked with a hen's egg and cracked rice, and the mixture eaten.

5. Bing (African pine; Canarium schweinfurthii). The resin is eaten in small amounts, much as Oleoresin copaiba is used in this country. In fact, the two resins are very similar.

6. Gbeke (Craterispermum laurinum). A handful of the bark is beaten up, and salt and kaolin added. The patient licks this, drinking cupfuls of hot water with it; or better still, quantities of an infusion of kping ke ko fu (no. 2, above).

7. Zi kpwi, "iron weed"; (Waltheria americana). This is a small tough weed. A belt is woven from strips of bark, and the belt and loin cloth smeared with an ointment made of

kele kpe.

8. Kele kpe (Cythulia prostrata). The stalks of the flower are taken and fried in oil until black, then triturated with more oil to form an ointment.

9. Kai (Alchornea floribunda). An infusion

of bark is drunk.

10. Zī shu (Aframomum melegueta). The root bark is boiled and the decoction drunk to relieve strangury.

11. Zã (Costus sp.). The stalk is beaten up with water, to make a drink.

12. Bo fie ko (Carpodinus sp.). An infusion is made from the root and beaten up with raw

There is also an arrangement for injecting soothing infusions into the urethra. The patient holds the infusion in his mouth and blows it into the urethra through a long reed-like stem that he inserts carefully into the meatus.

Urethral strictures are not uncommon; sometimes there is a complete obstruction. In such cases the leech administers a drug to relax the spasm or relieve the swelling. Once we saw a case that had been relieved surgically by cutting into the urethra above the obstruction.

For a powerful diuretic, one takes a quantity of the bark of the "poplar" tree called bo (Mitragyne stipulosa); beats it, and dries it; then beats it finer still. This is sifted through a piece of cloth. A dose is a big spoonful in

water or palm wine.

For pain over the bladder and haematuria, the prescription is two pieces of the root of wein yıdı (Sarcocephalus diderrichii), an inch or two in diameter and as long as a finger. Scrape off the old bark. Steep the clean root in a pint of cold water for about three hours. Decant the water. The dose of this infusion is one cup, two or three times a day, no more. If the root has been dried, it is still good, but the infusion must then be prepared by boiling.

For ulcerating granuloma, bele kpo yids (stick the termites eat) the leaves of di bi, or bo yıdı (Glyphaea laterifolia) are boiled in a pot of water. The patient sits over the pot, steaming the parts in the fumes. The same pot of leaves may be used three times, then they must be renewed. After several treatments, the termites supposed to be causing the trouble "will be found in the pot." Then the patient will begin to recover.

After each steaming, the parts are dusted with a powder made of well-dried leaves of gu (Macaranga sp.). This is not washed off, but allowed to accumulate with repeated applica-

If there is inguinal adenitis with ulceration, a mass of cassava leaves is beaten up and boiled in a pot of water. The liquor is used to bathe the sore, which is afterward dusted with a powder made of the same kind of leaves. An even better dusting-powder may be made of the part of the cassava stick that is underground. This is burned to ashes and mixed with the powdered gu leaves referred to above.

Many of these remedies are also used by the women if they are obviously suffering from the same diseases.

For impotence, a man is instructed to tap the bark of a wild rubber tree called sikel (Funtuma elastica). After catching half a cupful of the latex, he is to fill the cup with water or palm wine and drink it. This must be repeated daily, for two or three doses. Usually this is enough, and the treatment can be stopped; or it may be continued in decreasing doses, then stopped.

A favorite aphrodisiac is the bark of the gɔ̃ a bli yidi, or "stick that the men eat." Wherever this tree is seen near a path in the bush, it will be found stripped of bark as high as a man

can conveniently reach.

Elephantiasis of the genitalia (fig. 98, e) is said by the Gbunde, Loma, and Mano to be the penalty a man pays for looking upon the Sande cult medicine or initiation ceremonies. There is no cure for him; the medicine "catches him and spoils his manhood."

For dysmenorrhea, a woman will take a quantity of leaves of kpana yidi (Monodora tenufolia), tie them in three bunches (woman's sacred number), steep them in cold water, and drink the water. Then she will take the same leaves and cook them with the soup she is to eat. This will relieve the pain, but will not

prevent its returning next time.

For menstrual irregularity, and amenorrhea, a woman should take three ko (Ricinodendron africanum) seeds and a few canna blooms, beat all together in a mortar, and put into a big spoon. A little salt and red palm oil (i.e., freshly prepared oil that has not been refined by heating) is added. Three pebbles are then heated in the fire. One of these is put into the spoon, stirred until it has cooled, and then discarded. This operation is repeated with the other two pebbles. Then with the spoon in her hand the woman starts up the ladder-stick toward the loft, standing with both feet on the first notch. She must look steadfastly up while she dips her fingers into the spoon and licks off

the medicine. Her menstrual function will be restored in two or three days!

Pregnancy.¹³ The handling of pregnancy is usually under the direction of the head of the Sande, with her assistants, who learn the art and practice it in the various towns. There are also certain men who specialize in women's diseases.

When a woman who has had no children habitually aborts, she should take an entire plant of suo longo la (Ethulia conyzoides), strip off all the leaves, and cook them with any food except okra, eating the entire mess. If the leech does not want to tell the patient what the remedy consists of, or if he must send the medicine to a distance, he will take a quantity of the leaves, beat them to a pulp, add water to make an infusion, decant or strain, and put the liquor in a bottle. The dose is a teacupful every morning on an empty stomach.

If the woman has had one child and then has several miscarriages she should add two buds of geī yıdı (Erythrina altissima) to the leaves described above; then prepare and eat as di-

rected.

Abortifacients are used everywhere during the first months of pregnancy, apparently without danger to the mother; but the native realizes that abortion after three months is not entirely safe. One medicine to produce abortion is the root of the ordinary cotton plant. We did not get details of its preparation. The usual drug is the bush called wana (Mareya spicata, or "corset leaf"). Its use as a cathartic has been described above. The Mandingo leech assured us that a pot in which wana had been prepared should never be used in cooking food for a pregnant woman, because even a small amount of the leaf would sometimes produce abortion. Even the fumes from the boiling cathartic dose are thought to be dangerous. At any rate, a pregnant woman will not eat with her neighbors or even with her fellow-wives, for fear some jealous associate will put a little of the leaf into her food and cause abortion. When abortion is desired, one leaf is put into the food. It will act that same day without fail. It is a successful remedy for removing the afterbirth when it does not come away naturally. It is also administered at the end of the post partum period.

¹⁸ See also pp. 199 ff.

We saw a small vine (probably Tragia sp.) used to test a patient suspected of being in hysterical labor. She claimed to have been in labor for three days. She had deceived everybody twice before. It was her first experience and she was frankly scared. The midwife took this vine and rubbed it on, producing violent itching similar to nettle rash. The patient suddenly forgot about being in labor when she found it so very necessary to scratch.

The routine treatment of the woman in labor is remarkably benign in a normal case. The Mandingo midwives, at least, have a very good idea of what not to do. They encourage the patient much as we do. They help her by holding her hands and making her walk about, and when the pains are hard, by pulling on her breasts. The midwife will occasionally squat before the patient as she is held in a half sitting, half reclining position in the middle of the floor, propped up from behind by an assistant. As the midwife squats there she will spit on her hands, rub them together, put them far back under the patient's armpits and around the back, then bring them around forward over the abdomen, and downward toward the ground. This is done twice without touching the patient. The third time the hands are firmly settled in positon behind the patient's armpits. The midwife gets a good hold, shakes the patient gently from side to side with a twisting motion, then using all the dragging friction she can manage, she brings her hands around forward and downward to the pubis, and without touching the vulva shakes her hands violently in front of it as though shaking something off. This is symbolic, of course, but it is good practice. It gives them both something to do at a time when nothing needs to be done, yet everybody feels that something ought to be done. At the very end of labor, when it is permissible to hurry things, the patient is made to take a big whiff of snuff. The violent sneezing usually does the trick.

In cases of prolonged labor, the Mano midwife is guilty of a somewhat dangerous practice. She will help the patient by taking her on her back and walking about with her, shaking her and rolling her around. As the patient is belly-down across the back of the other

woman, the weight pushing on the uterus is considerable.

When the placenta does not come away with the usual procedures, the midwife may remove it by hand, often infecting the patient.

Post partum treatment in Mano is routinely as follows: Beginning immediately after child-birth, the patient is free to go and come as she pleases except for restrictions noted above. She usually rests for three or four days, but may help care for the baby. She is treated twice a day with hot canna leaves, wilted over the fire, and put on the belly as hot as she can bear them. Three large leaves are used. Each leaf is reheated and used—in all, three times. If it is not convenient to build a fire near the woman, seven leaves may be put in a pot with water and brought to a boil, the pot taken to the bedside, and the leaves applied as usual.

The patient is also made to drink a decoction of the "iron weed" called z kpw (Waltheria americana).

But the treatment par excellence is wana (Mareya spicata). It is given in a small dose to bring out the placenta. It is also given about two weeks after the baby's birth to mark the end of the puerperium. It seems to cause rhythmic contraction of the uterus and to settle everything into its proper position.

For puerperal infection, the "best remedy" is to take a handful of the unopened buds of lolo, also called "pain killer" (Harungana madagascariensis) and beat them together with palm oil. One third of this is to be taken each morning for three days; then the patient will get better. The fever and tenderness will disappear.

Rheumatic and other Pains. The Mano man will say, "Un yi da wa," which means, "My insides hurt." This phrase has been reduced to yiwa, which is the term for rheumatism. They vary it by saying, "My bones hurt," or "I hurt all over." Yiwa has come to be a popular name for yaws, as the rheumatic pain is the commonest symptom of late yaws.

The simplest remedy is to take a hot bath and drink some of the water. The Sapa may tie a fiber cord around the head to relieve headache.

The general method, however, is to rub on some medicated "chalk," which is equivalent

pain.

to our liniment. It is frequently prepared by mixing counterirritants with the common white clay, but the proper clay to use is that obtained from the nest of Termes mordax. The greyish clay mass is taken as it is found. Any leaves incorporated in it are retained. It is beaten in a mortar with a small amount of water to form a thick paste. An hour or more of pounding may be required because the termites have added something that makes it as hard as good lime mortar and almost impervious to water. To this paste is added a pulp made of the leaves called kmā (Albizzia sp.) and of lime leaves. The chalk so prepared in bulk is made up in small cylinders or cones and put away to dry in the shade. To dry it in the sun would evaporate some of the active principles. It may be used at any time by wetting the skin and rubbing it with the chalk. The effect is that of a mild analgesic and a soothing powder.

A very good chalk is made by adding the seed of red pepper and the spicy seed of $gb\bar{a}$ (Xylopia sp.). They are pounded to powder and added to the clay as above. They may also be used fresh without adding the clay. Aro-

matic barks may be added.

Hot applications are also used. One Loma method is to heat certain leaves over the fire, place them under a mat, and lie on the mat, covering head and all with a blanket. The heat and moisture coming up through the mat are beneficial. This is a simplified form of sweat bath.

All these treatments for general pains may be used at times for local pains. There is frequently an involvement of a single bone or joint with what the native thinks is the same sickness, and rightly so, for many of these rheumatic joints are also symptoms of yaws. For local swellings or pains of any kind, the leech may resort to multiple small incisions "to let out the sick."

Malformations. Malformations are, naturally, little understood by the native. He is just where we were a short time ago when pregnant women were afraid to look at horrible sights, and explained malformations and monsters, and even birthmarks, by recalling some hideous thing they had experienced during pregnancy. Two examples noted above will be

cited again for illustration: The fear that eating squirrel meat might make the unborn child an epileptic, and the fear that looking at an owl might make the child a staring idiot.

Malformations appearing later in life are thought to be magical unless obviously associated with external disease. For instance, hunchback is thought to be the result of magic; therefore, the treatment is magical—at least, a symbolic ingredient is included in the remedy. The bark of a tree called kue (Pentaclethra macrophylla) is used. This tree never grows straight, but always has a hump or twist in the trunk. The bark is removed from a hump on the tree by beating it with a stone. Then it is pounded with the Termes mordax clay and some pepper seed. The rubbing chalk thus prepared is applied to the hump of the hunchback.

Hernias are common. For this, the native has no cure. They understand the necessity of manual reduction of all hernias when they become painful. The inguinal type is an inconvenience and sometimes the cause of death. The umbilical type is even more common. It does not seem to cause any trouble or worry (fig. 98, d). Epigastric hernias are frequently the cause of considerable discomfort, but the natives seldom consider them the cause of the

Diseases of the Skin and Cellular Tissue. Skin diseases are extremely common, and a large number of remedies were noted for their treatment. One group of these skin diseases is referred to as "craw-craw." 15 This term corresponds in a general way to our word "itch," including scabies, certain fungus diseases, infections, owing mostly to dirt, and perhaps other chronic rashes; for instance, the one associated with yaws. The Gbunde and Loma people treat it with the yellow oil of a wild nut, called black cola or bitter cola, kuviva (Garcinia kola). These nuts are buried in the earth for six or seven days, dug up, pounded in a mortar, the mass put into a vessel containing water and allowed to stand for a day. The oil is then skimmed off and kept to be used as needed. (This same oil is also rubbed on the feet to kill the burrowing jigger.)

Craw-craw is supposed to break out on a person with a leopard taboo who has eaten

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leopard meat — or cat, which is considered a "small leopard." To cure craw-craw acquired in this manner, the sufferer cooks rice, deposits it on a leaf on the ground, calls a cat to eat the rice, and then eats what the cat has left of it. "Craw-craw go finish one time," we were assured. Craw-craw is also "caused" by touching a toad (Mano and Gio), because a toad's back is covered with craw-craw.

By far the most common form of skin disease is yaws (fig. 97, a, b, c, e, f). The native recognizes this in its secondary form to which the Mano people have given the name of kala. Crab yaws they call kala pini; juxtarticular nodules, they call kala kpo. Of course, they do not recognize the entire group of symptoms that we know to be due to yaws; but for the sores, as for the rheumatic pains, they have various remedies. Occasionally, cow dung may be used as a poultice, but for severe stubborn ulcers the more drastic methods of applying counterirritants and astringents are resorted to by the leech. Ulcers are frequently washed with water in which the leaves of the fone tree had been boiled. (Gio.) An astringent ointment is made by both Mano and Gio people by taking the scales of oxide falling from the iron as it is being forged in the blacksmith's shop, pounding them to a powder, and mixing them with palm oil and lime juice. The Sapa apply hot lime juice. The Mano sometimes use an extremely painful counterirritant made of capsicum seed, ashes, soap, and the pulp of wein yıdı leaves (Sarcocephalus diderrichii). These leaves are also used alone, and are sometimes dried and reduced to powder to be dusted on with the idea of forming a crust. Sometimes, a cosmetic paste is made to hide the sore tem-

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A kind of acute ringworm is called nyainy ɛ-lezi, Gbundɛ; gōn kala, Mano. It is supposed to be caused by the jet of liquid ejected by a big earthworm (Acanthodrilius) coming in contact with the skin. The afflicted part is "sand-papered" with a leaf called nyuno la (Ficus exasperata) until the blood comes. These same leaves are bruised and the juice is then put upon the abraded part.

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Kele kpe (Cythulia prostrata) is used chiefly for perineal itch. The entire plant is charred to a black crisp; as are also the black ants called kpīa kpīa. The powder is mixed with oil for an ointment.

Flāla or Christmas Bush (Alchornea cordifolia) is used to make a poultice for ringworm or other sores. The leaves are taken, together with leaves from "brimstone" (Sarcocephalus diderrichii) and beaten to a paste. It is applied

directly.

Swellings and abscesses are sometimes treated by putting hot leaves over them. Sometimes multiple small incisions are made in the skin to let out the blood and serum or pus. Various counterirritants may be used, especially those in the form of white chalk (fig. 97, c), used for rheumatism.¹⁶

A swelling in the region of the liver is known as bai bele and is probably a liver abscess. Among other treatments for bai bele a Mano leech makes use of gelai kama (Lecaniodiscus cupanoides), prepared as follows: Cut the root, wash, scrape. Put the scrapings in a pot with water, squeeze out the juice. Beat up a froth on the juice, using a split stick twirler. It foams up like soap. Dash the foam on the patient's skin (in this case over the swollen liver). The scrapings are to be beaten with white clay and used as a chalk liniment. It is used fresh and still wet, not dried into a solid cake as is usual with rubbing chalk.

The Mano leech then took the tuber-like, fleshy root of the gie gbini "ground cassava," which is a distinct counterirritant. He had his assistant heat a tablespoonful of palm oil in the fire. When the oil was ready, he took the thick, fleshy bark of this root and chewed it up thoroughly, put the spoonful of hot oil in his mouth, mixed it around by chewing some more, and finally blew the mixture out of his mouth on the sick man's stomach. The mixture was hot enough to startle the patient, and from the way he acted, it must have been quite irritating.

For severe angina of the throat, the leaves of a common orchid are beaten up and mixed with kaolin. This is rubbed on the throat to bring the abscess to the outside. The tight-rolled bud leaves of duā dī (Aframomum baumanii) are beaten up to form a pulp which is heated and applied, while still hot, to the abscess or swelling. These same leaves are mixed with melegueta pepper seed, beaten well together, and mixed with the clay from the small ant-hill called zine kpu of Termes mordax. 18 This must be thoroughly beaten together, and is used as poultice for any abscess.

The root of diā is used in the treatment of toothache. The scrapings are mixed with powdered red-pepper seed and stuffed into the cavity. It is said to cure the toothache by killing the "worm," which they believe is caus-

ing the pain.

The root of *flāla* (Alchornea cordifolia) is also used for toothache. It is chopped fine and cooked in water to form a concentrated extract. This is put into the cavity while still hot.

For diseases of the eye, there are three plants considered by the local leech to be really efficient. The favorite one is flāla (Alchornea cordifolia). An eye lotion is made by taking leaves that have dried on the bush and steeping them in a pot of cold water. The water is drained off and used as an eye bath.

The second shrub is called bai bulu, Mandingo; go tia, Mano; (Sarcocephalus esculentus). The bark is beaten and mixed with cold water, the water being used as an eye bath to

relieve redness and pain.

The third plant is a fleshy herb called 25 (Costus sp.), growing in swampy places. For trauma of the eye or any acute irritation, such as that caused by venom of the spitting cobra, take a piece of the stem, strip back the leaves from the large end, heat over the fire till wilted, and squeeze the warm juice into the eye. The inflammation will be immediately relieved. This plant contains oxalic acid, which apparently acts as an astringent.

In Mano a man blind in one eye said that he had been bewitched by spirit-witch. Because of this, there was no remedy or medicine to help him. The Half-Grebo believe that blindness, total or partial, may be caused by breaking the egg of a lizard and getting even a tiny speck of its contents into the eye. There is no cure for this.

¹⁶ See above, p. 396.

¹⁷ See p. 103.

¹⁸ Büttikofer, 1890, vol. 2, p. 461.

Illness due to External Causes. The treatment of fractures has developed into a specialty among the primitive people of Liberia. Knowledge of such a specialty is frequently kept within the family, passing from father to son or nephew. The methods of procedure and the details of preparing materials are guarded with unusual care. It is only because this specialty is so clear-cut that we were able to obtain so much definite information regarding the prac-

tice of these "surgeons."

In Loma broken bones are treated only by "big doctors." A medicine or remedy is rubbed on, and the injured member bound in a casing of split raffia midrib. In Gio the individual suffering such a misfortune is carried to the zo quarter and put in the care of a doctor whose specialty is bone-setting. Before he will accept the case, this specialist must be given a white fowl. The patient is then taken into the medicine house before which hangs the raffia-fringe curtain, the "no admittance" sign. There the patient is kept until he is again able to use his leg or arm. No one is allowed to enter and see what is done.

The zo goes from time to time to get rice from the patient's people. This he cooks without salt or pepper and gives the patient to eat. Before the patient is allowed to leave for home, his people must pay the fee, which is an iron cooking pot or its equivalent, e.g., three native cloths. În Sapa a broken leg was treated by a woman skilled in bone-setting. When a trained nurse who was living there saw the patient, the leg was encased in splints of raffia midrib. It had been set crooked. The nurse took off the splints, reset the bone, and put on new splints. After the nurse had left the village, the native woman came again, took off the "white person's things," and replaced her own splints. Two months later, the nurse saw the boy running about, his leg perfectly straight and well again. Needless to say, the native practitioner got the credit.

At Ganta, in 1927, a Bassa boy was thrown violently by a Kisi wrestler, landing on one foot and suffering a Pott's fracture. The white doctor applied a plaster-of-Paris splint in the approved fashion. The local reputation of a Mano specialist in fractures, however, was greater than that of the newly established white doctor. The boy had the plaster re-

moved. The native specialist applied a light coaptation splint of split raffia midrib, which he removed daily to massage the foot with an astringent paste. This dried on like a thin coat of stiff glue. The splints were reapplied and the patient urged to use the foot lightly after one week. The aim was for a useful member, rather than a perfect alignment. The final result was undoubtedly as good as could be

expected.

The procedure followed by another Mano specialist is as follows: If a bone of an arm or leg is broken, some of the small branches of a shrub called ko la (Erythrococca manii) are burned to charcoal, powdered, and mixed with palm oil. The site of the fracture is rubbed with the ointment. Several layers of leaves of the same plant ko la are laid around the fracture. The "surgeon" then applies light splints of split-raffia midrib, tying them on tightly with cord, setting the bones during the process, sometimes having an assistant to use whatever

traction is necessary.

If a thigh is broken, the patient may be put in the loft with his leg hanging down between the poles of the ceiling. His hands may have to be tied so that he will not fight the doctor, for they have no general anesthetic. A large stone is tied to his foot to obtain the necessary traction. When all the splints are securely tied, the stone is taken off, and the patient brought down. A chicken of the same sex as the patient is brought and its leg broken in the same place as the man's, by bending it across the splinted leg of the patient. Both patients are kept in the same house and treated the same way. The chicken also has splints applied. They are fed the same food, and watched and treated for complications. The day the chicken walks on the leg without limping it is safe to remove the splints from the man's leg. The chicken serves as a control on the time necessary for the bone to heal. The dressings are wet daily with the infusions of this same leaf, ko la. The ointment is also rubbed on, but the splints are not removed unless the "surgeon" feels that things are not quite right. He may take them off if he finds by palpation that there is some angulation, and repeat as much of the process as he thinks necessary. Usually, his practice is to tie the splints tighter the second time.

Bruises are treated by rubbing with chalks such as those described above. A bruise is really an important ailment, because a bruise is almost invariably followed by a local yaws reaction resembling cellulitis. A very high percentage of all adults in the interior have either active or latent yaws, so that a severe bruise offers the yaws an opportunity to break out afresh. The same is true, to a certain extent, of an injury of any sort. Indeed, yaws, may be taken for granted as a probable complication of any disease whatever.

Among the Sapa, the treatment for severe body bruises is as follows: Dig a hole in the ground, put the man in it, cover him with earth (except for breathing space), and kindle a fire on top of the loose earth until he gets hot. He is left there for a considerable time. This will

take the soreness out and cure him.

For flesh wounds, the treatment is as variable as the circumstances under which the wound is received. Frequently, any convenient dry dust will be sprinkled at once on the wound to stop the bleeding. Another rather revolting practice is to apply fresh cow dung. The reason for this is obscure. It may be possible that the type of organisms thus introduced into wounds are less virulent than some which might be introduced from the patient's own skin, or by flies.

As noted above, the people recognize that tropical ulcers are most frequent during the season when rice is being planted. They believe that the infection comes from the moist earth and that cow dung is less likely to give them this infection than the mud. One would think the danger from tetanus would be much greater; yet tetanus is rare, in spite of such

practices.

Some of the treatments for flesh wounds are much more cleanly. Indeed, the following is

altogether good.

For deep flesh wounds, take a handful of the young leaves of gene zolo (Combretum aculeatum) and boil with a small amount of water, adding a little salt. Open the wound and wash thoroughly with this water, pouring it in while it is still hot. Wilt some of the bud leaves over the fire. Squeeze the juice of these leaves into the wound, then close it up, using the remainder of the bud-leaves as a poultice. Repeat every other day until healing begins, then less often, as needed.

The Sapa sometimes apply to fresh cuts the ashes obtained by burning plantain stalks.

The juice exuding from the bark of the sabwe (Sapa) tree is another remedy for cuts. A plantain skin may be used for a bandage.

Burns are variously treated. The Mano may sprinkle hairs of the lemur, Periodicticus potto (called "softly-softly" by the Liberians) upon deep burns. The Gio sprinkle on the ashes of Achatina snail shells. If a Gio child is burned by falling into the fire, the mother shrieks, strikes her chest, washes the child all over in cold water, and applies palm-kernel oil. Then she gets various leaves and barks which she pounds, mixes with white clay, and smears upon the burned surface. (It is a serious matter for the Gio woman whose child falls into the fire; she is considered careless and negligent in her duty. Any man, woman, or child may enter her house and take from it any of her possessions they fancy, as a punishment for her not having properly cared for her child.) The Sapā often apply palm oil with ashes of raffia midrib. The Mano consider a vine kpaī kpaī (Dalbergia saxitalis) a specific in the treatment of burns. They make a poultice of the leaves, rubbed up with a little water, claiming that even a deep burn so treated will heal without a scar. They treat insignificant first-degree burns by rubbing on a little palm oil and soot from a cooking pot.

Bites. In a country where everyone goes barefoot and little clothing at all is worn, the bites of insects and venomous reptiles are naturally common. We found out very little concerning the treatment of bites. The leech seems to have efficient remedies for snake bites. The general treatment is to apply a tourniquet, cut the skin near the bite, and suck out the poison (Loma); then various remedies are rubbed into the wound. One Mano leech advised the use of a vine called bo fie ko (Carpodinus sp.). For snake bite, he puts the buds of this vine in his mouth, and sucks the wound. The poison will not affect the one who sucks the wound. If the sucking is not possible, he rubs the sap into each wound. It will counteract the poison. If the snake is the short grass-snake he takes the leaf, crushes it, and smears the entire area with the mass, putting the sap also into the wound. The stem of this same vine may be prepared by charring until black, then beating up to a powder and rubbing it into the snake bite. In addition to local treatment, the Sapa leech requires the patient to drink an emetic made by steeping tobacco leaves in water. An emetic is among the treatments used in the treatment of

snake bite in Mano also.

A practice was found among the Loma similar to that described by practitioners of the snake cult in East Africa. A fine triturated black powder is prepared from the heads of poisonous snakes, charred, with certain herbs, in an iron pot. This contains the snake's venom, undoubtedly modified by the heating and certainly diluted by the charcoal with which it is mixed.19 Its action is further controlled by the herbs mixed into the compound. These are the same herbs which the leech uses in treating snake bite. This black powder is rubbed into tiny cuts in the skin of a person who wishes to be immunized against snake bite. The first immunizing dose is a small one, the next two are larger; a definite reaction is produced. The leech recognizes that this protection is temporary and that it must be repeated every two or three years. As the heads of several different varieties of snakes are used in the preparation of this powder, the immunizing effect is that of polyvalent vaccination.

This native practice even parallels our toxinantitoxin immunizations, because he mixes with his toxin the remedy he would use in treating snake bite. The details of this treatment are guarded with great secrecy. Mr. Embree of the Methodist Mission in Monrovia once saw a boy bitten by a very poisonous snake. His comrades expected him to die. He asked them to wait while he went into the bush to get some medicine. They were surprised to see him return, as the medicine for that particular snake bite is known only by certain big doctors. He admitted that he knew the medicine and begged the others not to tell anyone that he knew the secret, fearing the jealousy of those who were supposed to have a monopoly on the information.

For spider bites, the Sapa take a plantain, roast it, and cut off the ends. This reveals a hollow running through the length of the plantain. A friend will take this and blow hot air

through it on to the bitten part; then the hot plantain is split and tied upon the bite.

Poisons and Antidotes. Poisons are feared everywhere. Certainly, the older chiefs would insist that anyone bringing them cooked food first eat some of it in their presence, thus dem-

onstrating that it is not poisoned.20

There are several famous poisons that people commonly speak of, i.e., the "one-day poison," the "seven-day poison," and the "long-time poison." 21 The first of these is supposed to be crocodile gall. Other poisons use certain barks and leaves of which sasswood (Erythrophleum guineensis) and wana (Mareya spicata) are good examples.

The actual method of using poisons, we could seldom determine, but there is a story of a man who died from drinking palm wine offered to him by someone who had his thumb inside the cup. The poisoner in this case had the poison under his thumbnail. Men in that community watch each other's thumbs pretty closely when the cup is passed around. There are, doubtless, various ways of introducing poison into food.22

Another alleged method is to put the finely powdered poison into a tube and blow it into

the face of the sleeping victim.

Arrow poisons, still in common use by hunters, were formerly used in time of war. They are prepared from strophanthus seed, mixed with various other ingredients such as strychnos, calabar beans, crocodile gall, snake or scorpion venom, and a large black ant called kpīa kpīa. This ant is said to be used also in preparing a poison to be put into food. We were also told of a very "strong" poison prepared by allowing parts of a human body to decompose inside a tightly closed pot. It is highly probable that such a concentrate would contain a rich culture of anaerobic spore-forming bacteria such as B. Welchii causing gasbacillus gangrene, or malignant edema.

Of fish poisons, we learned only one.23 The seed of the raffia palm (Raphia vinifera) is simply beaten and thrown in large quantities into a pool so that the fish are stupified and may be

easily caught.24

¹⁹ Charring of wood produces formalin. Formalinized venom is non-toxic but produces specific im-

²⁰ See p. 380.

²¹ See p. 380.

²² See p. 380.

²⁸ See pp. 74-75. 24 See p. 74.

Most of the influential men of these tribes have a sheep's horn filled with a black oily mixture of which a little bit is licked from a stick or porcupine quill every day, or even twice a day. This is supposed to be a mixture of small amounts of poison, together with a general antidote. The use of this mixture probably builds up a certain degree of tolerance; it is said to insure the vomiting of poisons. One ingredient of this antidote is a common shrub (camwood) called dolo, Mano (Baphia nitida). A branch is cut, burned almost to charcoal, beaten to a powder, and mixed with red palm oil. (This substance is also supposed to keep snakes away if rubbed between the toes.) Another antidote is the bark of tu (Sterculia tormentosa). It is made into a snuff by drying and powdering on a stone. A pinch of this is put into each dish of food. If the food contains poison it will be vomited.

Anyone who is poisoned may be treated by taking the young leaves of moa yidi (Rauwolfia vomitoria) and rubbing them between the thumb and finger under water. A white rubbery mass will accumulate on the fingers. This is swallowed by the patient. It may counteract the poison or it may actually produce vomit-

ing.

Another antidote, very generally recognized, is bo (Mitragyne stipulosa), a swamp timber tree. A large quantity of leaves are beaten up and boiled in water. The skin of the patient is bathed with this and a cupful of it is drunk. An infusion of the bark may be used in the same way. This remedy is supposedly improved by the addition of a common roadside grass called in Kpelle, didi fofo. If prepared for a man, pull up four bunches (man's sacred number); if for a woman, three bunches. Put in the pot with the leaves of bo and boil down well. It is used as above, to wash the patient, and also as a drug to be taken by mouth.

Diseases of Infancy and Childhood. The sick child is little understood by the native. It is most likely that it will have some symbolic or magical rite performed for its benefit, because the disease is obscure and not approachable by the methods of ordinary medicine; namely, the methods used to treat symptoms. The child cannot tell what the symptoms are.

As noted, infant mortality is very high. Many newborn children die of infection of the cord soon after birth.

For convulsions and tetanus, the native remedies are those calculated to revive one from a fainting or epileptic fit. A list of the various procedures is referred to above under malaria.²⁵

We found one remedy suggestive of the modern treatment of food-deficiency diseases. A boy about two years old had never walked. An old woman who knew about such things took a handful of leaves from a wild vine related to the grape (probably Cissus sp.) and beat them to a pulp. This was put into a big spoon and heated by dropping hot pebbles into it (three for a girl and four for a boy). The dish was seasoned with a little salt and red palm oil and given to the child to eat. Such a dish was prepared every day. We know that this resulted in the child's rapid recovery. Red palm oil is rich in vitamins.

Preventive Medicine and Hygiene. The native people are essentially clean and careful, though ignorance leads them to be grossly inconsistent at times. The adult man has a hot bath every day at sunset.²⁶ The woman washes her skin and the family's clothes at the edge of a stream. Native towns undisturbed by the new trend toward lawlessness are very well kept. Houses are remarkably free from the type of vermin we associate with bodily filth. Pediculosis was found only twice in Ganta's early series of 6,291 cases. Rubbish heaps are periodically turned into kitchen gardens. Night soil is deposited in designated areas or in the bush, always in a private spot if possible, and covered with rice bran or newly pulled leaves placed upside-down to warn a passerby. We have repeatedly been surprised to note the men hurry past a spot where there was the smell of human feces. If the native ever drinks water contaminated by feces, it is certain that he is not aware of the fact. He always goes upstream to drink at a crossing, downstream to wash himself. A clean water supply is always appreciated, and the location of a town is usually determined in part by the presence of an acceptable water supply. According to our ideas, the water supply, especially of the larger towns, leaves much to be desired.

See above, p. 387.

Some diseases, at least, are recognized as contagious and sick people in general are avoided,

except by near relatives.

The food is clean and well cooked, as the rarity of such diseases as tapeworm indicates (only five cases in the Ganta series of 6,581). Meat is not always fresh according to our standards, but after all, that is only a matter of taste.

Even the idea of preventive medicine is well established in the minds of these people. The fact that their measures are usually amulets and charms does not negate the essential idea of prevention. Moreover, they occasionally hit upon a remarkably clever idea, such as immunizing against snake bite, the daily dose of poison plus antidote, isolation of smallpox, and general cleanliness of habit.

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DIVINATION, ORACLES, AND SCIENCE

DIVINATION

IN THE preceding notes reference has been made here and there to the diviner, and the important role he still plays in the life of the Liberian hinterlander. Although divination is practiced by both sexes, there are some forms strictly limited to men. It is not the function of a cult, though the diviner is usually a cult member of some standing; nor is it confined to a specific locality in any tribe. The Mano stated that the gift or power is usually revealed to individuals in dreams. Having had the vision, one just begins. In Tie it is a family power handed down from one member to another. It cannot be acquired by outsiders even for payment. One can, however, broaden one's knowledge of it by getting instruction under a person whose ability surpasses one's own. In the Sabo town of Gi (Half-Grebo) we found an elderly man in the house of the local diviner — a man of about his own age. The visitor had come for such special instruction. All the Mano insisted that the diviners of Gio were superior to their own in both number and ability. Mano diviners go to the Gio and sometimes pay as much as a bullock to be "shown" the secrets of one reputed to be abler than themselves.

In Loma the female diviner is called gala dawo-onu (god interpreter); in Mano she is called $d\varepsilon$ h or duoba. The male is $d\varepsilon$ mi. The medicines of both are dali.

While a diviner is making his medicine, no one may be present. Once, upon entering a Gbunde hut, silently and unexpectedly, a person surprised a diviner making his medicine, with the result that the medicine was "spoiled." The diviner was stark naked and seated on a native bed, the ingredients of his medicine before him. Inside the enclosure separating his hut from the others was a small heap of stones. On top of these lay a recently made offering of rice meal.

Sand-Reading. The forms of divination are various. The Arabic method of reading or "cutting" sand is the principal one in the north.

Sand is shaken out of a container onto a mat, and the resulting figures "interpreted." This is most often done by the Mandingos, but persons who have learned it from them are not wanting. Near Gompa (Mano) is a Mano woman $Ny\varepsilon$ be mi, frequently called upon to "cut the sand." We were told that some time before our visit a sum of money had been lost or stolen from a house occupied by a group of boys. They went to this woman to have her solve the mystery. After reading the sand, she told them that it had been taken by a boy who lived in the house and that they were to go home and settle among themselves as to who was the guilty party. This was regarded as a wonderfully clever answer and the money paid her considered a good investment. The thief considered himself discovered, and confessed.

These Mandingo sand-readers are considered a necessity by chiefs of western and northern Liberia. In practically every large town through which we passed, except in Ge and Gio where Mandingo influences are as yet much weaker than in other parts, one of them was idling about, living well at the chief's expense. At Tapi Town (Gio) our interpreter, who had acquired an infected hand, appropriated several of the fowls with which we had been presented and gave them to one of these loafers to tell him what he must do to get rid of the infection. Two days later, although directions had been followed, we lost our interpreter. He died of blood poisoning.

Ventriloquism. Another procedure used in divination is clearly ventriloquism, by means of which objects are made to appear to give the answer to questions put to them. The diviner in this case knows the answer before he consults his medicine. While visiting the town of Yala (Loma), we learned of a woman reputed to be possessed of supernatural powers in divination. "Him [she] fit [able] make t'ing talk fo' tell we." This "thing" proved to be a brass ring, the size of a large bracelet. Her procedure is to lay this on the ground, place

² See pp. 35, 357; also Harley, 1941a, pp. 153-68.

her medicines in its center, then "call the spirit" that is to give the answers to come into the medicine. From there it gives its replies. She can command the spirit to remain for as long a time as she chooses. From time to time she feeds it, to keep it favorably disposed toward her, by the sacrifice of a fowl. The spurting blood from its cut throat is rubbed on both ring and medicine. A Gio man had his answers come from the spirit in a basket that contained his medicines.

Visions while in a Trance or Hypnotic State. In the north visions and revelations are obtained in a self-imposed hypnotic state. Only the highest doctors can divine by this means, as they alone know the "secret." They can keep themselves in this hypnotic state as long as they choose. They are believed to have died temporarily and sent their spirits to the spirit world. There, in converse with the ancestral powers, they obtain answers to any and all things hidden from other mortals. This "dying" is done dramatically in public, and the "dead" man is carried to a secluded place in the jungle near town and left there. After a suitable time of wandering about and consulting with the powers in the country of the spirits, the diviner again comes to life, returns to town, and gives the answer to the matter in question.2

In Tië this sort of divining is done another way. The diviner, upon being consulted, first blows an antelope horn (ngamu) to call to his aid Ku, the great spirit who lives in the jungle. When Ku has come, the diviner takes up a forest buffalo's horn, containing medicine and decorated with small bells. This horn he shakes and lays on the ground. Then he trembles violently, goes into a trance, gets the desired revelations, "comes to life" again — and receives his fee; after which the inquirer is given the answer which "the horn has told him."

(The walking horn, the flogging stick, and the striking dish, used to "detect" guilty parties, will be dealt with under Ordeals.) ³

Some diviners have the "seeing eye," and therefore have no need of "dying." In Mano a diviner with this gift drops into his eyes water

² "Because of the possibility of a person's temporarily dying and returning to life, one must not be in too great a hurry to bury anyone who has died suddenly and unexpectedly. He may be only temporarily dead. in which the bark of the ngwo tree has been steeped. This gives him the ability to "see" who has committed thefts or other crimes, and especially those guilty of black magic. Such men (women never can have the "seeing eye") are called gwele nyo by the Tiɛ.

Another instance of the "seeing eye" was reported to us by Paramount Chief Towe. The medicine for this oracle had served five generations of his ancestors before coming into his possession. It was necessary to rub this into the eye; then dream-visions followed. When rumors reached the Gio country that the "black foreigners" (Liberian Government officials and troops) were coming to bring the tribe into subjection to the Government, Towe applied this medicine. He then had an oracular vision in which he "saw the palaver [war] coming" and also saw that resistance would only mean ruin and death for the people. He immediately went to all the big towns, telling of this vision and pleading for non-resistance.

This preaching of pacificism in the face of the approaching common danger caused the chiefs to come together in angry council to decide what to do about the whole matter. It was finally settled that he must die. So he was taken and his neck placed on a mortar in order to behead him. For a last time he repeated that the advice had come to him in an oracle-vision "sent by the fathers' medicine," and denied that he had been moved by cowardice. It was decided that the truth of his statements must be proved by poison ordeal. Twice he had to drink the sasswood; both times he vomited it. Thereupon he was released, acclaimed a great diviner and helper, loaded with gifts, and set free. (The Gio, as a result, did not resist the Government forces when they came and were spared the fate of the tribes who did resist.)

There is also the "seeing spirit," a gift for prophesying, about which we heard in Half-

Grebo.

"A youth had gone to the coast and had not been heard from for some time. A cult leader, who was also a diviner, possessed of this seeing spirit, went to a sacred tree in the forest, accompanied by three other cult leaders. They

So we let such a corpse lie until its mouth spoils and the tongue hangs out," the Gio said.

⁸ See pp. 427 ff.

all joined hands, after which the diviner began to prophesy, saying, 'Four days after the next new moon that youth will land from a ship lying off Cape Palmas.' On the strength of this statement his relatives went to the coast to meet him at the specified time. They were not disappointed; he arrived as foretold."

Not having any of these gifts, we were un-

able to verify this story.

Other Methods of Divination. Shaking objects out of baskets, gourds, or other containers and getting the answers by means of the order and position of the objects as they drop out upon a skin or a mat is practiced in the southeast. Among the objects contained in one of these outfits seen in Tie were: a foot and beak of a fowl, killed as a sacrifice for a person accused of witchcraft and acquitted in a trial by ordeal; to be innocent; the horn of a goat that had been killed and eaten in celebration of a notable and fortunate event; the tooth of a hog, killed by a hunter just after he had "washed" evil influences from his gun and had obtained new hunting medicine for himself; a piece of rattan vine that had been used to tie a corpse to a pole, in order to carry it to its home town for burial; a piece of the dried flesh of a goat, killed by a leopard but rescued before it was eaten; and the cork from a bottle of gin, bought by a man whose employer at the coast had been generousthese and many more objects, all representing some fortunate or unfortunate occurrence, together with the owner's medicines, filled the gourd-container.

Gazing into pots containing water and the necessary medicines, or gazing at rocks to read the answer, is done much in the manner of

crystal-gazing.

Another method is "obtaining answers from the pot." Questions are put to a pot or vessel containing sand (for weight merely) which is set on the ground with the formula, "If your answer is thus and so, let me be able to lift you up. If not, stay on the ground." This method is, however, more frequently used as an oracle, and in trials by ordeal, than in divination. No village (Mano and Gio) has more than one "pot" or vessel-diviner.

We heard of spear-gazing only in the southeast. This is done by men. Streaks of medicine are daubed vertically on both sides of a spearhead. A Half-Grebo diviner said, "the spear is held with its head toward the sun when it is hot." The diviner gazes along it into the sun. The spear tells him the answers, which he speaks aloud as they come to him, still gazing steadfastly toward the sun.

Star-reading can be done only by a bala mile of the Poro cult. He is called a go nye do be mi (sky fortune-telling person). "He can read in God's eye" what causes illness and the remedy; when one is due to die (perhaps, if necessary, he helps to make his prophecy come true); if, and how, one can become wealthy; if one having wealth is ever going to become poor; and many, many other things. So we were told in confidence.

The Diviner's Fees and Responsibility. The fee for the diviner's services is not a fixed one. This is based upon the importance of the matter in hand, and the client's ability to pay. For minor matters, a handful of cola nuts is given (north), a fowl or two, a dish of rice, a few shillings, or any "small thing" of equal value. More important questions require a goat or sheep. For a "big, big palaver," concerning the whole town, the Tie said that as much as a hundred shillings or a bullock may be paid. But since the diviner must take oath on "very strong" medicine and "eat a cola nut" to bind him to his oath that what he says is true, this big fee is well earned. He is risking his life. If the seekers of information should even suspect that he has not been honest with them, he will be "bewitched" by poisons secretly put into his food or drink by the keeper of the "strong medicine." "The strong medicine gets him."

The Diviner as Sanitary Agent. In Tie we learned of a most beneficial service that diviners of repute sometimes render a town by assuming certain functions similar to that of our own community health officers. This service results from visions they claim to have had and is rendered to the assembled local worthies in the form of a sort of lecture on sanitation. This vision usually comes when a town has become unduly dilapidated and unclean, with much illness and an increase in the number of deaths. The result is a general cleaning up, tearing down of old huts, and building new ones.

ORACLES

Oracles are consulted in matters where it is a question of getting merely a "yes" or a "no" to settle a matter, rather than a revelation of a more extended nature. Sometimes the individual does this for himself, sometimes he goes to a person who specializes in it. Oracles may be consulted by either sex. The materials and methods employed are varied and numerous. Placing medicines or objects in a termite's nest to see whether termites will attack them or not is one method referred to in the section on "War." 4 Cockerels are also used. The proper ceremonies must first be conducted and the medicine made, then the fowl is told what is expected of it. After this, in Gbunde and Loma, its head is cut off and the body set on the ground. If the fowl expires while lying on its back, the answer is favorable; if in any other position, it is unfavorable. In Mano, Ġe, and Gio, and the southeast, food is thrown to it. If the food is eaten by it, the answer is favorable; if only pecked at, doubtful; if refused, negative. (It is conceivable that a person very desirous of a favorable answer might put the question to a fowl that had been previously

Other animals are also used as oracles. Paramount Chief Towe (Gio) makes a practice of taking the bull of the town into his secret private medicine house "to talk to and consult with it" whenever important matters are pending or decisions are to be made (fig. 36, e).

"Consulting the Bags." While we were in Loma, an old man came to an oracle woman to learn from her whether or not he was to die during that year. This gala dawo-onu (God's will interpreter) first smeared her body with white clay, containing medicine. She had two raffia bags. One bag contained various small shells, trade-thread spools, empty rifle cartridges, and a cola nut. The second, which was ornamented with cowrie shells and had recently been smeared with white clay, contained a few small brass bells tied together; large Achatina snail shells, one of which was filled with medicine; and a small gourd. The contents of each bag was dropped out upon a separate mat. From the contents of the first bag, she selected a cowrie shell, broke it, touched each article of the heap with the pieces, then threw them on the small heap formed by the contents of the second bag. Next she took up the cola nut. Touching the snail shell containing the medicine, she said: "Koto-kpawolo (Great One), here is your cola. Show me whether or not you agree to take the cola." Then she split the nut and tossed the two halves into the air. They fell with both "faces" upward, indicating a favorable answer. The position of the contents of the second bag as they had first fallen on the mat indicated the sacrifice that the old man was to make to insure his living for another year. She interpreted the jumbled articles as indicating that two pots of rice were to be cooked and given, one to a man, the other to a woman — any man or woman.

When the answer had been given to the inquirer, she again tossed up the halves of the cola nut. The half which fell face down, the medicine had "selected to eat," so it was broken into small pieces and added to the sacred heap. The other half, which had fallen face upward, she was entitled to eat. This she proceeded to do.

The Sand-pot Oracle. We have already noted above 5 that the sand pot was used more as an oracle than as an instrument of involved divining. An interesting case of appeal to it was recorded for us by Dr. Harley as follows:

Judgment had been rendered against a young chief; he had been found guilty, the day before, of the charge of adultery with a woman he had sold to another man. As she had suffered some indignity at the hands of her new husband who suspected her of infidelity, her people demanded that an oracle be consulted as to whether or not she had been to blame. The sand-pot method was decided upon, and a diviner who employed it was called. He came and sent for the village 'medicine." This was a rice fanner full of discarded personal ornaments and medicines. Among these objects were an old bell, a medicine horn, a couple of bracelets, another piece of medicine, decorated with cowrie shells - things said to have belonged to people who had died because they had sworn falsely on the medicine. The diviner took oath upon the medicine that he would not treacherously influence the outcome of the trial nor work mischief on any one. He asked

^{*} See also p. 362.

⁵ See p. 406.

questions of various people involved, especially the woman. When he had satisfied himself in regard to the circumstances, he began his operations.

During his questionings he had been seated crosslegged on a mat. Before him was a fine red cat skin; upon it, a stoneware bowl, large enough to hold about three quarts. This was partly filled with sand and covered with a china plate. Over the whole a cloth had been spread. On the other end of the mat, facing the bowl, the accused woman was seated. The village medicine was nearby. Around this group was a circle including the chief parties to the trial, and various

interested and curious people.

A handful of pebbles was on the mat beside the oracle. Each represented some question that had come up during the trial. He took one from the pile, rubbed it with a gentle stroking motion on the side of the bowl, from which the cloth had been removed but which was still covered with the plate, and addressing the bowl said, "Now the former relations that this woman had with this chief, when she was a young girl - we are not asking about that now." Then he put the pebble to one side, deliberately and with dignity. Taking another pebble he said, "Now whether the woman has had relations with any other man - we are not asking about that," and put that pebble aside. Similarly, he waived the questions concerning the chief's relations with other women, concerning the woman's own husband, and the relations of his other women with other men.

Then he took a pebble, had the woman put it in her mouth, took it again from her, placed it on the cover of the bowl, and asked the woman who it was she had had improper relations with. She named the accused chief. The man then covered the bowl again with the cloth, and raising the dish looked in, holding the cloth up much as a photographer holds up his dark cloth over his camera. No one but himself could see inside the bowl. He covered it and removed the cloth, put the pebbles on top, then addressing a direct question to the bowl, he asked whether the woman had spoken the truth in accusing this chief. If the answer was "No," he would be able to lift the bowl easily. If the answer was "Yes," the bowl would be too heavy to lift. In order that everyone might understand clearly, he took the pebble off and lifted the bowl easily, to show how it would come up if the answer was "No." He then took up the pebble again, stroked the sides of the bowl with it several times, charging the bowl to answer rightly, laid it again on top of the bowl, and tried to lift it. It would not come up. The man redoubled his efforts, tugged at first one edge and then the other, got up on his knees, pushed and pulled and twisted. He finally stood up and apparently exerted all his strength, but only succeeded in tipping one edge a little. The cat skin clung to that edge, apparently drawn up by suction, but the bowl could not be lifted. The man finally gave it up, sat down with a great sigh, and wiped the sweat off his face. He then removed the pebble from the top of the bowl and with a dexterous motion lifted the bowl between his two hands, shoving it forward a bit so that the cat skin was not moved by the suction.

This performance was then repeated. Another pebble was now placed on the bowl; the answer was the same. In spite of this, the chief denied his guilt. The diviner then offered to put the bowl on the woman's legs as she sat with them stretched out before her, or let her lie on the mat so that he could put the bowl on her abdomen where she could feel the weight of it and would know certainly that it was too heavy to be lifted; that is, he would repeat the performance with the bowl resting on her instead of on the mat. She declined and the others agreed that it was not necessary. They considered the diviner had fairly and honestly consulted the oracle and the chief was pronounced guilty.

He still denied it. (He had spent some time in Monrovia, spoke some English, and evidently did not hold the medicine in such veneration as did the others.) He said, "If I contest the decision of the medicine who is going to do anything to me?" Then he tried another attack. He appealed for retrial before another and stronger medicine. Retrial was denied him.

This trial by oracle was formerly permitted and sanctioned by the local Government official; fines were imposed to pay damages to the plaintiff, to pay the cost of the trial, and to pay the diviner. The Government official sat over all performances and named the amount of the fines as well as setting a time limit for their payment.

It is but to be expected that an occasional individual, through exposure to "foreign" influence at the coast or elsewhere, returns to his home without that implicit faith in diviners and oracles that he, as a hinterlander, once had. Occasionally, one of these has sufficient courage to hoax a diviner. A case cited (southeast) was concerned with a man who had concealed an object, consulted a diviner as to where it might have been lost, and then produced it from its hiding-place, much to the confusion of the diviner. In doing this, the hoaxer always runs the risk of resentment on the part of the diviner, who may, of course, resort to his poison pot.

WEATHER CONCEPTS

The concept of weather, as we know it, is foreign to the primitive African. For him it is the day which is good or bad, not the weather. A bad day is one on which the weather is so inclement as to keep all persons inside, excepting such as are really forced to go out. Other days are good according to their degree of sunshine, showers, cold winds, and the like.

Rain and Rain Medicine. Regarding the native concept of clouds, we learned nothing at all. People either remained silent or responded with "We do not know, our fathers

told us nothing."

"Rain," the Loma said, "is the bath water of the people in the sky, called ge wologi. Whenever they bathe themselves, it rains." One method of influencing the sky people to take a bath is to make tono tege (rain medicine). Many persons of both sexes know how to make this. Certain leaves are taken from the forest, tied in a bundle, and put under water in a stream or pond. When, on the other hand, the sky people are taking too frequent and prolonged baths, and it is desired to have them leave off for a time, these same kinds of leaves are taken, bundled, and hung over the hearth. Or the leaves are burned, their ashes put inside a horn, and the horn stuck into the roof thatch outside the house. If this causes the sky people to forego their ablutions for too long a time, the horn is brought inside the house and laid on the water platform, near the water pots, "where it is very cold."

If the sky people insist on bathing at ricecutting time, when it is likely to spoil the crop before it can be harvested, one takes his bundle of anti-rain medicine to the person who has made it, to have that person "throw cola on it." This is to make the medicine listen to one's petitions and transmit them to the sky people. "The medicine will never listen unless a cola nut has first been thrown." Having learned (by the way the halves of the nut fall) that the medicine has agreed to do what is to be asked of it, petition is made, and the bundle again hung up over the hearth. Whereupon "rain go stop one time" (immediately).

The supreme spirit in the mythology of the Fang tribes of the Cameroun, Spanish Guinea, and the

The Mano appeal to the ancestral spirits directly or through the mediation of their sacred fish, both to get rain and to make it stop falling. A diviner or an oracle determines the nature of the necessary sacrifice. The Gio sometimes make a sacrifice to the sun when prolonged wet weather has hidden it for too long a time, praying it to "come again and stop the rain."

In Gio only a $d\varepsilon$ (doctor, of either sex) can make medicine to cause rain to fall or to make it stop. As this is done in secret, we obtained no particulars. Informants "knew," however, that the $d\varepsilon$ can "make a rope of water." One end of this water rope is put into a rice field, the other is connected with a cloud. When rain is wanted, the $d\varepsilon$ pulls the water rope, the rain

feels the pull and comes down.

In Tië a person skilled in rain medicines uses the leaves of a certain tree. If rain is desired, these are put into running water, while the medicine man calls on the rain to fall. If, on the other hand, he wishes the rain to cease, he takes this same kind of leaf, chews it well, and blows the contents of his mouth onto the blade of his cutlass. Then he returns it to its sheath saying, "Let no rain fall until I take this cutlass out of its sheath."

A Gio about to start on a journey considers it unlucky if rain begins to fall before he is on the way. He has medicine made to counteract this bad luck.

Thunder Storms and Connected Phenomena. Storms are caused, according to the Loma, by the "great smith in the sky." "When he works his bellows to kindle his fire [lightning], it produces the great winds of the storms." Almost everywhere there are strong medicines to protect against storms, but we got little information about them. "Storms we fear but do not understand, so we cannot make medicine against them," said an old Gio chief. The Sapā boil beans in a large quantity of water, pour this out on the ground before the house, stick a handled axe into the wet spot, and say, "As the handle holds the axehead, so may you, Sky, hold the thunderbolt." The Tie

French Congo, is the first and greatest of all smiths.

stick the axe into the ground under the eaves of the house "because the thunderbolt is an axehead. If it sees the handle of the axe sticking in the ground, it will fear the handle and go somewhere else without striking a house or a person." The Sapa have a superstition that if a tree is struck, and fermented palm wine poured on the place, an axehead will appear there. One of our Mano interpreters told of a medicine horn that was formerly laid in the space before the hut for protection when a thunderstorm comes up. Another method of protecting a house is to stick up a bunch of green leaves in the thatch above the door.

"Lightning 7 is a light, so it can do nothing," said the Mano. Not the lightning, but the thunder, the noise of striking, does the harm.8

"When the sky people kill an animal up there, they skin it and dry the skin. When it is dry and they drag it over the sky-ground, that makes a big noise." Thus the Loma accounted for distant thunder. They say that the noiseof-striking kind, which produces the "thunderbolt," is the sky people out on a hunting expedition, "shooting down to earth, trying to hit and kill someone." In Mano a heavy, nearby thunderclap is considered as a bad omen: either as a forewarning that a big chief is about to die, or notice that one has just died. Men sit quietly and fearfully in the house, hoping it is not their own chief.

We heard both in the north and southeast of "thunderbolts" that set houses afire, blast trees and kill people. According to the Mano, they are Z-shaped irons. (There was a hot dispute as to whether or not they were visible to ordinary people.) "If either pointed end hits a tree, the tree is split. If it hits a house, the house is burned. If it hits a person, he dies." In Tie a very crudely shaped stone axehead was shown to us as a thunderbolt. It had been found near by while a man was digging. The official interpreter, a very big, fat, and exceedingly superstitious individual, had immediately appropriated it for himself as very strong medicine. This idea that a thunderbolt is a stone axehead is widely held in West Africa.

Lightning is called miemie, Loma; laike gli, Mano; laike gele, Ge; la nyambo, Gio; të, Sapa and Tië.

The "noise of striking," or "thunder of striking" is gebade, Loma; gbana we (the voice of the blacksmith hammer) Mano; gba, Gio. Thunder that does not

In Loma, when a thunderbolt is "seen to fall," only a big doctor can locate it. "He digs it up and uses it to put a curse on people.9 Or, if someone has done him a bad turn, he can tell it to kill that person." In Mano anyone who has seen a thunderbolt fall can go to a big doctor, have him make "finding medicine," and go out and locate the thunderbolt. This is then

kept as exceedingly strong medicine.

There are cults and individuals devoting themselves to the exploitation of the powers of lightning. This cult is called Gb5 in Gbunde; Tose in Tie. The latter tribe claims to have taken it over from the Sapa. It is not unlikely that it has come into the southeast from the north. Only big doctors (of either sex) belong to these societies for the "control" of lightning. This control may be exercised beneficently or malignantly. One, Wewo, a high official of the Poro cult whom we met at Zigida, claimed to have this power. He would walk in the rain loudly bellowing, and thus "cause noise-making thunder to pass the town

During the season of tempests the chief of the camp at Gompa had one of these doctors always within call. Whenever a thunder storm threatened, he sent for him and kept him circling around the camp until the storm had ended. He walked in the rain naked, calling to the thunder to pass over and strike somewhere

else.

These lightning-control people 10 are in great demand to make medicine to protect towns. The Gb5 Society did this for Pakamai, a town about two hours distant from Pandamai (Gbunde) after the lightning had twice struck and set fire to houses there. Taboos are laid upon such places. It is forbidden to heat or boil oil of any kind for cooking or frying within the town. Pepper seed must not be put to dry or be kept dry, near the hearth fire. (Both are very good precautions against spread of fire!)

We were told that in Loma the medicine made is given by the doctor to the town-crier, who puts it on the town's sacred medicine place. Then a sacrifice of seven irons (Kisi

"strike" is bude, Loma; da le we (rain talk), Mano; la yewe, Gio.

The idea is probably connected with meteorites, which occasionally fall in the daytime with a noise like thunder. They are highly prized if found. ¹⁰ See p. 303.

pennies), some cola nuts, and a fowl is made to it.

While we were at Zorzor (Loma), lightning struck a house on the edge of the town. As it was facing us, we could see the house plainly from our own on the Mission grounds. Almost instantly, the locality swarmed with men who began pulling down the roof thatch and throwing it over the stockade. Fortunately, it was raining heavily at the time, so the danger to adjoining huts was at a minimum. We could not understand why the men continued their work of demolishing and throwing the débris outside the town after the fire had been extinguished; nor why two fires had been made, one near the stockade, the other near the fence surrounding the cult leader's enclosure. Inquiry brought out the fact that it was necessary to destroy all material of which that hut had been made in order to prevent any of it from being used in building a new one. If the old material was used in the new house, it also would be struck. The Sapa have the same superstition and custom. They carry all remaining material from such a hut into the forest and burn it there.

If, in spite of these precautions and protecting medicines, lightning strikes several times in the same town, the town is removed to another site. This occurred at Gompa (Mano) many years ago. A Mission station now occupies the old town site.

There are lightning people in all the tribes. In the town of Jai (Tiē), there is a woman who "threw the lightning" and killed a man in the village street. There is a lightning man in Zigida who is greatly feared. "This doctor takes arrows, puts his medicine on the tips. Then he turns in the direction of the person he wishes to kill and speaks his name. He then

shoots three of the arrows in that direction. Soon, even if he is as far away as Monrovia (about two hundred miles in an air line from Zigida), it will begin to rain at the place where that person is and lightning will strike and kill him. Even if he is in a crowd, it will single him out and kill him." This was told us with firmest conviction by a man who should have known better.

Rainbows.¹¹ In Loma "a striped frog called gwogwo-gi, opens its mouth when it rains and the rainbow comes out, climbs up to the sky, and comes down again, entering into a termite's nest." At farm-cutting time when the storms heralding the approach of the rainy season begin, this nest "will break open and the rainbow comes out." The old people in Mano and Gio said that it issues from the small termites' nests, called gantru.

Hail. Hail, called salokwoti by the Loma (la wele, Mano) is known everywhere. In response to our questions about where it comes from and what it is, only vague and indefinite answers were obtained.

Whirlwinds. The Mano have no name for a whirlwind, but say, Si le gli pio, — "A spider is burning the clearing for his farm." Where such a clearing might be seen, and what it was Spider planted, informants could neither show nor tell. The Gbunde say, "Whirlwind (fefegi), is made by a ninegi," a spirit haunting the forests. Ninegi causes the whirlwind to blow so it may wrap itself inside and make itself invisible to persons when it wishes to pass by them. "Ninegi is passing," is what is exclaimed they say whenever a whirlwind is first seen.

A whirlwind we saw at Tapi Town (Gio) went up higher than the tallest roofs, from which it tore off some of the thatch.

COSMOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

The Earth and Sky. The astronomical concepts of the Liberian hinterlander are rather limited even for a nature people. This may be in part because they are forest dwellers.

The Loma conceive of the earth (zui) as a huge pot, of which the sky (giwolo-gi) is the

¹¹ Rainbow is kpwaza-malamala-gi, Loma; gi weible, Mano and Gio; panjebo, when seen "going into a cover. "If you will go out to where the earth and sky meet, you will fall into the big pit which is there." In other words, at the horizon is a deep pit all around the earth. The Gio think of the earth as an immense earth-mat, spread out flat. Water is all around it. The

termites' nest in the east" and nindze, when "it comes out of the water and walks toward the sky."

Mano elders say that the earth is flat and that no matter in which direction one goes, he will finally come to the water surrounding it.

The sky is "up," inconceivably high above the earth; so far up that "even an eagle could not fly to reach it." What its composition is, no one whom we asked had any idea.

The Sun. 12 Up in that "thing" or place called the sky, "walk" the sun, the moon, the stars. From it, drop the "sky fireflies" (tomo legai, Loma) — the shooting stars and comets. The sun has no "names" (divisions) because of changes in it, as has the moon. Being the stronger, it is thought of as a man, Gala's child; the moon is a woman, also Gala's child. (Loma.) Nyegi, the Loma say, is the spirit that carries the sun from where it disappears after setting until we again see it in the morning. Nyegi, having only one leg and foot, one arm and hand, half a head, one eye, one ear, one nostril, is only half a person. Tall as an old bombax tree and wide-shouldered as its spreading branches is he. To ease the pressure of the sun's weight as he carries it on his half head, he makes a head-pad of thickly woven bluecolored native cloth. The old Gio men say that both sun and moon fall into the sea and stay there until they are seen again. How they get to the place where they again become visible, they could not explain. It is during the sun (day) time that the spirits of the dead "walk to Gala's town." (North.)

The Moon.¹³ We heard only that the moon is a big thing like the sun but "not so hot." Like the sun, it is a "child, or thing, of Gala, set in the sky by him to see what people are doing. When the new moon is seen, the Loma say, "Ple, ple, gaou ple!" (Glad, glad, new moon, glad [to see you]!) "Ple" is used only in saluting persons; ("gaou," for the new moon only. Thus the new moon is addressed as a person.) The Mano salute it, "You went, you come back to see me. You help me." The fifth day after the new moon has first been seen must be observed as a rest day by the Gio. To

work on that day brings misfortune—crop failure, miscarriage, possibly even death.

In Gio, when the moon is half-full, it is called $su\ a\ b > k\tilde{u}\ ndi$ ("moon she will soon catch the circle)." When full, it is $su\ a\ d > b > gi$ ("moon she stands in a large circle"). When it has reached the last quarter, it is $su\ a\ p \in k\tilde{u}$ ("Moon she [is] cut [in] half").

Outside of Loma, no one would confess to having any idea what causes these different phases. There we were told that Sotala-gi is the spirit whose task it is to carry the moon back to its starting place. Instead of a blue pad, like that used by the sun-carrying nyegi, he has a carrying-pad, made of a black-and-redstriped cloth. As his right arm is missing, he must bear the moon on his left shoulder. He is physically the opposite of the other, being a whole, not merely a half person. He is short and broad, but very, very strong. (Informants seemed to think of the moon as being heavier than the sun.) His one eye is in the back of his head, the mouth to one side, the right leg shorter than the left. While carrying the moon, he walks very slowly. Because he does not want people always to see the full moon, he sits down awhile, then goes on again, so they see it larger and larger. When he feels they have seen it "big" long enough, he walks away and sits down again. Thus do the Loma account for the moon's phases. This carrier-spirit never leaves the moon, as the carrier of the sun does during the daytime.

Sun halos are said to portend the death of an important person. In the north only the Mano consider halos around the moon as an omen of this sort. The Loma call those of the moon kalagi (circular things, rings) — the same name given their braided rattan or raffia fiber rings on which water pots are set. Whenever a halo is visible, the moon is said to be "sitting down to rest" on one of these rings "to keep itself from rolling over."

Eclipses.¹⁴ The Mano claimed to attach no significance to eclipses. The Gio thought they

The sun is volo (sometimes folo). Loma; nyine, Mano; nya, Gio; yena, Ge; yoro, Webo clan; wē, other clans of Half-Grebo; jodo, Sapā, Tiē, and Konibo.

¹⁸ The moon is called *lalugi*, Loma; *mene*, Mano; su, Gio; butiabwe, Webo clan; soe, Tuobo and Sabo

clans; subai, Kelepo clan; jo, Palepo; tio in Sapa, Tie, and Konibo. The new moon is called lalugi nina, Loma; mene da, Mano; su do, Gio.

¹⁴ Eclipses are kalagi twa fulima (ring-on-sun), Loma; leibwong, Mano; nya keng, sun's (small) circle or su keng, moon's (small) circle, Gio. were "bad for the sun or moon," but evidently not for people. "We are glad when they go because we do not understand them," the old chiefs grumbled. It means to the Loma that an important chief has died and is walking to Gala ta (God's town) and that he is wearing a coronet on his head.

Stars and Constellations.¹⁵ "When there is no light [sun or moon] in the sky, Gala needs something to enable him to see what people are doing. So he makes a somo gi [torch of dry raffia midrib splits]. The somo dika [raffia sparks] that fall from this torch as he walks

about, form the stars." (Loma.)

"Stars are things like the lights of the white man. They are lighted in the evening. In the morning they are extinguished." This was the idea of the old men of Zuluyi (Mano). In Gio and the southeast many conceived of the sky as being full of holes. The stars were the sky peoples' evening cooking-fires, visible through the sky-holes.

Subulomõleglai (Gbunde) is the morning star. The evening star is tibegazai, Loma; mene na, Mano; su bo, Gio; sede wolo, Sapã. According to the Loma, the evening star is the moon's head wife, because it stands nearest the moon. The moon's son, Toloñazai, stands behind Tibegazai, the head wife. All the other stars

are its children.

Sotala-gi, the moon-carrying spirit, has four children, two sons and two daughters. The sons' names are Koula-podo and Doso; the daughters', Bugo and Gofa. Each of these has a big mat. Their task is to pick up the moon-children, the stars, at dawn, carry them until evening, and then put each back again in its proper place.

Constellations were observed in Mano in February; in Gio, in March; in Loma and Gbunde,

¹⁵ Star is somo dika, Loma; siãgli, Mano; suso, Gio; yakhroyo, Webo clan; yɔtre, the other clans of Half-

in April; in the southeast, in June and early July. When we found people who really had some knowledge of the heavens, they could name more constellations than the tribesmen in other parts of West Africa. However, as they were pointed out to us, we could not, with few exceptions, be sure just which ones were indicated. We give the names as well as the constellations to which we believe they were referring.

All know the Pleiades. They are called solo kwiligi (little birds [in a] basket) by the Gbunde; zolo kpwudu (little birds [in a] flock) is the Loma name for them. The Mano name, Ze kpulu, means the same. Yene-gruzengru, "Smith's hammer"; zeī-gru, "flock [of] small birds," say the Gio; sojbwa, the Sapā. By their position in the heavens, most tribesmen determine the correct time for farm cutting and

planting.

Orion is nike zigi viaiti, "rope to lead a cow" (Gbunde); di kũ mia, "cow-catching people" (Mano). In Loma it is zona nyu "axe-handle man"; another Mano name is di bele gã, "the boys who pull the cow's rope." In Gio it is dua gwo bwuje, "to take an axe handle." In Sapã one group of its three bright stars is bableu "a man carrying a load"; another group, poli, "the hunter"; and the third group, doe, "the elephant."

The Milky Way is a cloud, we were told. Its

progress makes the seasons.

Other constellations named to us which we could not definitely identify were: somo dika gbeliga nyungi, "machete-handle star" (Loma); tiā kpo, meaning "palm oil strainer" and "fist," i.e., the strainer held in a fist; 'nlonge, "the sun's children, low in the west between the Pleiades and Orion; and ge sagli, "the great bear" (Gio).

Grebo; tjotriā, Sapā and Konibo; dodria, Tiē.

NATIVE LAW

R. CHARLES TEMPLEMAN LORAM of South Africa has stated that the legal system of the African is one of the most valuable aspects of his surviving cultural heritage, and as such is worthy of the close study of the Christian helper of Africa. We would add, as the result of our experience with and observation of native law, that it is worthy of the closest study of legal experts; and furthermore, that we fail to understand how any administrator placed over the destinies of African peoples can hope to rule them well and justly without a fairly comprehensive knowledge of their law. We regret that there was so little time for us to get information on this most important subject.

For administrative purposes the coastal area of Liberia is divided into five counties, each of which extends nominally from the coast toward the interior for forty miles. These counties are governed principally according to modern statute law.

Behind the county areas, the hinterland is divided into three provinces, which are in turn divided into districts. Each of these districts is under the administration of a District Commissioner who, though responsible to the Sec-

retary of the Interior, is for all practical purposes an almost independent governor within the limits of his district. In administering these areas, much of the native law has wisely been retained.

A law is ton (rising inflection). (Mano and Gio.) Temporary decrees or laws are bon. (Gio.)

Most tribal law is simply custom known to and recognized by everyone. It is customary for a chief to have his singer or speaker proclaim all the old laws upon the occupation of any new town.

New laws are made by chiefs and sub-chiefs acting with the council of elders and, when the matter in hand is important, with a conference of all freemen. "Even a stranger temporarily living or stopping in the town may be called in if he has shown himself to be a person of good sense." (Loma.)

A coming together of the council of elders for this or any other purpose is called *adi ma buo fau* by the Loma. A council of chiefs only is *kpwogi*.

Like most primitive laws, those of Liberia do not say, "Thou shalt not" but "Thou shalt" do so and so.

FAMILY RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Because of the complexity of family organization in the native culture, there is an important body of law regulating the legal status of individuals, the guardianship of women and children, and the responsibilities, social and economic, of family members.

To understand these, it is necessary to keep in mind the concept of the family as a unit in which every member is a valuable asset. When anyone is lost to it, through marriage or death (or, formerly, by capture), a value is lost for which the family must in some way be compensated. From this concept, stem such customs as the dowry price and the death payment. Such payments are not to be understood as a purchase price; the native does not so con-

sider them. He does not buy a woman, nor does he own her; he cannot sell her.

Certain other customs have grown out of the family's function as a mutual protective association; e.g., the family obligation to assist in the payment of a member's debts,² and to get wives or children out of pawn if a member dies before he can settle the debt for which they are held.³

Responsibility of a Husband on the Death of His Wife. The dowry price has already been discussed at length. Apparently related to it is the old Mano custom requiring a husband, upon the death of his wife, to pay "death money" to her family. This payment, like the dowry, goes to her mother. If the payment is

¹ See also p. 186.

² See pp. 162, 439.

⁸ See p. 439.

^{*} See pp. 189 ff.

not made, any children belong to the grandmother, and if she does not like her son-in-law she will take them. On the other hand, if he is in favor with his deceased wife's family, they may give him another daughter to replace the one who died. In this event, he continues to make presents to the family. The new wife will take care of the orphaned children.

Recent custom tends to fix the total dowry price to be paid. If the wife dies before it is paid in full, the husband becomes liable at once for all that is still due and for the death money besides even if there are no children

besides, even if there are no children.

This death money must be paid even though the woman dies of old age, so long as she dies in her husband's town. If she has borne him children, the sum varies from three to ten country cloths or their equivalent. If she was barren, he pays only three or four cloths.

If, however, a wife dies in her father's town at any time after the husband has paid the full dowry price agreed upon, her family must pay the husband ten cloths and give him another woman; they have the option of giving him

thirty cloths or a cow.

This curious custom represents, perhaps, a final installment on the dowry. It may help defray funeral expenses. (A woman is always taken to her old home for burial if possible.) It quite certainly is a form of compensation to the family for the loss of a daughter. Practically, it works out as a kind of life insurance for women; without it a husband might become tired of giving endless presents to her people and welcome her death.

In Sapa (but not in Half-Grebo), if a woman dies suddenly, her family may come and claim large damages. If these are not paid, it is their right to kill all domestic animals belonging to the husband, take all food in his house, and even burn the house — if they are "people of bad heart." We are not certain whether they may or may not also destroy his growing crops.

Guardianship of Children. Children, in general, are considered to belong to their mothers. (Paternity is not always certain.)

The children of a man's unmarried daughters, however, belong to their maternal grand-parents.

In Loma the grandparents have a right to any children a daughter may bear within nine

months after her marriage; or in Gio, within six months. If such a child, conceived before but born after the girl's marriage, is the child of her husband, the husband may buy the child. If the father is another man, he also may "adopt" his child in this way if he wishes. Formerly he was allowed only the sons, but the Liberian Government lately ruled that he had a right to daughters, too. The grandparents are paid £3/0/o or the equivalent.

The Mano and Gio do not have this custom. Since girls in the southeast are never married until they have become pregnant or proved barren, the girl's father or guardian has no claim to children born within a specified time after a girl has been handed over to her husband. Neither can children be bought by "the man who made them." They belong to the husband, even though he is not actually their

Children born of a woman who has been loaned by her husband or given in pawn belong to the woman's legal husband. In Loma they used to be regarded as his slaves. Their real father could buy them if he wished. This was true of children born in pawn only if the obligation had been met. If not, both the woman and any children she had borne while in pawn became the property of the creditor. They could be redeemed by the son of the original husband — but not merely by the payment of the loan or debt. He had to pay the equivalent of a dowry price for each person.

An unmarried daughter of the deceased is left to the guardianship of her own eldest brother by the same mother. He has control over her unless their mother has been acquired in exchange for a daughter of the father. If there are several sisters and brothers by one mother, the eldest brother may dispose of the sisters, provided he furnishes his younger brothers with an equivalent number of wives.

Whenever guardians of children sell, give in marriage, or exchange for another woman the sisters of boys in their care, they must provide a wife for each boy whose sister is thus disposed of. If there are more sisters than brothers having the same mother, the guardian is free to do as he sees fit with those remaining. On the other hand, if there are more brothers than sisters, he is not required to provide a wife

for each boy, but he usually does so, unless he is a man of "bad heart." 5

Responsibility for Orphaned Minors. A deceased man's minor children remain with their mother until they have been initiated. If they steal or destroy property or otherwise commit damage, the responsibility for it falls upon an adult male member of the family: upon the oldest son, if he has arrived at what is considered man's estate. This son is also responsible for all sisters who have not yet acquired husbands — except half-sisters who have a full brother of an age to assume this duty.

When there is no such son to "be father" to the orphaned children, the responsibility falls upon the oldest paternal uncle. If there is no paternal uncle, the oldest maternal uncle (Gio) or the "big family man" (southeast) takes it

upon himself.

Responsibility for Widows. Widows in Liberia are never stranded. When a husband dies, his wives become the charge of the oldest son, who, if he is of marrying age, may marry one or more of them. Others are married by the late husband's brothers.

If the oldest son is a minor, he is, nevertheless, the guardian of his father's wives. They may marry pretty much whom they please or make other arrangements, but they must have his consent. The oldest son's own mother goes to the brother of the deceased father. This brother may also inherit the mother of the second son, if she is a different woman. (Mano and Gio.) In the southeast, if she is still of a marriageable age, she is considered part of the inheritance, and as such is subject to the laws that affect the distribution of the other young wives. Sometimes she requests to be allowed to live with her son, and this is usually granted. She never becomes his wife. When these widowed mothers are old, they are allowed to go and live with whomever they prefer, both in the north and southeast, except in Half-Grebo, where they are obliged to remain in the husband's town.

In the north widows all become the charge of the deceased's oldest brother. Either he must give each son one of them or give him another woman in her stead. The rest he may dispose of as he wishes, always first taking his own brothers into consideration. To avoid future trouble, a woman is usually asked if she has a preference for any man. In Loma, if she refuses to go to the one inheriting her, she will be asked to whom she wishes to go. She names the man. Even if he has no means of paying the dowry for her, an arrangement can usually be effected, and she is allowed to go to him.

In Gio, if one of the younger wives has been acquired by the father in exchange for one of his daughters, that wife belongs to the oldest brother of the girl who was traded for the wife. This seems to be the custom generally followed in the other tribes of the north. The son has, of course, the option of accepting the dowry price for another woman instead of this wife of his late father.

In Half-Grebo and Sapa widows were formerly not asked which man they would like to go to, but now it has become the fashion to do so to avoid trouble. Otherwise they may run away, bewitch the husband, and the like. Theoretically, each son receives one of the wives left by his father. (In Sapa the eldest son gets two.) Then, each of the brothers of the deceased receives one of the wives, and if any remain, the other nearest male relatives receive one each.

In Tie the widows allot themselves.

Any male member of the family may go secretly to the one he wishes to marry and say to her, "Do you like me? Do you want to come to me? I will look after you very well."

If she assents, she says, "Yes, I'll call your name at the choosing time."

The widows come together in the head woman's house at the appointed time. The men who desire them gather outside.

Each woman in turn calls out the name of the one with whom she has previously made an arrangement, repeating three or four times the words, "Come in here and take me!"

If a widow has not been fully paid for, the man inheriting her naturally assumes the obligation of satisfying her mother. Sometimes there are intricacies of alliance and indebted-

sisters to exchange for a wife for each brother.

⁶ This is also the custom when the oldest brother has the disposal of his sisters and there are not enough

ness that make a man reluctant to accept an inherited widow. He may even tell her she is free to go back to her people if she wants to.

When a son who has established his own household dies before his father, his wives go to his brothers. (Loma.) In Sapa and Tie the father takes for himself the woman he provided for his late son. In Tie, if there are any more wives they are given to the other sons, as in the north and Sapa, or they choose their own husbands according to the custom of other widows.

In Half-Grebo, the father never takes the widows of his late son. If the latter has brothers who have not yet acquired wives, they are each given one, beginning with the oldest, until all the widows are disposed of. If his brothers all have wives, then his unmarried nephews of marriageable age are provided for. All the widows not disposed of in one or the other of the above ways, are requested by the father to appear before the assembled family. He then announces who may take (for a token payment) each one of the remaining widows.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

All property is called $kl\varepsilon p\varepsilon$ (hand thing) in Mano; kwa po (same meaning) in Gio; that is, the thing, or property, one holds in or by virtue of the hand.

"Formerly, when a great chief died, his son would cut off the right hand, dry it well, and keep it in the house formerly occupied by his father. Only the son could come into this house. He would enter in the morning and shake hands with it before shaking hands with any other person. All the inheritance from his father, he held by virtue of this hand."

The people still refer to such a patriarchal father of his clan as "he who holds the very ground that we live on in his hand." Such an individual was often the real power behind the clan chief. (The two offices were sometimes held by the same person, but usually the big man would say, "I don't want to be bothered with all the details," and would allow someone else to act as chief.) In the matter of land rights between towns or clans, this "owner" of the land could make decisions. It was he who presided over secret meetings of the elders when clan or tribal boundaries were in dispute.

Clan territorial boundaries are fixed, as are those of the land belonging to each town within the clan. There is no free land anywhere to which some clan does not hold a "title." This does not mean that there is not a great deal of unoccupied land. The boundaries of the half-towns have been fixed by the town chief, who is sometimes aided in this by the clan chief.

In the discussion of religion 6 we have shown that any man, until he has been initiated into the B5 (Poro), is considered a "small boy" and as such cannot hold property, no matter what his age or social standing. However, he may entrust goods, and even a prospective wife, to an uncle for safe-keeping until he is initiated. (With the above exception, an individual is considered to have reached manhood when he has established his own household, built a homestead, and cut a farm.)

Ground Rights. There are no private ground rights. Anyone may be given the right to cut his farm where he chooses within the limits of the land belonging to the town, each household being assigned a portion by the chief. After all that has been planted on any piece of ground has been harvested, it automatically becomes town land again. In Loma it is the property of the man who makes the farm or as long as the rice kitchen he builds on it is kept in repair. When this falls in ruins, the builder loses all claim to the farm site. It is considered good form to go to the person who last planted a piece of ground and ask his permission to use it, because he had the work of first clearing it. In Half-Grebo the land belonging to a town is divided more permanently among its families. Even when the land is overgrown from long neglect, farm rights are considered as belonging to the original clearers and their descendants.

If two families decide upon the same piece of land and quarrel about it, the matter is settled by arbitration, usually by appealing to the town chief.

While a piece of land is in cultivation, anyone may cross it, unless it is fenced in. (Sapā.) A stranger may take a bit of whatever is growing, if he is hungry, but he may not carry any of it away. All firewood and whatever grows on a plot belong to the cultivator. (Gio.) Cola trees are excepted. These are everywhere considered to be the property of the planter or his heirs. In Tie oil palms are regarded as the property of the planter for four or five years after they begin bearing. From then on, anyone may cut the nuts growing on them.

Whatever grows wild on a piece of land under cultivation, whether fruits, nuts, or a tree with honeybees in it, is theoretically public property (Gio excepted, as above noted) and as such may be taken by anyone. In practice this is rarely done. A person desiring anything of this kind growing on another's farm, usually calls the owner's attention to the thing desired, and proposes to divide it equally with him for

the privilege of collecting it.

In the southeast there seem to be no boundaries between farms. In the north a swamp, a strip of "bush," a small stream, or some natural

landmark may serve.

Farms are usually the property of the head of a household or his wives. There are none made in common by several householders except among the Kpelle. In Tië the husband and his sons, or anyone he can get to help, cut the farm, and all his wives work in it. If they plant anything besides rice, the head woman shows each of the other wives in which part of their common household farm she is to plant. These side-crops are the property of the planter.

In Loma an unmarried man seldom has a farm of his own. He may help his brother or another person to make a farm if he feels like it, but there is no need for him to do so, for he gets none of the crop. Besides, he always has

a woman friend who will feed him.

No one may set a trap on land that another has under cultivation, but anyone seeing an animal there destroying the crops has a right to kill it. That is doing the farmer a favor. The animal belongs to the one who kills it. If he is

a generous person, he will give a piece to the owner of the farm.

Streams running through a farm may be fished in by anyone, but it is considered bad manners to do so by the damming-up and bail-

ing-out method.

When a cola tree is found growing wild and is unclaimed, it is customary to clear the ground around it and put or hang medicine on or near it to warn off others. In the southeast a person coming upon an oil palm and seeing a bunch of ripe or ripening nuts on it, may make a cut in the tree and insert in it a leaf or leafy twig as a sign that it has been claimed by someone who is later coming back to cut it. In Tië another person coming upon such a "my tree" sign may cut the bunch of nuts, but he must divide it equally with the one who put the sign on it.

There are no private hunting or fishing preserves. Waters and forests are "public property" in which anyone may fish or hunt wherever and whenever he chooses — except when, for some reason, a temporary ban has been put on a place, or a stream is full of sacred fish. No one hunts on sacred hills.

Although there is no law preventing the setting of traps or digging of pit traps near those of another person, it is considered bad form to do so and is avoided. When a person has finished trapping in any locality, then anyone else is free to go there. "Strangers" and persons from another town are supposed to ask permission to trap or dig pits for catching game

on ground belonging to the town.

Graves are always respected, though there is no law to that effect. Family burial places, even when a town has moved to another site, are always considered as "the place of such and such a family." In Gio, when strangers come to build on or near an abandoned town site and find there a piece of high bush, they never cut it, because they do not know what may have been there. It may be an old burial place and as such is respected.

Personal Possessions of Men and Women. Everywhere we went in Liberia, a man's possessions were his chair, skins, tools, arms, hunting implements, dogs and dog-bells, pipes, pouches and bags, hammocks, his farm-

[&]quot;See below, p. 440.

cutting gloves, and a loom if he builds one. A woman's possessions were pots, kettles, household utensils, food and seasonings, rice fanners, mortars, brooms, spindles, and hoes. Both sexes have their own knives, clothing, ornaments, medicines, carrying-baskets and frames (kinja's), and wooden headrests. Cotton belongs to the women in Gbunde and Loma and to the planter in Mano. Mats belong to the men where they make them; to the women, where they do. Only in Gio does a man keep highly prized dishes for himself. In Loma rice, after it is harvested, belongs to the women. If a woman is put away by her husband, whatever is left of the year's crop is divided equally between them. Tobacco belongs to men, except in Sapa, where either sex may have a patch growing. There, too, a woman has her own axe; elsewhere axes are men's possessions. In Gio women have no cutlasses; all are men's property. Among the other tribes both sexes have their own. In Half-Grebo domestic animals, excepting cattle, belong to the women. In Sapa only the fowls are theirs. Elsewhere, all domestic animals belong to men. In Gio a husband may give some fowls to a wife, which then become her own property, and if, later on, he should want to use any of them, he must have her consent.

Heirlooms are considered to belong to the family. Some of the objects we tried to secure for the Museum's collections were refused us because they were family property that had been handed down. For example, an old Tië man could not sell us a pair of iron anklets he was wearing, though he badly needed the money which their sale would have brought him.

Town and Cult Property. Cult objects are supposed to be sold only to another cult chapter. Town property cannot be sold, because "it belongs to the soil" and is involved in fertility beliefs.

A good example is the great two-handled sledge hammer of the blacksmith (fig. 64, g). It is too sacred even to swear upon. It cannot be sold.⁸ It belongs to the soil, and is therefore a highly venerated object in town ritual and belief. The blacksmith, its guardian, enjoys a

high social position in the community, though he seldom says much in public.

Drums of the large variety also belong to the town but are more associated with war than with the cults. There are, however, cult drums of various types. Individuals may also own drums, but it is usually in association with some cult or as a minstrel of a chief. A drum was a sacred object, not to be made or used without definite purpose and suitable ritual. Horns, whistles, and flutes enjoyed a similar sanctity and dignity of use and ownership. Occasionally a flute or harp or other musical instrument is now owned by a wandering minstrel, but in the old days such things were strictly regulated.

Game boards (fig. 74, a) belong either to the town or some individual, but the latter is probably more a guardian of public property than a real owner.

Fly-brushes, staffs, spears, long knives and cutlasses of special shape are carried by elders as personal property, but they are as much badges of office and symbols of social standing as they are objects of utility — like the chief's hair and the skin that the Ki-La mi sits on.

Finders' Rights. When an article is lost (north), the loser, regardless of whether he is a local inhabitant or a stranger, tells the chief, who calls his crier, who cries the news throughout the town. If the loss is not made known and the article is found by someone, the finder is justified in keeping it. But if it has been advertised, and the finder fails to deliver the article to the loser, he is considered a thief and punished as such. He may be allowed to return the article, together with a small gift, such as a few cola nuts, and tell the loser he has erred. The loser has the option of accepting the gift and thus ending the affair, or of refusing and demanding that the finder be punished — usually by a fine.

In the southeast the procedure is similar. In Sapa the thief "is fined a large pot of rice, with two fowls or their equivalent in other meat, cooked and put on top of the rice. All the town eats of this."

If the article has any appreciable value, the finder who returns it is generally given a small

reward — a few cola nuts, some tobacco, or the like — but the Sapa and Tie claimed that

no reward was ever given.

In Tiế, if the article found is something wearable, the finder may give it to his father to keep for two moons. After that, if no one comes looking for it, the finder may wear it. If the loser appears and claims it, he must pay the finder to get it back, but the latter does not have to return it unless he chooses.

Liability for Destruction of Property by Animals. Animals are a sort of family property, though privately owned, because they can be used to pay a fine or a debt, borrowed or loaned or given as pledges, used to pay dowry prices and in the making of offerings. Cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls may never be killed for having destroyed crops. If the owner of a farm puts up a good fence and domestic animals break through, their owner is usually expected to make good the loss at least in part.

In Tië a dog may be killed for stealing food or eating eggs, because "he is neither good to use for making an offering, nor for giving in the marriage dowry price." But unless the person is "vex' too much," the dog's owner may make restitution in kind. This is also expected among the other tribes when a dog has taken meat or dried fish — unless the dog's owner is a personal friend; then it is "no palaver." For anything else a dog takes, the custom is to catch and beat it soundly.

INHERITANCE

Inheritance laws constitute one of the most important sections of the native legal code. They are the source of countless and endless disputing, quarreling, enmity, litigation, and even murder, although they prescribe very definitely for the inheritance of everything a deceased person leaves. This includes his debts and other obligations, his wives and daughters, children born out of wedlock by his unmarried daughters, and in some tribes, children borne by married daughters less than nine months after their marriage.

Inheritance is patrilineal; in the north, from father to son via the father's oldest brother, who acts as guardian until the son is initiated; in the southeast, to the son direct, unless he is

a minor.

"The oldest son is supposed to inherit all, but he belongs to the uncle, his father's oldest

brother." (Gio.)

"The eldest son becomes obedient to his father's oldest brother, whom he calls 'Father.' A mother's brothers are called 'Uncle.' This 'father' inherits everything, but he must look out for his nephews. If not, the town's elders will come and take him to task. In theory, he treats the oldest nephew better than his own son. Upon his death, all he has goes to this nephew." 10 (Loma.)

The only males, so far as we could learn, who have no part in the inheritance of a father are those who, having been prenatally betrothed on the assumption that they would be females, have the legal status of "son-friends" of the man who contracted for them. Though a person may refuse an inheritance in whole or in part, this is so seldom done that only in one instance (Gio) had informants ever heard of or known of it.

When debts or other obligations are part of an estate, the heir is obliged to accept them.

Among the Ge and Mano there is some remaining evidence of matrilineal inheritance. In Mano important property, such as a man's medicines and sacred objects, go to the son of a full sister. When slaves were held, these also went to the sister's son.

In the north, though it may possibly occur, we never heard of a father being killed by a son who has become impatient to inherit the estate. This may be because inheritance is often indirect. In the southeast, where inheritance is direct, we learned of several instances of parricide. One of our Ti\(\tilde{\text{E}}\) hammock-carriers told us of a young man who had "witched his father so that he died, because he had tired of waiting for the inheritance." This son was suspected, brought before the local court for trial, ac-

See below, p. 439. The same is true for Gbunds and Mano. In the southeast this uncle becomes guardian of the nephews

and their inheritance as long as the oldest is a minor.

11 See p. 188.

cused, and required to drink "sasswood," which "caught" and killed him.

A will is rarely, if ever, made; there is no need for it; everyone knows to whom the property

If a man wishes to dispose of property in any other way, he may distribute it as gifts before his death. To a son, he may give his medicine; to another, one of his wives. To another, he may say, "Here is your sister; you hold her and get a wife for yourself with her" (give her in exchange for another woman). He may also make gifts to his daughters, perhaps cloths. He may call his most beloved wife or wives, those who have cared well for him and his possessions, and give something to each, saying, "This is your part; the rest goes to the heirs." Unless he has witnesses, this may cause trouble for the wife; for if the family questions her right to the property after the husband's death, she may have to take "sasswood" to prove that her late husband really gave her what she claims.

From the time of his burial, a man's prospective heirs begin discussing the division of his estate. This takes place (Gbunde and Loma) on the fourth day after his death: the day the sacrifice is made on his grave, if the man was a commoner. Division of the estate of a well-todo man is made at the first new moon after his death, which is, theoretically at least, the day

of the big feast.

When all the relatives of a rich man have assembled for the occasion, the oldest son addresses the members of his late father's household, "Now so-and-so is to be our father. We will all obey and work for him. All our father's things go to him. But he must be good to us and help us, who are brothers and sons of one woman." And more of this sort of promising

and demanding.

In Half-Grebo the division takes place at about the same time as in Gbunde and Loma, while in Mano, Gio, and Tie it is theoretically on the day after the small feast has been made. Formerly, in Tie, after two moons have passed, the wives of the dead man are assembled in one house to be given to those who inherited them; but nowadays this, too, comes on the day after the small feast, or as near to that day as circumstances will permit.

In general, it is the policy in the north, to keep the estate as much as possible intact; while in the southeast, more particularly in Sapa and Tie, the aim is to break it up so that men, especially chiefs and sub-chiefs, will not become too powerful. "That is bad. It makes them constantly want to go to war with others."

Division of Personal Property. When the personal possessions of the deceased are to be divided, they are all brought out so that those present can see them. Articles which legally belong to specified heirs are disposed of first. The rest goes to the family head. (Tiɛ̃.)

Usually he will say to the sons of the dead man, "These belonged to your father. Take this, and this, and this" (as he hands to each one what he knows or thinks he would like). He is not obliged to give anything away, however, and if he is a stingy person, he will not. In Half-Grebo and Sapa the eldest son distributes the possessions. Anything not legally considered the right of others, the family head keeps for himself.

In the southeast all domestic animals that belonged to the deceased go to the eldest son. He must also keep his father's nitie. 12 He may live in the father's house if he chooses, or let the family decide who shall live in it. In the old days, in Sapa, there was no need for this, for the house in which the dead man had

lived was demolished upon his death.

In Tie (probably elsewhere too) the widows may remain in their own houses if they become the wives of a brother of their late husband, or of some other relative living in that quarter of the town. If they marry outside the family's quarter, their right to live in the house

If there is a family farm, this goes to the dead man's brothers. Small farms that the widows have made individually for themselves, they are entitled to keep. Any money the deceased has left will be counted. If sufficient to buy a bullock for the funeral feast, it will be used for that purpose. If not, gin will be bought with it. All drink of this, not forgetting to give the dead man his portion. (Usually, a not too-liberal one!) His snuff box, iron chains (ornamental and medicinal) and bells are thrown "to the bush" (out in the jungle). His

¹² See pp. 346, 363 ff.

chair goes to the head of the family or his own Widowed head wife. (Tie.)

The personal property of a man who dies before his father becomes the property of the

father. (Loma.)

In general, widows and daughters get only whatever small things the legal heir sees fit to give them. The oldest daughter may be given a goat or a sheep and told, if she has an unmarried son, "Here, this will help your son get a wife." (Sapa.)

The eldest daughter has no claim to anything, but usually those who inherit the estate ask her (and possibly the other daughters also) What there is of her father's goods that she would like. She names something, and it is given to her. (Mano and Half-Grebo.)

In Loma, if a man's first-born child is a girl and she is living when her father dies, she will be given one of his fine cloths and a big pot or kettle. If her husband contributes a bullock to her father's funeral feast, all her brothers will take council and decide which one of their unmarried sisters they will give their generous

brother-in-law as a wife.

The disposition of the personal property of a woman varies. Before she dies, she is free to give away whatever is hers. In Gbunde and Loma her remaining property goes to her husband. If he is a generous man, he will see to it that her female relatives get a part or possibly all of it. But if she was a "gift woman" (one for whom no dowry was paid), her husband and father divide her property between them. In Half-Grebo what she brought along when she came as a bride goes back to her family; What she later accumulated or had given her by her husband goes back to him, and he disposes of it as he likes. In Sapa the other wives get it. In Tie the other wives may take her possessions and divide them among themselves, unless a sister or other female relative of the deceased asks for something. This is usually given to her, though it may be refused. If the man has had only the one wife, then her property goes to the women of her family.

Inheritance When There Is No Male Heir. Sometimes, if a man has no sons, he or his family may make special arrangements to have a wife or daughter become his chief heir to everything except his wives and children.

On April 15, 1928, there died at Zorzor a woman who had been the head wife of one Gwele, chief of the large Loma town of Zolowo. Chief Gwele had died without male issue. His family had asked this head wife to keep all the inheritance (wives and daughters excepted), which made her a very rich woman. She became the wife of a brother of the dead chief. Although she had two daughters by Chief Gwele, they were given only "small things" from their mother's possessions, when she died. The rest became the property of her second husband's family.13

In ordinary cases, when there is no male heir, the estate goes to the deceased man's oldest living brother. The oldest daughter, and possibly one or more of the others, are given some of the cloth left by their father. (Gbunde and Loma.) In Tie the immediate family falls heir to the estate and divides it. The oldest daughter is given a brass or iron kettle, a sheep or a goat, and whatever else the family elders agree

upon.

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

Private Settlements and Court Action. Anyone having a complaint can go to his chief and state his case. The chief can summon as many of his people as he wishes to look into the matter. (Mano.) Anyone having a matter of sufficient importance can ask the chief at any time to summon his council to consider it. (Gio.)

It is not always necessary to resort to law to settle matters. A friend of both parties may, and often does, go to them and effect a settlement "out of court."

At council meetings or court trials, only the older men present talk, the younger remaining quiet until called upon to speak. With so little privacy at court trials, it is no wonder that there are few, if any, skeletons in African closets. But, although they are public knowledge, it is absolutely forbidden to speak of many of them in public.

¹³ See p. 162.

When there is a difficulty between two members of a family, it is generally taken up by the family head. In other cases, "the plaintiff goes to the father of the defendant, or his uncle, if the father is dead, and tries to get him to settle the matter. If he fails to get satisfaction here, he next goes to the head of the defendant's family. If there is still no settlement, the plaintiff takes the matter to the chief, who summons the defendant.

The judges are selected from among the town's elders, or the chief may "cut the palaver" himself if it is so agreed. If there are any witnesses, they are sent to one side, called one by one, and questioned. Each one, after being interviewed, is allowed to go, but he must keep away from those who have not yet been examined. When the last one has been heard, the jury of elders and the chief either go aside to discuss what has been brought out at the trial, or they "clear the court" and confer in the palaver house. The chief then makes the results known to them.

In a "tight" palaver, the chief may adjourn court, take both the plaintiff and defendant in turn into a secret council to see what compromise or settlement he can arrange, then go back into court and so decree.

If it is a matter affecting the whole town, the chief calls his council of elders, states the case to them, and if, for example, it is a fine imposed upon him or upon the town, they all "hang their heads" and decide what can be done about it. (Loma.)

The procedure is about the same in Gbunde when the trouble is between individuals. In Gio, parents of the litigants, if living, have the right to go to the chief to whom a case has been brought and ask him if they may be allowed "to go into the house" (adjust the matter among themselves). He always consents to this. If they are unsuccessful in their attempt, the case is brought back to him.

Big palavers, such as witching, the killing of someone's cow, murder, and so on, are not local affairs. They concern the whole country (clan) and must be tried at the "mother town" of the clan, because only the clan chief has the authority to act upon their findings. (Sapā.)

In Half-Grebo such palavers are "carried to a town in which there lives a *bodio*." All the big men assemble, and with the assistance of the *bodio* the palaver is heard and settled.

These big trials take place in the open place in the center of the town. These are the *lau za* (open or public matters). Smaller trials are held in the palaver house (figs. 39, a; 35, f). These are the *li za* (smaller matters). The $k\varepsilon$ za (inside matters) or the kz za (house matters), are the palavers which are of a more private nature, and which are "talked" inside an ordinary house. Matters pertaining to the B5 or Poro are tried in $s\tilde{a}$ (circle) ke. They take place in a circular space cleared in the forest. All such matters are always conducted in absolute secrecy.

If the defendant refuses to come or does not show up when he should after having been notified, the chief tells the plaintiff, "Go, take people. Find and bring him in — by force, if necessary."

After all who have anything to say about the matter have been heard, the court is cleared and the chief and his judges discuss the evidence, come to a decision, recall the parties, and make the judgment public.

If the plaintiff is known to be quarrelsome or a sort of public nuisance, the chief generally throws out the case, with a warning that if the dispute does not stop, he will fine both parties until they are ruined.

If a person flees to another town because he has done something very bad — for example, bewitching people or committing arson — the chief of the aggrieved town becomes the plaintiff. The culprit is sent for and brought back home for trial.

Sometimes a culprit flees to a town known to be a refuge for fugitives from justice whose chief may be a young man anxious to increase his following. In this case, he becomes the defendant, and by so protecting the refugee obtains another householder, even if he has to pay the fine himself.

If the culprit flees to another clan's territory, the chief sends Kpwea Association people to bring back the offender.¹⁴

During a trial, if it lasts longer than a day, the plaintiff must provide food for the chief and the judges. On the second day, the chief will say to him, "We are hungry." The plaintiff will then have food cooked for them. This is done every day thereafter until the trial is over. (Gio.)

In war, the settling of wars, or matters arising out of wars women are never allowed to

be present. (Gio.)

In the southeast it is customary to call one of the palaver men, who act as lawyers, for a small palaver; two or more for larger cases which cannot be settled "out of court." Trials all seem to be conducted and witnesses examined in public. The plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses sit on one side, the lawyers, big people, and all others present, on the other side. First the plaintiff states his case, then the defendant makes his answer. Next the witnesses of the defendant, followed by those of the plaintiff, all have their say, and after these, the lawyers. When all have done, anyone else present who may wish to speak on the matter asks permission of the lawyers, who allow him to do so.

When every one has had his say, the lawyers, together with the big men present, go aside to "hang their heads." When they have reached a decision, all return and make it known

through the "head lawyer."

In Sapa, if the matter for which a summons has been issued is "a small boy palaver," the plaintiff is reprimanded by the lawyer for troubling the community instead of settling the matter in the house privately. In such cases, the lawyer calls for a dish of water. This is brought and set on the ground before him. He has both the plaintiff and defendant come forward, tells each to scoop up and take into his mouth a handful of water, then blow it out on the ground, "to remove the palaver from their bellies."

To get a hearing in Gbunde, "the man who wants to have another person tried must pay seven times seven irons (Kisi pennies) before the chief or zo will even look at it; i.e., issue a summons. Most cases involving religious matters are brought before a zo or doctor.

In Gio "each of the parties involved has to lay down goods" — ten mats, for example — as surety for their appearing to discuss the matter. So far as we could learn, there was formerly no such summons fee required in any of the other tribes, but now, since the Government has come in, it has become customary to do so throughout the north. Paramount Chief Wuo (Mano) stated that the person who lodges a complaint must deposit a sum of money. If he wins, this is refunded, and the other party pays

an equal amount, plus court charges.

According to Loma informants, both parties in any case of litigation pay the "costs" equally. This is divided between the jury and the chief, the latter getting more than any of the others. Juries here (and elsewhere) are very apt to scale down payments demanded to a reasonable figure, as they do not want to be too hard on the defendant and thus cause lasting enmity between the parties. This is also likely when there is a palaver between two towns.

In Gio the goods given as surety by the successful plaintiff are returned to him, while those of the losing defendant go to the chief and jury. Sometimes these worthies return to the

loser also a part of his deposit.

In Half-Grebo the usual fee for a summons is ten shillings; in Sapa, only five. In both tribes, if the plaintiff is pronounced the winner of the case, he gets back his summons money. Then a similar amount, plus the court charges, which are £1/10/0 in Half-Grebo and £1/0/0 in Sapa, must be paid by the guilty one. He is usually given a month in which to find this sum. If he fails to pay within the time limit, an extra charge is made.

When a wealthy person wins a case against a poor one, and the latter is known to be fairly decent, most juries beg the former to be lenient in his demands. If the palaver catches the rich

one, he is made to pay the limit.

In Gio matters between two clans are tried in whatever place the leading $d\varepsilon$ man of a neutral and disinterested clan decides upon.

To settle inter-clan palavers (Mano), chiefs and big men meet in a clearing between territories of the two clans involved, if they live adjacent to each other. If the palaver is of a serious nature, the Poro cult leader of each clan also attends the trial. Sometimes, the lesser clan will go to the capital of the older or more powerful clan to talk the palaver. Or they may go to a third disinterested clan's town. When the case has been settled, all has been arranged, a big feast, jointly made, usually "seals" the case.

In Half-Grebo, if there is trouble between two clans and a third hears of it, representatives of the third will go to the heads of first one, then the other, and inquire all about it. If it is a serious matter, representatives of two disinterested clans may go together and do this. They will then call both parties and talk the palaver until a settlement has been effected.

If there is trouble between two sections of the Sapã, the section that feels itself to be in the position of defendant, chooses "a son of a daughter" of the other section; that is, the son of a woman who was formerly a member of the plaintiff section. This son will be sent to the other section — "his mother's people" — to make inquiry as to what their grievance is. He proposes that representatives of both sections come together and talk the palaver. This is usually accepted; the representatives are chosen, and accompany him back to the people who sent him. In former times, if no settlement could be effected, these representatives returned home, reported, and a war was begun.

At Abi zã (Gio), we witnessed a lau za (open matter) trial of a man and woman charged with adultery. The Paramount Chief Towe himself presided, seated on his big chair — a trade article bought at the coast. Beside him sat his sister. On the other side, holding his elephant-tail insignia of office, squatted his town-crier. His "old men" were ranged in front of him in a semicircle, some squatting, some seated on their skin mats.

Towe arose and began a harangue, "From the French side to Sanokwele and from there to here [mentioning all the different districts and the tribes and clans living there], there is no chief greater than myself."

He stopped here, took up a handful of pebbles lying conveniently near, put these into his crier's hands, then continued: "The goods my mother had, she gave to me, those my brothers had, they gave to me. My father left his for me to take care of. I talk and talk but say nothing. My father knew how to talk. I was a 'small boy' [person of no account]. Gala [God] made me chief. My father blesses me. I killed seven 'cows' at my mother's funeral feast. My father brought me here. I have

never heard that a woman had wealth. Where is there a woman who has riches? But myself—"

Here he paused, gathered the pebbles at his feet into a pile, went into his house and brought out a bundle of raffia-pith tally "sticks" and placed them upon the small heap of pebbles. Then with a contemptuous gesture, he continued: "These are my riches for number! My father gave them to me to keep. They are inside my house here."

At this point he turned to face a light-skinned sophisticated and civilized-looking young woman sitting near by under the eaves, and addressed a remark to her, whereat she appeared rather embarrassed. (Our interpreter refused to tell us the meaning of this remark.)

Then, again turning toward his audience, he continued, "Women talk and talk. They talk more than man. Women have a bad mouth." The woman under the eaves became visibly more embarrassed.

Then there came an interruption when his "snake dancers" ¹⁵ came near to tell him they were leaving to precede him to Sanokwele.

He said to them, "Myself, I am starting for Sanokwele tomorrow. I will not kill a bullock for you now, but when I return I will do so, and there will be a big feast."

When the troupe had passed on, he continued: "I made a law that if a woman came to court with a man behind her [her lover] that man must pay two pounds [sterling]. But this woman [turning to the light-skinned woman] is my wife. The fine will be only one pound."

There was more of this talk, and as no defense was made, it was evident that the man had been caught in the act. At short intervals throughout the whole proceeding, the chief's "voice was strengthened" with cups of palm wine, poured from a white enameled coffee pot, while at almost every pause in the harangue his crier punctuated the silence with a loud, "Ka ma me lo:na!" (Hear, people, silence; that is, keep silence). To this, the crowd responded each time with a loud "Ha o!" (Right!)

This is the simplest form of trial—merely the pronouncing of a judgment. When more

important matters are being talked, such as an inheritance palaver, a trial may require several

days.

At the many trials of all kinds, both in Liberia and the Cameroun, at which we have been present in one capacity or another, or over which we have presided as judge, we have never known a plaintiff to begin with the matter in question if there was any history behind it. He may go back as far as one or two generations, bringing out every item in detail, and unless he is patiently listened to, he sometimes becomes so confused that he cannot continue.

Practically all men involved in litigation wear "medicine" to help them win. For talking "palaver with strong mouth," the Sapā have a medicine they call blam5. This is put in a ram's horn and worn while a case is being tried. In Tië there is a family which uses in this way a piece of the skin from the forehead of one of their ancestors who was a bio, or paramount chief renowned for his wisdom. A diviner once told the children of this chief that if they would take the skin from his forehead and wear it every time a member of the family had a palaver to talk, he would never fail to win.

Our personal experience, however, would lead us to believe that there is no need for medicine to help the native Liberian "get strong mouth." When listening to a palaver, one is convinced that there is one righteous and virtuous person left on earth, and that he is the one talking at the moment. The oratorical ability of the Liberian native is often commented upon by those who have reason to deal with him. Listening to a "law palaver" is the primitive African's chief means of entertainment and passing the time. From earliest childhood, he is accustomed to listen to this oratory. As a boy, he plays at "talking palavers," and well does he imitate his elders.

The Right of Appeal. In theory, and usually in practice, palavers are "cut" in accordance with the evidence presented, irrespective of a person's station. This does not mean that an influential or wealthy person cannot and does not suborn witnesses in his behalf.

We have heard chiefs say to the big or rich man who "fell down" in a case, "Oh you! You think because of your position you can trouble others? You are wrong." Then he had sentence passed on him just as though he had been poor. (Gio.)

If justice is not rendered according to the evidence presented, the chief knows the one treated unfairly will run away and take up his residence in another clan. So the chief takes care that the influential do not make too much trouble for the poor, and that all get reasonable justice in court. (Half-Grebo and Sapã.)

For the ordinary person, his chief's decision was formerly final; but in these times, if he is dissatisfied with this decision, he can appeal to his big (clan) chief (Mano and Gio), or even

to the district commissioner.

A person of sufficient riches and influence could go to the town of another chief, state his case, and if it seemed to that chief that this person had been unjustly treated, he would show the man where he might build a new settlement of his own on the land belonging to the town. (Mano.)

In Half-Grebo a disgruntled man would go to another clan, sit on the *bodis's* knees, and ask him to have the other party to the strife called. The *bodis's* decision was final.

In Tie appeal from any decision made by a chief or sub-chief could be made to the bio.

Cases between chiefs are tried before a clan chief. From his decision there was formerly no appeal, unless the matter was of sufficient importance to interest the big men of the Poro. (Mano.)

Oaths. An oath is an appeal to hidden forces to punish the witness if he makes any false statement. Formerly, in Gio, oaths were sworn to bind a contract to avoid war. In Gbunde the word for "oath" is va e wāla, literally, to eat or swallow medicine. The oath is usually taken on medicine: cult medicine as in Poro and Sande cults, town medicine, or special medicine made by a doctor who has already "caught" liars with his particular brand and thus established a reputation for himself as "a person who knows this kind." The Tie are said to swear on their personal medicines. A model of the blacksmith's yini is widely used to swear upon. Only big chiefs possess such medicine.

We saw four collections of various objects brought together for "swearing people"; one at Zuluyi, outside Paramount Chief Wuo's palaver house, one at Gompa, one at Sanokwele, and one at Kpāin. When we inadvertently placed our hands on that in Chief Wuo's town, our interpreter looked startled and exclaimed, "You no feah him?" 16

Sometimes the medicine is "eaten" by placing a cola nut on the medicine and then eating the nut. When the medicine is "drunk," a gruel or soup is prepared into which a bit of the oathmedicine is stirred. When drunk, eaten, or rubbed on the body or head (as was done in the case of a Loma woman who was called as witness in a palaver between two men), the power of the medicine enters the body, to "catch" the witness, if he is not telling the truth. The penalty for swearing to a lie is death, supposedly caused by the medicine itself.

The power of the medicine may also be communicated indirectly by someone who has had contact with it. We witnessed a Government trial where this was done. The witnesses stood in two rows, those for the accused in one, those against him in the other. The first person in each row put salt and a black cola nut (Garcinia kola) on a horn containing the oath-medicine, then said, "If I don't tell the truth, let the medicine go through me and kill us all!" He then placed his hands on the shoulders of the man next to him, this one in turn placed his on the next one, and so on, until each man in the row had been thus touched. This was done to save time; it would have taken too long to administer the oath to each one separately.

To bind a contract to avoid war in Gio, the chiefs and all the contracting parties come together on the road outside of town and each individually takes oath on the medicine that he will not go to war, and that instead of this he will settle all matters by trial or arbitration. By this means, peace has for several years been guaranteed, whereas there was formerly constant danger.

The penalty attached to breaking an oath is not always expressed but is always understood. Sometimes the swearer, while putting the cola nut on top of the medicine says, "If I lie, may this medicine catch me in the belly and kill me!" after which he eats the nut.

A time limit in which the medicine is to do its work can also be given. The one administering the oath may say, "If this person lies, may he die within a month." The tribesman firmly believes that the innocent escapes the penalty and the guilty succumbs. Yet, in Half-Grebo, the older forms have been discarded because by means of them it was too easy to get rid of a person when the one administering the oath so chose. Instead, a white plate or white enameled dish is now usually taken, and on it are placed a cut-up cola nut, a razor, some pepper and salt. A hand is placed on these with the petition that they kill the swearer if he is not speaking truthfully.

Besides the oaths sworn on medicine, there are expressions used in conversation, which through frequent repetition have lost their original force. Of those translated for us, the most frequently heard were:

"May a snake [or other animal] bite me if this is not true!"

"May a leopard catch me if I lie!"

"May I never kill another animal [or catch another fish], if you are not listening to the truth now!"

"If I am not telling the truth, let my belly swell up so that I die!"

Ordeals.¹⁷ Ordeal is resorted to when denial of a grave accusation is made. A person convinced of his innocence may ask to be allowed to prove it by submitting to an ordeal, especially after he has repeatedly denied having done a thing and ugly rumors about himself keep coming to his ears. If the ordeal should "catch" such a person, he is convinced that he has been guilty in some mysterious way of which he was entirely unaware. Possibly a witch has used him as its medium. Or "his mizu went out from him and did it while he was asleep." (Mano and Gio.)

Of all the forms of ordeal, the most prevalent and favorite (now forbidden by law and no longer practised anywhere) seems to have been the drinking of the poisonous decoction of the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineensis*. This decoction is the original "sasswood," a corruption of the Anglo-French word, "sauce," which seems to have been much in use by the seamen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to describe something pungent or spicy either in

¹⁶ See also pp. 361-62.

¹⁷ Ordeal is zolo, Gbunde; kpoto, Loma.

taste or behavior, according to Johnston.18 The administration of this ordeal was confined almost entirely to cases of a very grave nature, such as witchcraft, murder, theft, or adultery on the part of a favorite wife.

In the pidgin English of Liberia, all forms of ordeal are called "sasswood." Their administration is "playing sasswood"; those who ad-

minister them are "sasswood players."

Only men who know medicine well, and themselves have very strong medicine, can conduct ordeals, because, as in divination and in oracles, medicine is the active factor here. The sasswood player must be paid in advance by the one who engages him or payment guaranteed by a responsible person. In ordinary cases, the latter will be reimbursed by the accused when the trial is over, unless the accused dies, in which case his people pay. The town chief's consent must be obtained before any sort of ordeal can be conducted.

From the time he is engaged, the one who is to conduct the trial keeps his ears open for any hints or suggestions he is able to pick up that have a bearing upon the case. By guarded questioning, he acquires more information that is of value to him. There is also a sort of secret pretesting of the ordeal at which the plaintiff and a few trusted men are present.19 The main object of this is to enable the operator to get more light on the matter in hand or to "feel out" what sort of verdict will be most pleasing to the chief or local authorities. These "players" also have a secret-service organization through

which they know beforehand who is guilty.²⁰
The "Sasswood" Ordeal.²¹ "If the person who was to be subjected to this [the real sasswood] ordeal refused to drink it, he was bound and his feet were burned or he was tortured in

other ways." (Sapã.)

One of our Mano interpreters told of a sasswood trial he had witnessed years ago. A leopard had killed a woman in the Sande grove while the Sande was in session. A man was accused of having done it either by sending or "going into" this leopard. He was required to sit on a log while boys were sent out to locate a

tree and bring in the bark required. When this had been brought, pounded in a mortar, and a decoction made, the accused was told, as the vessel was put before him, "If you are innocent, drink this." He drank, fell over dying, and was

pronounced guilty.

A person found guilty of witchcraft by this ordeal, after having made denial, was pounced upon, cut down, and hacked to pieces as soon as it became evident that the sasswood had "caught" him. The Mano informants were unanimous in declaring that the remains were then either burned on a sort of pyre to kill his mi zu and thus prevent his returning as a "wi" to make more trouble, or thrown into a deep pool in a witch stream from which no one drank. According to Gio informants, it was the custom of their tribe to throw the remains out in the jungle.

The Half-Grebo have a form of sasswood trial in which the sasswood is heated until it boils well. A cutlass is dipped into this, heated, then hastily withdrawn and the accused struck with it. This must be done three times to a woman or four to a man. If they show no signs of skin burning or scalding, they are innocent.

The Hot Iron Ordeal.22 One form of medicine for the hot iron ordeal used by the Mano, and known only to those who administer it, is a vine. This is held over the iron, generally a cutlass, when "making the medicine."

We witnessed an incomplete trial by this method in 1928. A Kpelle youth passing through Gioland claimed to have left the sum of £2/16/0 lying wrapped up, together with some other personal belongings, at the side of the path while he went to drink palm wine in the town of Waipa. When he returned, the money was gone. Meanwhile, another stranger had come to town. As the thief could not be located and the second stranger was suspected, and no settlement could be effected, all went together to the chief's town. In the absence of the chief, the case was brought before the speaker, who conducted the hearing without arriving at a decision, then consulted with the chief's oldest son. They both concluded that

¹⁸ Johnston, 1906b, vol. 2, p. 1065.

¹⁰ Whether upon animals or persons, or whether the party simply perjures itself when a report is made public, our informants did not state.

²⁰ See p. 300.

²¹ This is called gili, Mano; gri mu (poison drink),

The Gio call this ze si (burn take), while the Mano call it gbis kpma bono.

the suspect should be subjected to an ordeal. The hot iron was decided upon, since there was a doctor near by who had a reputation for "knowing this kind."

The doctor demanded a fee of eighteen shillings, which was paid in advance. A condition he made was that the trial be held before the sun had climbed to a certain height (about ten o'clock).

On the morning of the trial we were on hand when the doctor arrived at about eight. Wood was brought and a fire kindled. The doctor put down near it a dish containing medicine and a few leaves. He next took an ordinary trade machete which he had brought along and put its point into the dish. Then he produced his ordeal medicine, from a filthy bag the size of a baseball, and tied it to the end of a roof-rafter of a near-by house. He was now ready to begin operations.

The plaintiff was first called forward and required to say, "If I did not leave that money lying where I said I did, may the medicine catch and burn me."

The defendant followed with, "May the medicine catch and burn me, if I took that money."

Those who were in the party of the plaintiff each repeated the same words as the plaintiff, and those who were with the defendant when he reached the town did likewise.

At this point, there developed much argument between the two groups, interspersed with invective from the speaker. When quiet was restored, the doctor picked up some pebbles he had placed on the ground and began talking to the medicine in the dish, admonishing it to help him discover the guilty one. He now dipped the point of the machete in the medicine, then wiped it to wash it clean of any adverse influence that might be adhering to it. He continued the talk to the medicine for a few moments, then addressed one of the pebbles in his hand and threw it away. This was repeated with a second and a third pebble, after which the machete was put into the fire and harangued. The plaintiff was then told to come forward, the machete was removed from the fire and waved over the medicine dish. The doctor called toward his right, his left, and toward the medicine suspended from the rafter, pointing the machete in each of these directions as he called. After this, his assistant took the machete and almost touched the medicine ball, then the doctor's face with its point, making remarks the while.

The machete was now given back to the doctor, who first blew on it five times some medicine he had been chewing all the while. After this, he rubbed some of the medicine in the dish on a small boy and touched him with the hot (?) point of the machete. No burn resulted. It was next tried on a somewhat larger boy after medicine had been put on him, too. Three times it was drawn its full length along his lower left leg without burning him. He was now asked to turn around and the same operation was repeated on the back of his left shoulder. This likewise resulted in no burns.

Here the assistant broke in with many words which were not translated to us. When he had done, a native mason from near the coast, who was working on a new mud-and-thatch guest house at the Government post, came forward to have the "fire" tried on him. During the ensuing argument over whether it was to be tried on his forearm or upper arm, the machete had grown almost cold; it was nevertheless tried on the mason, producing no result. The doctor then put it back into the fire, took it out and again stuck its point into the medicine dish, left it lying on the ground for a few minutes, picked it up and with it struck a stone lying near the dish, drew first one side of the blade then the other over this stone, held it near his suspended medicine, put it back on the stone and repeated the drawing operation several times, blew three times on the blade and finally held it over the fire.

Another boy was now called. He came forward, and after medicine had been put on him, the machete was tried on his back, first stroking it downward from its point to the handle, then turning it over and drawing it upward. Again there was no burn. The boy left the circle, the machete was put back into the fire. Another argument was started by the onlookers, followed by a harangue from the doctor's assistant. The argument waxed hot; everybody now pressed closer and closer to the doctor, who crouched over his medicine dish in an effort to keep off bad influences.

Apparently, as a result of all this, he was again obliged to go through the whole of the pebble

operation. This was done with much prompting and interference on the part of the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and others interested. He was now ready to begin the real trial but was once more stopped by a lengthy discussion over who should first come forward and which part of his body was to be touched with the machete. This was finally settled. The doctor took his machete from the fire, let a handful of his medicine-water run on the blade near the handle, and was about to begin when he was again held up by his assistant's talk. Meanwhile, all who were to be tried had been lined up: the plaintiff, the men who had carried his loads, the two or three companions journeying with him, the stranger who had come to the town, and several other people who might have stolen the money.23 Those on the "no-we-did-not-stealthe-money" side of the palaver had the "foreign" mason as a sort of advocate, while the "yes-you-did" side had the interrupting assistant as theirs, to see that the trials were all conducted fairly.

This delay necessitated putting the machete into the fire again, talking to both machete and fire, putting more medicine on the machete, and calling another boy forward to take the test. He refused, so a girl was asked to take his place, which she did. Medicine was rubbed on her back, the test was made, with no resulting burn

At this stage, the plaintiff produced a small cloth bag and drew out of it a sealed letter which had been given him by the representative of the European firm for which he had been working at the coast. The letter was opened. It proved to be an itemized list of what goods and cash he had had when he left for the interior. The proceedings came to a halt, while all crowded around him, everyone talking and giving his opinion of the value of this unexpected "evidence" (?).

During this new development, someone came too near the doctor's medicine hanging from the rafter which put it in danger of being spoiled. Up to this time the doctor had shown remarkable self-control. But this, together with the consideration of the new evidence (indicaing doubt of his ability to locate the offender)

*After the trial of each one of these, the doctor was to put his machete back into the fire, "give" more

was too much for him. In anger he sprang up, seized his medicine, cut it down, and carefully tucked it away, poured the medicine out of the dish, took up his machete, and strode off, muttering to himself as he went. The plaintiff was eighteen shillings out, as the doctor refused to have anything more to do with such doubters or to return the cash.

Since there was no other way to settle the palaver, it was decided, after about an hour's discussion, to await the arrival of the Assistant District Commissioner and let him say what ought to be done. Meanwhile, the whole party was fed rice from the storehouse.

The Boiling Water or Palm Oil Ordeal. There is a boiling water or palm oil ordeal, called by the Gio, yi sie si—"water hot take," probably because those who submit to these forms of ordeal usually are obliged to take pebbles or other small objects from the bottom of the vessel containing the boiling liquid.

A trial at which a Mano man was obliged to submit to this ordeal was reported to us by the accused man himself and corroborated by a witness.

This young man was accused by his chief of improper relations with one of the chief's women. He said he did not even know the woman. He was willing to stand sasswood trial. The matter was discussed with the chief and his court, and the trial agreed upon. A member of the court warned him that this trial would not come out to his credit, as former trials usually had.

The sasswood "player" put five small pebbles on his shoulder and easily shook them off. He then charged the pebbles that if the man was guilty they should stick so that he could not shake them off. Then he put them on his shoulder again. This time they would not shake off. The player pranced around the center of the group. The pebbles stayed fast on his shoulder. The man was pronounced guilty.

The man objected, implying that the trial was unfair, and renewed his protestations of innocence. A second trial was immediately arranged for. A steel machete was put in the fire until it was very hot. It was then taken by the sasswood player and rubbed in the moist earth

medicine, and repeat the pebble operation.

until it had partly cooled. Then he took it and pressed it on the arm of several people who all declared that it had cooled off. He even pressed it on a small baby's arm without hurting the baby. Apparently it was quite cool. Then the player put it on the arm of the accused man, who was burned by the touch of the steel and thus judged guilty. He still protested his innocence, claiming that the other people had been touched with a part of the cutlass which was cool, whereas the part of the blade which had been pressed against his arm was still hot.

The chief fined him three pounds and ordered that he be held prisoner with his foot in a "stick" until he paid. He renewed his declaration of innocence and would not agree to being kept a prisoner. Then an influential man stood up and said it was not good for them to burn this man and to make him prisoner. He asked that he be allowed to escort him to his father's town so he could discuss the matter with his father.²⁴ This was allowed under escort. There the local chief accused the first sasswood player of unfair trial and brought his own player to conduct a fair one.

A pot of palm oil was put on the fire and heated until it began to bubble. Two small pebbles were dropped into it. A bowl of medicine was brought and the accused man's hand was well rubbed with the medicine. He was then told to put his hand in the pot of bubbling oil and take out the pebbles. If he was guilty his hand would be burned. He put his hand in and took out the pebbles. Then he dropped them into the oil again. A second time he reached in and took out both pebbles without being burned. He was pronounced innocent. He returned to his accuser's town under escort. Accusation was then brought against the chief for conducting an unfair trial and the matter was temporarily dropped.25

A woman accused of witchcraft was subjected to a hot oil ordeal at Zwadhru, in Tië, some time before our arrival there. The back of her head was dipped into the oil and part of her scalp was burned. This established her guilt.

²⁴ It seems that he had not been allowed the customary aid in defending himself.

²⁵ Whether the oil was actually boiling or some easily volatilized substance was bubbling up through

The Flogging-rod Ordeal. When a person is subjected to the flogging-rod ordeal, he stands before the diviner who holds the rod. If he is guilty, the medicine causes the rod to begin to sway until it "pulls the doctor toward the one on trial in order to flog him proper."

By a missionary in Loma who had seen an exhibition of this by a diviner, we were told the following:

The zo-diviner was a small man. He told the missionary that any of his party might conceal anything anywhere he wished and he would locate the one who had done it. This was done, the zo and his assistant keeping themselves elsewhere until all was ready. The zo put his medicine on himself, then began talking to his rod,²⁶ that he held firmly in his two hands. After a time the rod began to sway slowly. As the zo kept walking about, he came near the missionary who had hidden the object. The rod became violently agitated, bending toward the missionary in an effort to strike him. He retreated, closely followed by the "stick." It required five of the natives to hold the small zo man.

When the rod had finally quieted, the zo man lay on the ground, limp and exhausted. The missionary doctor present thought that the man's super-power was due to self-hypnotism and maniacal strength.

The medicine employed had in it, among other ingredients, some ashes (of unknown origin) and some bombax tree leaves. The zo later tried its effect on his assistant, who was given the rod to hold. The medicine was rubbed on the man's wrists and elbows while the zo continually talked to it. When he had done with this, he began walking about, sprinkling medicine to the right and left, asking it to catch another person who had hidden a "stolen" object. The rod-holder followed him. The rod began swaying, then striking everyone and everything it could reach in its efforts to get at the one who had hidden the object. After a time, the zo "took off the medicine" by massaging his helper's arms.

The following is an account of a floggingstick ordeal witnessed in the Mano country:

it cannot be said.

²⁸ This rod is frequently used for purposes of divination.

A diviner had been called who was an expert in this form of trial. The paramount chief was there to guarantee fairness, for which purpose he had brought his strong medicine. The medicine consisted of two models of the yini, one of iron, the other of copper. These were laid on the floor in the center of the assembly.

The diviner went over, touched them with his two hands and said to them, "I call you by name, you know this kind of palaver, that is the reason I call you. If I catch an innocent person, you must catch me so I

can die."

Having thus sworn to make fair trial, he prepared his own medicine, squeezing some succulent leaves into a small aluminum pan, and mixing with a cupful of water. Then he produced a slender staff, a stick he had cut in the bush on the way to the trial. It was about 3 feet long and the size of a man's finger.20a He rubbed the watery medicine on this stick, then rubbed more of the medicine on the arms, shoulders, and throats of several bystanders, asking each in turn to hold one end of the stick.

No one reacted until he reached Pawkpa. He held the stick tightly in both hands, gazed fixedly at its upper end, and began to tremble as though he could not hold the stick still. The diviner immediately announced that Pawkpa was a proper medium. He was guided to the middle of the assembly where he squatted with the lower end of the stick resting on the ground.

The upper end of the stick was waving about jerk-

The diviner then squatted beside his aluminum pan, and rubbing a small pebble along its edge he said, "These things which were stolen - we come to find the thief." Then he laid this pebble aside.

Taking another pebble, he said, "We don't understand all bad palaver, there are plenty of thieves, but this one we want you to catch him." Then he laid that pebble aside.

"We want you to go and look among these people sitting around here, and see who is guilty."

The stick began to shake faster, knocking on the ground, and oscillating violently like an inverted pendulum. It seemed to want to go somewhere. There was a very good illusion that the stick was carrying the man along with it. It wandered from side to side and finally hesitated in front of one boy.

The diviner then said, "If this is the man, beat him hard; if not, beat him softly." The stick beat him hard, then relented a bit.

The diviner said, "If this is really the man, beat him on the head." The stick did so.

^{26a} Another informant later stated that sa yoda (Mano) (Dicranolopis laciniata) is used for this purpose.

The accused retorted, claiming innocence, presenting an alibi; the stick, meanwhile, only beat him the harder. The medium shook convulsively, dripped with sweat. The guilty one having been found, everyone rushed to the medium to stop him lest he should really harm the accused. With considerable effort they pulled him away, threw him down, and wrenched the stick from his hands. He continued shaking convulsively until the diviner ran and got a piece of plantain-leaf stem and squeezed the juice from it, rubbing the arms, neck, and head of the medium, thus bringing him out of it. He lay there exhausted. The thief was taken by the chief and his foot was put in a stick.27

The Mano described another form of this rod ordeal, which consists of a bundle of three or four rods, tied three times at one end, the other end left free. The accused sits before the diviner, who holds the rods. If he is guilty, the bundle begins to strike the ground in an attempt to reach the one on trial. He runs. "The bundle follows and pulls the doctor along with it." This form is also used in divination.

Other Ordeals. There are still other ordeals, less generally practised than those noted above.

The horn ordeal (Loma) is probably a variation of the flogging-stick ordeal. Any kind of horn will do; it merely holds the medicine. The small tusk of an elephant or an imitation horn of wood will also serve. After the 20 man has gone through his preliminaries, the horn begins to bob up and down, then "forces" him to set its tip upon the ground, "walks" along the ground toward the guilty party, hits him.

In Mano a piece of raffia mid-rib lath is sometimes taken, split at one end, and a red pepper pod inserted. Water is rubbed on the eyes of the one submitting to the ordeal (with possibly a bit of pepper adhering to the fingers of the one who does it!) The pepper pod is then held before his eyes and he must gaze steadily at it. If he can do so without his eyes becoming watery and burning, he is innocent.

In Gio and Sapa we heard of the juice of a tree, called bo no by the Gio, which is dropped into the eyes. If they become neither watery

nor red, the person is innocent.

The Half-Grebo sometimes put fine sand, brought from a beach at the coast, into a person's eyes as an ordeal test. If it remains in the eyes, the accused is guilty.28

²⁷ This not only kept him from running away, but rendered him unable to benefit by any of his own personal "medicine," they said.

28 See also p. 398.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The Poro leader (north) has the power to exact payment "on the spot" for breaches of peace and for debts. In practice, however, neither he nor any one else can collect until the culprit "finds" the goods. This problem almost always arises; even the "rich" have not always the means at hand to make a settlement.

When a person cannot or will not make a settlement himself and cannot get help from his family or friends, he may be seized and held. If this is barren of results, his property, children, and wives may also be seized and held — or, in the old days, sold to pay the fine or debt. If his property did not suffice, he himself could be sold.

At times, payment is not forcibly exacted, but the debtor who neglects to make a settlement had better not approach those who have been lenient with him when he again finds himself in need.

As there are no prisons, persons who are to be retained are "put in a stick"; that is, one foot is thrust through a hole in a heavy log and secured there, so that the prisoner must drag the log wherever he goes (fig. 99, d). In the southeast it was formerly the custom to tie a long stick vertically against the back and head and also bind one hand behind the back. This was very effective in preventing the prisoner from running away, as the stick would catch on the thick jungle growth overhead.²⁹

While a person is being forcibly held, the chief must supply him with food. During this time, he is usually required to do some kind of light work. One man seen "wearing the stick" at Pandamai (Gbunde) "knew only farm work." As the farms were too distant, he was required to remain in the chief's palaver house throughout the day, swatting flies with a flybrush.

Another prisoner, a young man we came upon in Kpelle wearing a stick, had been given the task of clearing weeds from around the chief's compound.

REFUGE FROM JUSTICE OR PERSECUTION

The smithy is everywhere a place of refuge for fugitives from justice or from the wrath of others.³⁰

In Sapa any person being punished or abused by a superior may take refuge in the house of another, prostrate himself before the owner, beseeching his protection, and there be safe from further persecution.³¹ If he is followed and violence done him, the aggressor is considered to have committed an offense for which he must make payment. This may be as little as a white fowl.

OFFENSES, CRIMES, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

Accidental Killings. For accidental killing, custom exacts the following penalties:

Loma: When a man kills someone by accident, he has to "find" a bullock. This is killed as an offering to the spirit of the dead person and its flesh is then eaten by all the interested parties.

Mano: If a son accidentally kills either parent, the town's chief and the elders, together with his own family's leaders, and those of the local Ki-La lodge, come together to "talk the palaver." He is usually required to bring a cow

²⁰ Captain D'Ollone (1901, p. 83) saw this method employed among the clans related to the Half-Grebo living east of the Cavally River.

to be killed in sacrifice to the dead parents' spirits by the head of the Ki-La lodge, who, as he kills the beast, begs that the son be forgiven. If the deed was done with a gun, this is taken from the son, and he is never again permitted to use one.

If he has killed a brother or half-brother, he is required to bring a white fowl and five cloths before the town's chief and elders, while his father brings a sheep. If the father is dead, the killer himself brings the sheep. The fowl and sheep are killed as an offering and their flesh

^{**} See p. 142. ** For refuge given to runaway slaves, see below,

eaten by the assembled elders. The cloths are

given to the family heads of the town.

If he has killed a person outside the family, those interested, together with the *Ki-La* men meet and "hang their heads" out in the jungle to learn the particulars of the affair. Usually, a white fowl and a sheep are required for the dead person, ten cloths for his parents or his nearest male relative. The *Ki-La* demand a bullock for their services.

Gio: If a person kills his own (full) brother, he must make a token payment to the oldest brother of his own mother.

If he kills a half-brother, the payment is made to the mother of the deceased.

If he kills a member of another family, he is sometimes required to pay as much as two head of cattle, or plenty of goods—a gun, mats, goats, sheep, fowls, axes, or whatever else may be obtainable.

If a "stranger" from outside the town or clan is killed it is said, "bad fortune has come to the town." A sheep or goat is sent to the head of the dead man's household or family, if known, with the request that he come to settle the matter.

Half-Grebo: For the accidental killing of a brother or half-brother, the father of the killer (or head of the family, if the father is dead) takes a bullock and has it killed to cleanse all the clan from blood-guilt. The killer is exiled from his homeland for four years.

If a male member of another family is killed, one cow has to be given by the killer to his own town leaders to cleanse the town, and another cow, and a woman in addition, to the dead man's family. If it is a woman he has killed, he has to give one cow to his town, and one to the late woman's husband.

If a husband accidentally kills his wife, he gives a cow to the town and is exiled for four years.

Sapā: For accidentally killing a brother or half-brother, the killer has to pay two head of cattle to the family of the mother of the one killed

For killing a wife in this way, the husband pays her family the equivalent of her dowry price.

⁸² For killing a husband in this way, a wife may get

If a man kills a member of another family, as much as four head of cattle for a man and three for a woman have been required.

Tiē: A brother accidentally killing his brother or half-brother pays nothing.

Homicide. It is not easy for us to understand the point of view which causes the tribesman to make a sharp distinction between the taking of a life by means of "wi" (witch) and by other means, but the fact is that he does. Once, when we asked why insane persons are not killed instead of being allowed to wander about and lead an existence which is a sort of living death, we were told: "Killing is a very bad thing. No one kills another except in war." When we mentioned the case of a man who, we had recently been told, had killed his daughter to get riches for himself, the reply was, "He did not kill, he bewitched her so she died."

This attitude, at least in Gbunde and Loma, may be accounted for by the fact that in "bewitching people to death" there is no shedding of blood. The shedding of blood is considered such a "very bad palaver" by the Gbunde and Loma that a person who, in an attempt at suicide, cuts himself so that blood flows, and afterward becomes well again, must pay a heavy fine to the town.

If a person suspected and accused of killing another by witchcraft, or known to have done so, confesses the fact either voluntarily or after being questioned, he usually gets off with only a fine.³² The amount of this fine depends upon the relationship of the bewitched person to the "witch" and also upon their social status. He may even be allowed to go entirely free. But denial of having "bewitched the person so that he dies," is a serious palaver. When this is done, the accused can establish his innocence only by submitting to trial by ordeal. There is no escape from this.

In Mano, if he is accused and confesses, he will make the payment required. If he has committed other similar crimes, and fears that they, too, may be found out, he goes to another country. In Gio, if he confesses, he is allowed to go free upon making the required payment. But if he boasts about having killed someone (either by "making witch" or other

other punishment.

means), he will be seized and shot, or hacked with cutlasses, and decapitated.

The one instance recorded in our notes of a person's killing a member of his family (not household) by witchcraft is that of a Sapã town chief. This chief left his country for several years, and finally returned. As no one had made a settlement for his deed during his absence, he was required to pay a blanket, a goat, and a brass kettle.

All the Liberian informants insisted that whoever deliberately kills another person in any way except by "witching," is punishable by death. He cannot be let off with making a payment. The manner in which he must expiate his crime is determined by the town's court, the townspeople all being present. After this is over, he is kept in heavy "sticks" for a week or two. One day he is asked what he would like to eat and what sort of cloth he would like to wear. Whatever he asks for is given to him.

Not long after, he is told, "Now we are going to kill you." The "sticks" are removed, he is led to one side and told to lie on the ground. The chief takes his big knife from its sheath and cuts his throat. (Loma informants.)

Our Loma interpreter (who was a nephew of a Loma paramount chief) claimed that in his section of the tribe (the Gizima) a murderer is sometimes killed by torture, and that he had witnessed such a case. One form of torture was to tie the criminal to a stout pole, then lift it up horizontally between two forked posts set in the ground. A fire was started underneath his suspended body, and palm oil poured upon him so that he would roast well.

Sometimes the agony was drawn out longer by suspending him over a slow fire and roasting first one side, then turning him to roast the other. Members of the victim's family kept the fire burning, shrieking insults at him the while. When the body had been charred, all the children present and those from surrounding towns (who had come to witness the occasion) were given pieces of it "to take home as a warning not to commit murder."

PARRICIDE. Murder of parents is rare, and when done it is either by bewitching for some purpose, or in order to "feed them to a snake or other totem or cult animal."

"If a son kills his father, one can do nothing, for to whom can one 'carry' the palaver, if the father has been lost by the son's murdering him?" (Sapã.)

For murdering his mother, a Gio can atone by making a payment to his father and his own full brothers. He was formerly sold as a slave and sent away. In Sapa, he is required to pay three head of cattle or their equivalent to her family.

MURDER OF OTHER IMMEDIATE RELATIVES. For the murder of other relatives atonement must be made as follows:

Murder of a Brother. Mano: "The townspeople seize and lead the murderer before his father, demanding his death. Sometimes the [maternal] uncle of the victim comes, leading his relatives, who are all armed. These all go to the chief, demanding the death of the murderer. The father says, 'No, I can not allow my son to be killed.' The big Poro man will be called. He says, 'There is to be no killing.' The Ki-La people are then asked to come and settle the affair. They [usually] say that he must give two head of cattle to the victim's uncles. The mother gets two cloths from him. Then he must provide a big feast for the Ki-La and others, go to the victim's mother and express his regrets to her for what he has done, and all is settled."

Half-Grebo: The murderer pays a bullock to the maternal family of the victim. If he had been heard to say that he would one day kill that person, he must, in addition, leave the country for four to eight years.

Sapā: Sometimes he must pay as much as four head of cattle to the maternal family of his victim. If he and his family refuses, the maternal relatives of the victim can come and take him, by force if necessary, and hold him until payment has been made, or sell him as a slave.

Tie: He is tried and has sentence passed upon him by his own family. Payment is never demanded.

Murder of a Sister. Half-Grebo, Gio: For murder of a full sister, a man must make payment to his own family, or they can banish him. If she is only a half-sister, the payment is made to her mother's family.

Sapa: For murdering either a full or a halfsister, the payment required is the same as that for a mother.³³ There is an economic reason

"While both boys and girls belong to the father, his wives' families regard girls as belonging to them. When a father cannot provide a wife for his son, the son can call upon his mother's family either to help him 'find' the dowry price or to give him a woman. This is the equivalent of returning the dowry they had received for his mother. As long as his sister lives, it will be unnecessary for the mother's family to give such help, because the sister or her dowry price will provide a wife for him."

Murder of a Wife. Mano: [When a man murders his wife], "her father and relatives come armed. The Ki-La people of the criminal's town halt the impending fight and induce her relatives to return home. The leader of the Ki-La sends his cow-tail (or other insignia of office), together with a fowl, a gun, a bullock, and a white cola nut to her people. These things are kept. The cow-tail is sent back by the town chief as a token that more goods must be sent before the relatives will be satisfied. Another cow or two, is sent. Then the Ki-La people of both towns get together, 'hang their heads,' and find that since 'Gala has willed it that she die so, another bullock must be paid.' This is done, and the palaver ends. Sometimes the father of the murdered woman gives his son-in-law another of his daughters to wife, so that 'he may again have all his wives [full quota], but another dowry price must be paid for her.' The Ki-La men do this to avert war."

Gio: "The husband who murders a wife is often turned over to her family. They do as they see fit with him — let him buy himself free, if he can raise the sum they demand. They could formerly sell or kill him."

Sapā: "We never knew of a man killing his wife. But if a man causes her to break the law forbidding sexual intercourse during the daytime, and she is punished by death, for this he must pay her family the equal of her dowry price.

Tie: "Her family people come armed to avenge her death, but they will not do so if the husband can satisfy their demands by making a payment of one or two head of cattle, depending upon the social status of her people."

Murder of a Husband. Gio: When a wife kills her husband, a black fowl is "put on her," and she is then taken to her father's town. Her people offer the option of another woman to the murdered husband's family in exchange for this, their "bad daughter," or the return of the dowry price paid for her.34

Half-Grebo: "We have no law about this, as we do not know of any such cases."

Sapa: If she confesses to having killed her husband, the palaver is small. Her family pays a goat to that of the dead husband. She may also be tied to a post and her flesh burned with firebrands so that permanent scars remain to remind her of her bad deed and to warn other women not to do the same.

Tie: If she confesses, she is tied up for four days and flogged.

Gio, Tie: She suffers the same punishment described directly above when she has killed

her husband by "making witch." THE MURDER OF NON-RELATIVES OF THE SAME TOWN OR CLAN. Gio: Any murderer caught in the act of killing non-relatives of his

own town or clan may be killed on the spot. Half-Grebo: according to Mr. Allersmaier, "There is no blood revenge here. If a man has killed another (either during a quarrel or deliberately), he must disappear from the town and remain hidden somewhere in its vicinity for four days. On the fourth day, an old woman of his family who knows his hidingplace goes to him and cuts off his hair, which must be kept at home. The murderer then leaves his country, usually going to the coast, where he stays for about four years. At the expiration of this time, he is free to come back. This ends the affair. It eventually costs him something to satisfy the murdered man's relatives, but there is no native law requiring him to do so."

Such a murderer may sometimes be allowed to make the settlement customary in the case of killing by accident.85

Sapa: "The murderer of a member of another family, if he refuses to make settlement

See above, p. 435.
 If there is any "palaver" about this, our informants

did not seem to know of it. See above, p. 433.

and can be caught by the dead person's relatives, is bound, put into a house loft, and smoked until his people pay. [Amount not recorded.] If they refuse to do so, and one of them can be caught, he will be killed in reprisal, and the murderer set free. If, however, some time has elapsed and no one else can be caught, the murderer himself is slain. If he has fled the country after his deed, a member of his family (preferably of his own household) is killed.

"If the person murdered is not a relative and the murderer has fled, the relatives of the murdered one accept instead some man to hold as a hostage until payment for the murder has been made. If his people flee, their houses are set on fire. When payment has been made, the murderer is free to return home, but not before several years have passed."

Tiế: "If a man while drunk kills another, he is carried up into a house loft. When he awakens from his drunken stupor, he asks: 'What have I done that I am here?' He is allowed to come down and is shown the corpse. For this crime he must sometimes pay as much as £6/o/o."

MURDER OF A MEMBER OF ANOTHER CLAN. Murder of a man of another clan is a very serious affair. Sometimes representatives of the clan come, demanding that the murderer be given up in order that they may kill him. If he refuses, they may demand as many as ten persons in his stead. If the number of persons demanded is refused, and no compromise can be made, the representatives return home and a war follows. (Loma.)

War also results in the other tribes, when no settlement can be reached. Usually negotiations are first entered into between the cult and war leaders of both the clans involved, but the hotheads of the injured clan sometimes rush into war before the leaders can get together. Such warfare can be ended either by subsequent agreement between the leaders of the two sides or by decree of the Poro officials.

MURDER BY AN INANIMATE OBJECT. It has been noted ³⁶ that personality is sometimes ascribed to inanimate objects such as trees, which are then treated as though they were human beings. At Pandamai (Gbunde), for example,

a man who had climbed an oil palm tree and begun to cut a bunch of ripe palm nuts, slipped and fell to the ground, killing himself. The palm tree was "sentenced to die as a murderer for having killed a person." Men were detailed to kill it by cutting it down.

Infliction of Bodily Injuries. Quarrels are the source of many bodily injuries. When, in Tie, there seem to be too many quarrels occurring in a town, "the chief calls the local bawwer [doctor-diviner], who goes to the forest, blows medicine upon his [divining] horn, and learns the cause of the quarreling. He comes back to town and makes known 'laws' he has 'found.' These must be kept." Actually he puts a number of taboos upon the townspeople which lead to better relations between them.

In Loma, when bodily injuries are the result of a quarrel, and the aggressor has inflicted the injuries, he must pay to the value of a bullock. This is killed and eaten by the town elders, their friends, and all parties involved in the quarrel. If the quarrel is believed to have been premeditated, as when someone says he has at some time heard the aggressor threaten to injure the other, the culprit is considered to be a murderer and is punished for having caused blood to flow.

In Mano and Gio the one who inflicts the injuries, if he is the aggressor, is taken, "put in a stick," and the family of both persons called to take counsel as to what he shall pay. The amount depends upon the nature of the injury; in some instances, it is as high as the value of two head of cattle.

In Half-Grebo both parties are summoned before the town elders, the palaver is "talked," both are reprimanded and allowed to go without making payment, according to our informants

In Sapā he must cook a fowl and some rice to appease the injured one, unless the latter had provoked the quarrel.

When an intoxicated person inflicts injuries upon another, he must pay for them in Gbunde and Loma. In Mano it depends upon where and how he got drunk. If he has made palm wine and drunk it instead of bringing it to his chief or sub-chief, as custom requires him to

do, he must pay. If, on the other hand, he has become drunken from what he drank in a chief's or sub-chief's house, or on what was given him by one or the other of these gentlemen, "the chief feels that he is the responsible party and makes the matter right with the injured one." In Gio and the southeast he goes free, "because he does not know what he is

doing."

When such injuries are the result of a quarrel over a woman (Mano), both men may be brought before the town chief and fined for being so foolish as to fight because of a woman. Or the woman may be brought, together with both men, and asked which man started the quarrel and which of them she prefers. If she names the one who is the aggressor and inflicted the injuries, he goes free. If she rejects the aggressor in favor of the injured man, the aggressor is fined for being so foolish as to start a fight over a girl who does not want him. Her naming the man under these circumstances is considered to be a declaration of love and a desire to marry him. He may now begin to pay the dowry price in order to acquire her as his

In Gio, if the injuries are inflicted by one who is the "friend" (lover) of the woman, he goes free because the other has interfered in what was not his affair. If, on the other hand, the interloper inflicted the injuries, he must pay the family of the woman for blood shed in interference with a process normally resulting in marriage.

In Sapa they say, "Dis be fool palaver. W(h)y man go fight fo' woman. Dey be plenty oddah wan. All two man go flee, no

man go pay fo' dis kin' fight palabah."

If a man other than a woman's husband takes hold of a woman's privates, he is considered to have inflicted a bodily injury upon her. While we were at Zwadhru (Tiɛ), a man was fined £3/0/0 for having so assaulted one of the wives of the local paramount chief. The same law applies to handling a woman's breasts unless, of course, she herself is willing. At any rate, the intention of sexual intercourse is taken for granted.

Settlement of Quarrels Arising Over Possessions. In Mano, when two persons quarrel over the ownership of goods, they do not fight unless they are "fool people" and "hot fo' haid." If witnesses are available, the chief can settle the matter. If not, the one in possession of the objects is considered the owner, and a small fine is imposed on the other person for breach of the peace.

In Gio, when goods are held in common by two persons and a quarrel arises over their ownership, the chief, if he learns of it, calls both parties and divides the goods equally between the two. If one is at fault and quarrels with the other, whether or not he inflicts an injury upon him, he is required to pay over to the other a part of his share of the goods.

In Mano, if one injures goods subsequently proved to belong to another, the full price of the goods (when new) must be paid, no matter how small the injury or how much worn the goods are already. For instance, a person tearing even a small place in a shirt is liable to

pay the full price of a new shirt.

Insults. Insults are called "curse palavers" ("cuss" palaver in Pidgin) in the language of the tribesmen. These are typical insults:

"Who you tink you be? You tink you be big man [or chief]?" This is a "light" curse. "You be dog!" or "You be old man!" is bad, and so is "You be $p\varepsilon$!" ⁸⁷

"You be chicken guts!" is very bad.

To curse a person's mother by making slighting remarks about her or saying she is dead is considered extremely bad.

Disparaging remarks about the person's genitalia, or those of his father, or of his mother are ranked as the most serious of curses. These curses are usually avenged by blows; if brought to trial, the insult is punishable by a fine.

In punishment for these insults, children may

be seized and beaten.

In the case of adults, the insulted may attempt to outcurse the insulter and the palaver ends there; or the former may resent it and make an attack upon the latter. An equal may be reported to the local chief, who summons the offender and requires that he beg the pardon of the offended and "heal" him by the gift of a trinket or small payment, of perhaps a shilling. If two "smaller" people repeatedly curse each other, thereby disturbing the peace of the town, each must bring a hamper of unthreshed rice and a sheep to the chief. If one

³⁷ See p. 343.

does all the cursing, he alone must pay. This fine is eaten by the chief and elders in the

chief's palaver house.

If a man curses a chief or very big man, it is a very serious business. In the old days, he was likely to disappear. Only the chief or the big man knew what became of him. He was usually waylaid, seized, and sold out of the coun-

try.

"If a common man of Kisi or Gbunde is cursed by a chief, he may climb a palm tree, and cut his climbing belt so that he falls and kills himself. Or he may take a rope and tie it to his neck and so hang himself when he has cut his climbing belt." A chief's curse in this case is equivalent to a death sentence, so terrible is the disgrace.

Debts. Until debts have been fully settled, one is likely at any time to be involved in litigation. A debt may have been left by an ancestor, and a descendant know of it only through tradition, yet he is held responsible for it. An instance of this was told us by Mr.

Allersmaier:

"My old friend, Chief Tatu (Half-Grebo), died a few weeks ago. [About mid-June, 1929.] He was probably a hundred years old. A few months before his death, he was summoned by the head of another family to appear before the local court on the charge of owing that family a bullock. I made inquiry as to when the affair on which the charge was based had taken place. Upon hearing that I was interested, our dear old Chief Tatu came tottering to my place and informed me that this was a very, very old palaver, dating either from the time before he was born or shortly after. He had heard of it only as a sort of tradition. Now, after the lapse of a hundred years, he was still held responsible for this unsettled debt; and the court, operating according to the dictates of native law, was bound to take up the matter."

In the north, in the old days, a debtor who could neither make settlement nor give someone belonging to him as surety could himself be taken and held, and eventually sold, unless he was redeemed. In Half-Grebo any member of his family could be taken and held if he

himself could not be seized.

One person can still be bound to another temporarily to work off a debt. In Gio a boy

who was so bound to a man applied to us for employment. He had been unable to pay two shillings for breaking a belt, and a chance acquaintance paid out the money for him. The boy then bound himself to the stranger as a pawn, or security, agreeing to pay double the amount of the loan on a certain date. When the time came, he still could not pay, since he had been working without wages all the time. Again the debt doubled. Finally, it was agreed that the boy should work "with the white man" for wages until he had turned over a total of three pounds to his master. Then he could go free.

Children, too, were everywhere given in pawn by men who were pressed. According to Gbunde informants, it was customary among them to give one's nephew, rather than one's own son. But the chief of Pandamai when "hard up," gave his own son as pledge rather than take another man's. If the man who had given a child as security died before he could redeem it (Gbunde), his family would do so

if they possibly could.

The Loma pawned their children to other Loma people, preferably those living in the same town, but "never to people of other tribes." Sometimes it was done to obtain rice or cloth; sometimes as surety for an obligation. When so given, they became the property (slaves) of the one with whom they were left until redeemed.

Loma men claimed to have received Kpelle and other children in exchange for rice, cloth,

and other goods.

Except in Half-Grebo, where they are not valid, gambling debts are collectible in the same

way as others.

Mano and Sapā informants all insisted that no one is ever killed for non-payment of debt. "He may be caught by sasswood and die as a result, but that is not killing him."

Theft. The tribesmen regard thieves and thieving just as we do. "With such a person in the town or the land [clan], one can never feel at ease." On the other hand, old Gio men said that formerly a man who was clever at stealing was also considered to be a good warrior, because he could get close to the enemy without being discovered.

The professional thief is rare. The Gbwogi people of the Gbunde and Loma may well have

originated through contact with outside influences.38

In Tie we heard of one man, living in the town of Dajabi, who steals domestic animals, food, clothing, or anything else he can take. The animals and food he divides with his family, but the money and clothes he keeps in a chest in his own house. Whenever he is caught stealing, he is bound, flogged, and held. Family members, hearing of this, come and pay for his release. They usually have to give roughly the value of three things for every one he has stolen.

There is also an occasional kleptomaniac. Our Gio informants knew of one who "could not be made to quit stealing, though he was

punished in all sorts of ways.'

"A thief, if caught and unable to make a settlement (Gbunde and Loma), is run out of the town." In Mano and Gio he could formerly be seized and sold. In Half-Grebo and Sapã "he must cook meat and rice in proportion to the value of the thing or things stolen, if not too valuable." This is eaten by the town chief and elders. For "big" things, restitution in kind must be made, or the value paid to the owner.

When a stranger steals something and is found out, he is held and his family notified to come and make settlement, if they are not too distant. If they are too far away, the thief is escorted to his home by some of the townspeople. There the matter is taken up with his family. But in this case, they do not necessarily have to pay for the misdeed. Payment depends on the pressure brought to bear upon them.

The Sapa take everything a "stranger" thief has and wears, flog him, and run him out of

town.

When a man's wife steals from another person, he is naturally expected to make a settlement. If she steals from her husband, he may do as he sees fit about it. "He can curse her, flog her, or punish her in other ways. If she keeps it up, he can send her home to her people and either get her dowry price refunded or be given a better woman in exchange."

Unless one knows the owner intimately, to enter the house of another man and eat any

food found there is a "thief palaver." It is also a "thief palaver" to enter another's rice kitchen and take rice from it without the owner's consent. But entering a person's farm and merely eating enough to still one's hunger is permissible. If not personally acquainted with the owner of the farm, one is in duty bound to notify him or some person of the same town afterward. (Gbunde and Loma.)

"A wife stealing food from the farm of another wife may be soundly beaten by her hus-

band." (Tiɛ̃.)

Some Tië use the judu, "a long black snake," as one kind of "medicine" to prevent theft in the house. "A man puts medicine on his hands, goes out to where he has located a judu, brings it home and keeps it in his house. He tells this judu, 'If a thief-person comes into this place, chase him out.' Should a thief-person ever look inside the door, he will see the judu and run into the bush."

Fornication and Adultery. The Mano have a saying that "as a man is [acts] toward food, so is a woman toward men." 40 Like most sayings, this will bear modification, but it indicates the attitude of a considerable portion of the population toward sexual intercourse.

As long as nothing has been paid on the dowry price of a girl or woman, she is, in most instances, free to give herself ("to make friends with") whomever she pleases. The man "has no palaver." But once ever so small a payment of the dowry price has been made for her (north), she is considered to belong to the one who has paid it. The Gio man who finds out that his betrothed woman has "made friends" with another man (whether before or after he has taken her to his home) may demand damages to the extent of ten native cloths (or three pounds sterling.)

"The surplus wives of polygamous marriages are traps set by husbands to catch men for whatever cash [or goods] can be had from them," is a remark we heard in Liberia, and it approaches very nearly the truth in many

instances.

Most tribesmen consider adultery as a sort of stealing. Perhaps the word "swiping" as

38 See p. 305.

all things; women accept any man who can give them something. 2) As a man consumes food, so a woman consumes a man—his money as well as his passion.

⁸⁰ Rice excepted (Mano). Also see above, p. 418.
⁴⁰ This has a double meaning. 1) Men eat any and

used by boys in our own land when they, for example, steal apples or watermelons, would be expressing it more nearly.

When a wife is caught committing adultery, the punishment inflicted on her and the man is

determined by her husband.

"If he becomes very angry, he may kill either one or both of them. Or he may severely punish his wife and require a heavy payment from the man." (Loma.)

"Generally the man only is punished; he is

usually let off with a fine." (Gio.)

"Formerly the man was bound, flogged, and sometimes also burned with firebrands. In addition to this, he was fined a goat, a gun, and many cloths. Now this fine is fixed at £3/0/0." (Half-Grebo.) In Palepo, if the offense has been committed in the husband's town, he has the right to go into the house of the offender and break all pots and basins, and whatever other vessels he finds there. If the man has no wife, he may go to the house of the man's mother and do the same. He may also demand payment to the extent of two head of cattle or say to the offender, "You give me the dowry price and take her. I no longer want her."

In Sapā, before the Government established control, an adulterer was fined a cow and ten "things" of any type he had or could get. Now he pays, as in Half-Grebo. When adultery was found out sometime after, the fee was the same as when the pair were caught in the act. In Tië the man formerly paid six mats, a sheep, a red rooster, and a cloth. If a son sinned with one of his father's wives, he had to give his father a cat in addition to these items, because the cat was powerful war medicine. If a cat were not given, the son would in all likelihood be killed in war, and if both father and son were to sit down together and eat, the father would die.

Minor Offenses. For ordinary offenses, such as disobedience to the elders or to a chief, making a nuisance of oneself, refusing to help in common tasks, and the like, a person may be seized at the command of a chief, bound, led to the jungle, and there punished in various ways. He may be flogged, or left bound to a tree for a day or longer without food and water, or cold water may be allowed to trickle over him early in the morning. He may be forced to lie face down in the blazing sun in the middle of town until certain green leaves laid on his back have been withered.

Usually, however, penalties are a matter of

paying a smaller or larger fine.

Torture. Gbunde and Loma informants all claimed that tortures were formerly, but are not now, inflicted as punishment for ordinary offenses.

Big warriors, when taken captive, or men who had incurred the disfavor of the leaders of the Poro — especially those who had told Poro secrets to women — were most liable to torture.⁴² (Offenses against the cults are everywhere held to be the worst of crimes.) ⁴³

"A big warrior when captured might first have an ear cut off, then, a few days later, a toe or two or a finger, and so on. When his captors thought they had had enough amusement, they 'finished' him by cutting his throat."

(Gbunde.)

"For offenses against the Poro, the person was sometimes bound and placed where driverants could eat him. Or he was partly buried where these ants could reach him. Sometimes a person was put in a 'pepper-sack.' This is a sort of kinja lined with leaves, inside of which the person was put, together with quantities of capsicum pepper pods beaten fine in a mortar. This burned his skin as though he were in a fire." (Loma.)

THE SLAVE BEFORE THE LAW

Although slavery no longer exists in Liberia, the facts concerning the legal status and the rights of slaves are of considerable historical interest. Slaves had only such property rights as their owners saw fit to allow them. In Loma a slave could make a farm with his owner's permission. The property rights remained with the owner,

[&]quot;See p. 198.
"Vule is "to suffer." Vulezu is "suffering." Ale wo vule is "to carry him to suffer." These are the terms

used in Gbunde for torture.

See p. 271 ff.

but the produce belonged to the slave. A slave's domestic animals were also regarded as his master's property, and the master's consent was necessary before the slave could use them. Similar customs prevailed among the other tribes. In Sapā and Half-Grebo the slave was allowed to make his own farm before helping to make his master's.

A slave could not summon his master, but some of the Gio claimed that he could make appeal to the town chief if he were abused by his master. This was probably true only in exceptional cases, or when the slave was a person who was of more than ordinary consequence.

If a slave had a grievance against any other person, he complained to his master, who took up the matter in his behalf and saw to it that justice was done. The Ti\(\vec{\pi}\) insisted that a slave had the right to summon anyone before the town chief.

"See p. 163.

In Sapa, if a slave ran away and gained the protection of someone in another place, he was lost to his owner and became the property of the person who took him in. Slaves, consequently, were treated well. Their position, actually, was little different from that of members of the family.

In Tie, if a slave shaved his head as a sign of mourning upon the death of his master, he ceased to be property and became a free man. Slaves could also purchase their freedom. Sometimes they were voluntarily set free.

If a slave was a small man-child when his master got him, he was considered to be a son, and as such had the same rights to his master's estate as any of the other sons. (Half-Grebo.)

In Sapā a faithful man-slave was sometimes given one of his father's widows. In Tiē, if a widow called out a slave's name on the day the widows were "given away," the slave could have her.⁴⁴

PROVERBS, RIDDLES, AND FOLK TALES

PROVERBS 1

7HEN we tried to learn from the tribes-W men some of their proverbs we ran into difficulties. Though we explained what we wanted in every way we could think of, they could not understand. Only after we had quoted a southern Cameroun proverb in Mano, under pertinent circumstances, did they suddenly grasp the idea. Our Mano interpreters then explained to the Gio, and they in turn to the Loma interpreters. Thereafter, we heard many Liberian proverbs, but there remained the difficulties of translation. Often the natives themselves could not explain the meaning of particular words, though they knew the significance of the proverb as a whole. Then, too, whereas meaning and application may be perfectly evident to a native, a foreigner with a totally different outlook on life may be unable to make any sense out of it. Some proverbs, on the other hand, correspond closely to our own.

Proverbs are used on all occasions, but especially in talking palavers. There are sayings that express this. "Talking a palaver without proverbs is like spearing animals with a pointed raffia midrib," or "like going on a journey without rice in your bag." Parents make use of proverbs in training their children; husbands,

in reprimanding their wives.

The proverbs we were able to learn we have divided into two groups. In the first, we have placed those aimed at correcting disobedience, rudeness, and other improper conduct. In the second group, are a few of the proverbs used in arguing or discussing palavers.

Proverbs Regarding General Conduct

A Mano parent says to his child who persists in running away or going where he has been told not to:

¹ Proverb is piebo, Mano; piebo, Gio; nana, Sapā. ^{1a} Ba gē gbā le; a die lu na a gi You see dog was there; he went bush to his belly bo wã fill (with) feces, giant-mongoose was there.

pe le kū ne a m3 a wo.le Squirrel anything is to-catch yet it, for its tail is biso-biso. so bushy.

duo se; le lo nyano bli. 3 Gbã a gba Dog it black-deer drive good; it will fat-meat eat.

"Remember the dog that went to the bush to eat feces; there was a giant mongoose there [to catch

"Any animal can catch the squirrel, because its tail is so bushy." 2 In other words, you will get into trouble if you go where you don't belong. The natives consider the ground squirrel a very silly animal, which gives this proverb an added significance.

To warn a child against stealing, the Mano say:

"The dog that is fast on the trail of game gets plenty meat." 3 The meaning is that if the child does his work properly, his parents will give him what he desires; he will not have to steal.

To one who does not keep his house in good repair,

they say:

"You tie your door with palm leaves." A house with weak walls or decayed thatch is poor protection.

Lazy boys and girls are told:

"You and your wife will have separate pots." 4

To a girl this signifies:

If you should grow up to be lazy, then your husband will have to cook for himself if he wants anything worth eating. To a boy: You will never get your wife to cook for you if you don't mend your

"The clever orphan crossed the stream on his father's cow" 5 is a Gio proverb that originated when the Liberian troops were fighting the Gio to subdue them. It means: Sensible people avoid trouble by following established custom. The story is that Paramount Chief Towe, hearing that the troops were coming, and realizing what resistance would mean, took a cow from his inheritance and crossed a stream with it to reach the headquarters of the Government expedition. There he gave the cow to the captain as a goodwill offering. By that act he saved all the towns under him.6 A great many proverbs have their origin in some such incident. We have found the same to be true in the Cameroun.

"Are liars upstream any different from liars downstream?" 7 (Mano) is asked of persons who have lied

about their ability to pay.

4 Lz a gbo le do; i zi le do. Woman her pot is one; your own is one. kpala-kpala ⁸ Tεni a yiа

Orphan who figured-things-out he water crossed da a di ka.

his father his cow on.

⁶ See also p. 405. ⁷Nε mi

bei na-pia $l\varepsilon$ Lie people, you-search-for-them. Are downstreamla do? ones different? Are upstream ones different?

When a person who has a reputation for exaggeration or lying is taken seriously by someone, the Mano proverb is:

"Liars make thieves steal."

Mano children are reminded to brush their teeth with:

"My friend's dog goes to the bush and catches big game; my dog catches a toad." This is to say: If your teeth are good you will eat heartily, but if you neglect them you can eat only soft stuff. A girl can also take it to mean: If you have pretty teeth you can marry a rich man; if not, you will get a poor one.

With the next two proverbs the Mano reply to a

boaster:

"The fly that lights on a corpse is buried with it." 9

"The chicken didn't want teeth; now it has to get along with its beak." ¹⁰ A legend tells that in the beginning when Gala was granting all the animals' wishes, all but the fowls asked for teeth. These asked for a beak, boasting that they could pick up food more easily with it. Later, when they saw how much better the animals with teeth could chew their food, they came back asking to have their beaks replaced by teeth. Gala refused. The proverb was formerly much quoted to those who would be war leaders because someone else had done well.

Even in Liberia there seem to be impatient souls, for the Sapa have a proverb:

"Today is not the only day." (Siā se duwi ne.)

A Sapā told to work faster, often replies:

"One night does not rot an elephant." (Wee duwi ani sone duwi.) 11

The Mano variation of this is:

"An elephant cannot grow in one day." This is also quoted as an admonition to those who work faster than others, or set too fast a pace.

"The bird that hops around in its nest breaks its eggs," says the Mano mother to her child. Do one thing and do it well.

Similarly in Sapa one hears:

"The civet-cat caught a frog but didn't break its legs." () mɔ wɔbɛ bo kilele.) He left it to catch another, and then another and another. When he returned to gather up his prey they had all hopped away.

A woman should know her own mind. If she agrees to marry a man, and lives with him for a while, and then one day tells him, "I no longer like you," the Mano say:

"One day you say the monkey skin beautifies your

"One day you say the monkey skin beautifies your gun, and the next day you say it ruins its looks." ¹² This refers to the hunter's custom of cutting a strip of skin from an animal caught and tying it around his gun as a trophy.

"When a woman makes a pot she makes the bottom for herself" is a Mano admonition to a trouble maker.

Both Mano and Gio say to a man who does not treat his wives impartially:

"A mother who has twins doesn't lie on her side." 18 She could not suckle both of them in that position.

Hospitality and generosity are social virtues most appreciated. A disappointed man, who has gone visiting and has not been fed by his host, says:

"There are no fish where everybody drinks." 14

When a guest gets only part of what he has asked for or expected, the polite way to ask for the rest of it is to say:

"Make a handle." No one ever gives or lends an implement without a handle.

When a Mano man has accompanied some persons of importance, and returns home with a well-fed look, his fellow townsmen will ask him where he has been that he has eaten so much. If he doesn't wish to discuss the matter, he answers:

"When you are close to a big man you learn something about his business." That is: Would it be possible to have been with him and not shared his food?

The Loma remind debtors:

"The guinea fowl may forget; the trap does not."

(Kakalogo i mave, dede le yema.)

"Zā won't grow today," is said by the Mano to one who has done a misdeed. The plant called zā (Costus Dinklagei) does not die, even when pulled up by the roots and cast aside. It will not grow today, but what about tomorrow? is the idea. The memory of the evil deed will live until the injured party can retaliate.

To a beggar the Mano say:

"When goat comes and eats your food you hit him, and he goes away, saying 'Ma,ma!' He will come back

*Ko be ni wa gbā a lo lu a
Our friends for-instance, their dog it go bush it
wi kū; un zı a lo a fo kū.
meat catch; my part it go it toad catch.

• $W\tilde{\epsilon}$ a na gebli $m\tilde{s}$; le o dagie Fly it like corpse can; then people bury (it). 10 $T\tilde{s}$ to $l\epsilon$ $s\tilde{s}$ $m\tilde{s}$ a to

Chicken refused was teeth for; it (was) left its gbo ka.
beak with.

11 The Bulu of the southern Cameroun use the same

proverb in the same situation.

You say me that monkey black skin will gun me kũ. Le ba gei zeni le bu beautify. Then you say on-the-other-hand it gun sie.

¹³Li flia bobe a ka wo se ka.
Woman twins born, she doesn't lie side on.

¹⁴Yi mı zu le mo kmã wa ba.

Water drink road is on, fish not there.

again. When dog comes and you hit him he howls. Everyone hears, but he remains." This means: The dog learns to leave things alone; the goat has no sense.

They also say to a beggar:

"You do the thing that caused fowls to have no teeth." This is another application of the Mano proverb already given in a somewhat different form, 15 and it refers to a different version of the same story. It is told that after Gala had made teeth for man and the animals he was tired, but the fowls kept coming with their demands for teeth. This vexed Gala so much that he finally drove them away.

Another Mano proverb is directed at persons who

do not show proper deference to others:

"I am your crocodile. Why don't you move the water?" This refers to a story about a certain small tree frog that lives in the bit of water in the hollows between the leaf stalks of taro plants. Said this frog to the plant one day: "I am your crocodile. Why don't you make your water splash when I jump in?" This proverb might also be used jokingly by a person trying to get through a crowd.

"The wind that knocks down growing trees will not spare the dry," is a Loma proverb. It is foolish for a small person to feel secure when more important

men have had misfortune.

"It is easy to break things, but hard to mend them," needs no explanation.

Proverbs Regarding Palavers

"Python's nephew is squirrel." This proverb is quoted when a witness, called upon to substantiate a statement, fails to do so. The story is that a dog was out with his master and saw a squirrel in a tree. On the ground below there was a python, which would be in danger if the dog should see it. Now ordinarily a squirrel warns other animals of approaching danger by chattering. But on this occasion the squirrel chose, instead, to jump down on the python's back. Thereupon the dog barked to call his master, who came and

killed both creatures. (Again we see the squirrel as an idiotic fumbler.)

"If you play long in mud it will be well mixed." (Truka boi ba zi e boi zɔ̃.) (Gio.) If one chief does not return a satisfactory decision, take your palaver to another and another until you get one favorable to

"The reason raffia midrib does not stay down in water is that it has a palaver there." (Peke b3g3 e to yi gle ke a s5 eba.) (Gio.) When a man has failed to pay for something he bought, or to return something he borrowed, he does not willingly go near the injured party.

"Walking along an old trail makes you remember old occurrences." (Wa ta zia pio ye zobwue wố zi ka.) (Gio.) People remember one's deeds, just and

unjust, and act accordingly.

"One does not roast palm nuts in a big fire."
(Loma.) Palm nuts are very oily and, therefore, inflammable. This is said to a man who wants to carry
a palaver to a big chief rather than to the head of his
own family.

"An empty rice bag will not stand up." (Bingi zu nyaka lɛ lo ga.) (Loma.) If you are not backed up by an influential person, you cannot prosper.

"Boiled meat is not tough." (Suo ma gli a le zasa.) (Loma.) Though conflicting statements and testimony may make a case seem difficult, it becomes clear after

a hearing

"A bird knows [the state of] its own stomach before it goes to the bush to find a round stick to swallow." (Weniwolo ika bude so kpwoli ba ejeli dobo sokpwo baku sokpwo bole.) (Loma.) This is a caution to a person about to summon another before a chief's court. If the decision should go against him he would be in a predicament.

"When the leopard goes away the antelopes are glad." (Mano.) When the cat's away the mice will

play.

"The dog that won't hunt meat, the people eat."
(Mano.) This is a warning to a man to accomplish what he has been ordered to do.

PARABLES

Sometimes advice is given in parables like the following. This one is recited when a chief cannot meet the demands upon him by securing contributions from his people, and must himself supply what is required:

"Chickenhawk and Lizard were friends.

Lizard was interpreter for Hawk. Everyday Hawk would ask Lizard to look around for game. Finally, all the game was killed. When Hawk asked where he could get his meat for that day, Lizard told him that the supply had 'finished.' Then Hawk caught Lizard."

¹⁵ See above, p. 444.

RIDDLES

Riddles ¹⁶ often begin with a set formula, as they do among the tribes of the southern Cameroun. This consists of a phrase spoken by the propounder, and a response. For example, we heard:

Mano — Propounder: Bakiline:!

Guessers: Laile!

Gio — Propounders: Kpwole!

Guessers: Le!

Sapã — Propounders: Totio!

Guessers: To!

What meaning there was, if any, in these exclamations we were unable to learn. They have no meaning in the Cameroun. They correspond to the "Riddle me, riddle me, rol di ro," and so on, sometimes said by children in our country.

The meaning of the riddles, like that of the proverbs, is often unintelligible to a foreigner though perfectly clear to a native. Sometimes there is a play on words, though not exactly a pun.

Loma interpreters claimed that they and the Gbunde had no formula for riddles. However that may be, we heard them using a formula as an introduction to conundrums and folk tales. This goes:

Gbunde — Narrator: Gbalifii!
Auditors: Gblagisa!
Loma — Narrator: Masa kabli!
Auditors: Au!

In Mano and Gio the formula for folktales, and probably also for conundrums is:

Narrator: Ba sabli! (sing.) Ka sabli! (pl.) Auditors: Hau!

A favorite time for propounding riddles and conundrums and for telling folk tales is on moonlight nights while the people sit out in the open or around the fire after the evening meal. The only time we heard these told in the day-time was in Sapã during the rice harvesting, where the women were working on one side of the field and the men on the other. The general belief is that if one tells riddles in the day-time one's mother, or someone on the maternal

¹⁸ sakpwe, Loma; kılıne:, Mano; kpwole, Gio; nene (when spoken rapidly it sounds more like nne), Sapā. side of the house, will meet with grave misfortune or death.¹⁷

Loma Riddles

RIDDLE: Digi lega ponea digi wo su — "I cannot mark the pot, but I can make the inside."

Answer: Kpwei lega tama bunoga gama — "I cannot talk plenty, but I can tell the truth."

RIDDLE: Ke liniga koe, stezene pa, galebo ava wo koli – "My father goes to war, kills a rooster, at daybreak it crows."

Answer: E ma mazagi ma ye tebena galebo ele a so—"There is a plantain; I cut it; at daybreak it has come up." (This refers to the rapidity with which the inner leaves of plantain or banana shoot up after they have been cut off.) Murder will out.

RIDDLE: Koloua wele nga le glia - "The iron is white but not sharp."

Answer: Nu a la kpwa ele ga zinepo — "The boy is grown but not yet a man."

RIDDLE: Alu gele vuloa nu glia amala — "The moon does not shine in one compound alone."

Answer: Masa gele ta glia su — "A rich man or chief isn't in one town only."

RIDDLE: Zia nu la gbole wẽ ma — "Even a wet mouth wants a drink." Although you have water (saliva) in your mouth, you want a drink as well.

Answer: A nu ga nu ya kwe ye le ba—"A man may have wealth that he cannot sell." You have something in your hand (possess it) but you cannot sell it; e.g., an heirloom.

RIDDLE: Nabu a zi gala zu o zie – "Let fire begin to burn before going to start it in another place."

Answer: Du a fã gega de, pe o ke ga nu bela—"A boy does things for his mother before he does anything for other people." Charity begins at home.

Mano Riddles

RIDDLE: "You must bring cassava for us to eat before we begin kiline: [riddles]."

Answer: "The woman who has borne many children can't say, 'I will bear no more.'"

RIDDLE: "My finger is a new one."

Answer: "Death knows not youth." Death makes no distinction.

RIDDLE: "Inside the fence are plenty of bitter-balls" (Solanum sp.).

Answer: Many children [playing] in a town make the country fine [prosperous]."

¹⁷ Cf. p. 224. The same belief is held by some of the southern Cameroun tribes.

The following is the last riddle propounded before a Mano party breaks up; it needs no answer:

A boy says to his friend, "Cut my hand!" 18 His friend replies, "I will take a cutlass and bweu! [in imitation of the sound of cutting] it is done!" 19

Gio Riddles

RIDDLE: "The upper log is strong."

Answer: "A snake dies; its eyes do not [close]."

RIDDLE: "Very black."

Answer: "The devil sees the trail, though it be very dark."

RIDDLE: Dra tuo - "It drops down."

Answer: Mēti da gro ba—"The black snake cannot climb up a plantain stick."

RIDDLE: Glau glau - "Prove it."

Answer: Wi seze a so du — "An animal with horns cannot go into a small hole."

RIDDLE: Nda a gru le do ke kweiye e ya bo la e me $z\varepsilon$ — "My uncle sits on a chief's stool before he kills a person."

Answer: Geĩ ya gliliya e mε zε—"When the [thorny] geĩ tree pricks a person, it kills him."

RIDDLE: Ma ne le en ka de mgbã en ka ze ke—"I called the child [thinking it was far away]; it answered me at my feet."

Answer: Gli e do de en ka mgbā be anyu englese — "The branches of the tree growing over there [at some distance] reach me here where I stand."

RIDDLE: Wo 20 (sound of falling banana tree).

Answer: Wa gro bo wovî ti — "When a banana tree falls it makes a noise."

RIDDLE: Za Ze e se a dt le ya—"My small sister Ze is fine but she has a bad mouth [offensive speech]."

Answer: "A small stream is fine but it hasn't a good bank."

Sapã Riddles

RIDDLE: Kwo ta bwa o se bwa boe li ne - "Chicken crosses a swamp but gets no mud on its feet."

Answer: Pu daba de se nyemo wó ne – "The gun killed an animal but there was no blood on it."

RIDDLE: Niñbwa neai ne bli kle de o semia duwi—
"Niñwa [name of a local river] flows through our farm; mother caught one fish in it."

Answer: Bwelie djoe duwi—"Bell clapper one." The bell has only one clapper.

RIDDLE: Ny5 ne bla nabwe wɔlɔ li—"Nobody knocks [breaks] wood in town," that is, when do you not break wood in a town?

Answer: Nyō ne bla ku bia di li—"Nobody knocks [breaks] a corpse that is in a hole." When it is a corpse in a hole.

RIDDLE: Bio blele o du fao - "A warrior falls down in battle but takes up his feather headpiece."

Answer: Nramwa blele o du pogwer — "A bunch of palm nuts falls down, and picks up a mass of leaves (thorny spines)."

CONUNDRUMS AND PROBLEM STORIES

The Loma and Gio, and doubtless the other tribes as well, have tales that take the form of a conundrum or problem. Upon hearing the first of these tales in Gio, its resemblance to one familiar in our own tongue was so marked that we were led to believe it had come to them through the medium of some Liberian from the coast. However, we later came upon the same tale in Loma, and we are inclined to believe it indigenous. This one, and another from Loma, we give below.

Our informants and interpreters for Loma were not very clear in distinguishing between proverbs, conundrums, and folk tales, and left us in some doubt as to the correct term for each. As near as we could ascertain, it is kpwele for these conundrums in story form,

and kwiligi, falali, or plegi for the tales. It may be that the interpreters had confused the Loma and Gbunde terms for the same thing. The Mano, Gio, and Sapā make no distinction and have one word to denote all these.

The Loma version of one of these problem stories is as follows:

Blind Man And Lame Man. Blind man carried Lame man to a palm tree.

Lame man said to Blind man, "Climb, cut the nuts." The tree was old and dead, with no top to it.

When Blind man reached the top, he asked Lame man, "Am I near the nuts?"

Lame man answered, "No."

He hitched his climbing harness higher and came down "kerplunk," hitting Lame man. The fall cured both.

¹⁸ Nefu do a gei be le nũ un ko kã – "Boy he says, you, friend, there, come my hand cut."

¹⁰ N i gbie si i ko a kã, 'gbwēu,' a nyã — "I your cutlass take; your hand it cut; 'zip,' it is finished. Who had the stronger medicine? [Which one was responsible for the cure?]

The Gio version of the above is:

Blind Man And Lame Man. There were two men living in a hut, one was blind and one was lame. The lame man saw monkeys passing.

He said, "If I could walk, I would shoot a monkey."
The blind man said, "Get on my shoulder and I will carry you."

Too! [Sound of the gun going off.] He killed the

monkey.

They returned to their hut and the lame man cooked it. He ate it all. When the blind man felt in the pot there was nothing there, only bones. He took the bones and hit the knees of the lame man. The lame man was cured of his lameness. The lame man threw the soup in the blind man's eyes. The blind man received his sight.

Which had the stronger medicine?

The following problem story was considered typical by a Mano schoolboy:

The Deer In Woman's Farm. The woman got no man. She cut farm in [on both sides] the deer trail. One day deer come to the woman's farm to eat the rice in the farm, because the woman cut her farm in the deer trail. Every day the deer comes. One day the

woman asks a man to put a trap on her farm for the deer. The man glad to put trap in the farm. He finished put the trap.

One day the deer come to eat rice. So the trap catch the deer. The woman jump quick to go call the man for the deer. She run back to look for the deer. She takes off her clothes. She takes one mat to put on the ground. She lay on it. She lay down beside the deer. The man run to kill the deer. He see the woman. He catch the woman to make woman palaver [intercourse] with her. The deer go away from the trap.

So the woman and the man get vexed. She say, "You make the deer go 'way." He say, "No, you make the deer go 'way."

Which person make the deer go 'way? We say the woman make the palaver. Some people say the man make the palaver. What you think? It be man, or it be woman?

Here is a Loma problem story:

Who Did The Biggest Stunt? There were three men. The first shot at a rock. The shot passed through the rock and killed an elephant. The second man followed the shot, came to the elephant, cut it up and with it passed through the hole in the rock. The third took a louse from his head, skinned it, and sewed up the elephant in the louse's skin.

FOLK TALES

The Liberian natives, like other African tribemen, are resourceful storytellers. It is not our purpose to discuss and analyze these stories. This has been ably done for Liberia by Dr. Westermann. We merely reproduce forty-two tales heard in the north and in Sapa. They were written down as told by our interpreters. 19

Sound film would be required to do even small justice to these storytellers. No actor we have ever seen could compare with Bo, the singer of Zata (Towai) in Gio. The animated raconteur, surrounded by his eager listeners, who, ever and anon, would take the words from his mouth before he has time to form them; the memory of every minutest movement, gesture, or sound of the animal or individuals figuring in the tale; the promptings, the exclamations, the facial expressions of the auditors—

all these are lost to the reader. To the native, it does not matter how often a tale has been heard. The audience is always enthralled. These tales are their classics.

Our informants claimed that the Gbunde never gather to listen to the storyteller, but that it is their custom to be entertained by a player of the native harp, who nearly always chants historical and traditional lore.

We have divided our material into six groups. The first contains some of the numerous tales about the "Bush devil" (or simply, "Devil"), who is considered the leader of the Poro cult.

The second group concerns mysterious beings, witches, gnomes, and dwarfs. These can do the most hair-raising deeds. We were assured that they had occult powers, greatly feared.

Number 1 in Group I, Number 5 in Group II, and the first three in Group III are as he translated them.

¹⁸ Westermann, 1921.

¹⁹ Those given us by the Reverend Henry T. Miller:

The third and fourth groups deal with the animal that is the personification of cunning. In Mano and Gio this is the spider; in Sapa, the pigmy antelope (Neatragus pibmaeus).²⁰

The fifth group consists of other animal

stories, which are the most numerous.

The sixth group contains stories about people — some of which directly point a moral and may be of foreign origin.

Group 1: Tales of the Bush Devil 21

1. Why Woman Has No Devil 22 (Mano). When God brought Devil to earth he decided to give it into the keeping of Woman, "For," he said, "she can keep things better than Man."

When he got there he found all the people sitting together in one place. He put Devil down before all the people and said, "Wait, I will return soon," and

went away.

While he was gone a small boy came running in and told them that there were plenty of mushrooms down the road. All the women ran down the road after the boy to find the mushrooms. God returned and found only a man watching Devil.

He said, "Oh, the women hold mushroom palaver hard. If I give them Devil they will not hold him good. They will lose him. I will give him to Man. The women will find their 'devil' there where the

mushrooms are."

While the woman were gathering the mushrooms, they saw a tortoise eating one. They brought it back with them, ate the flesh, and began to beat its shell and dance.

Then Man said, "Ah, that is the women's 'devil.'"
Now when Devil comes to town he cries, "Women,
go inside; your mushroom palaver is hard."

2. Why Man Has Big Devil (Loma). Some women came to a stream. No one fished in this stream. Sacred fish lived inside.

One woman said, "I will fish here before I go to town."

The other woman said, "This is a sacred stream, no one fishes here."

She dipped her net into the water and drew out Big Devil. She took it to town.

The people didn't know to whom the Devil should belong, so they said, "We will tie a rope to each hand and men and women will pull. If the rope breaks on the women's side, Devil belongs to men; if on men's side, it belongs to the women."

²⁰ Among the tribes of the Fang group of the southern Cameroun it is the *hinge-tortoise*; among the Basa group of the same region the small gray antelope (Cephalophus melanorheus).

²¹ See p. 268.

It broke on women's side. That is why the men have the Big Devil.

3. Birth Of Devil (Loma). Man shot a very ugly animal. He brought it to town. His wife was pregnant; she didn't want to eat of it lest the baby become ugly like the animal. Her husband did not tell her not to eat of it. She ate. When she bore her child she found it so ugly that she threw it into the creek. It stayed in the creek until it grew up.

This was Devil whom the woman fished out of the

water.

4. Origin Of Poro Cult Marks (Loma). Orphan was very hungry. He went to look for country greens. He came to a place where four paths meet. He followed one and came to a house. The door was shut.

He said, "Dulu" (little child), and the door opened.

On a table in the room he saw some eggs, they were eggs that had been laid by Bush devil. He took one and and put it in his basket. While going back to town he picked more greens, laying them on top of the egg.

When he reached the forks of the road, he met Bush devil, who said, "Where have you come from?

Let me see your basket."

He looked in the basket, saw nothing but greens, so

told the boy to go on.

Orphan ate one-half of the egg for breakfast. He gave all his people some of the egg to eat, they ate and ate until they were full, and still there was egg left. They called Dog. Dog passed Spider.

Spider struck at him, saying, "Where are you soing?

All you do is to eat excrement."

People gave Dog egg, he ate and ate but couldn't eat it all up. They wrapped up what was left in a leaf and tied it around Dog's neck.

When Spider saw Dog, he said, "Why you got that bundle around your neck?" Spider opened the bundle and ate it all up. He said, "Where did you get that sweet thing?"

Next day Spider said to Orphan, "Take me to the

place where you got the egg."

Orphan said it was far, he didn't wish to go, but Spider insisted. They went, picked greens. Orphan did as he had done before. They entered the house. Spider took three eggs. Returning, they met Bush devil. He didn't see the eggs.

Next day Orphan and Spider went again. Spider took six eggs and a lot of rice. Load was heavy, he walked slowly, forgot to pick greens. Orphan went on ahead, passed Bush devil first, a long time before Spider. When Devil saw eggs Spider had, he took him

²² In other words, why the woman has no $m\tilde{a}$ gs, which is symbolic of admission into the central religious practices of various tribes. From these, women are everywhere excluded.

back with him to his house, stood him in a corner and told him that he must die.

Big Devil had small baby. Every time the baby ate, Spider told it to put a big handful of food in his mouth. One day the baby cried. The other devils asked it why it cried.

Baby said, "Spider told me he must die as soon as Big Brother (Big Devil) comes to talk the palaver."

When Big Devil came they told him what the baby had said.

He answered, "Hm, I don't want to hear anything."
He swallowed Spider and gave birth to him again
with marks. Spider was the first to have Poro cult
marks.

5. How the Bush Devil Got His Song (Loma). Spider had just come from getting his marks from the Bush devil. It was hungry time. He met Tortoise. They went to the bush to hunt bush-yams. Tortoise was stronger than Spider, he got all the yams; Spider got none. Tortoise cooked the yams. He called Spider.

Spider said, "This hurts me."

Tortoise said, "What, I bring all chop here and call

you and you say it hurts you?"

They went to the bush again. Tortoise got all the yams as before. Spider hung a raffia-fringe curtain and told Tortoise that "Bush devil was there, he mustn't go there."

Spider said, "I have sense."

He saw a boy, he took an arrow to shoot him.

Boy begged, "Don't shoot me."

Spider said, "If you get me out of my palaver I won't shoot you."

Boy said, "What palaver?"

Spider said, "When Tortoise has cooked food, help me make him go away and not eat, so I have all the food for myself."

Tortoise came with the food, both sat down to eat.

Boy sat in a tree above Spider.

Spider had said to him, "When I sing, 'Motogoloma,' you answer, 'Joh.'"

So Spider sang, "Motogoloma."

Boy answered, "Joh."

Spider said to Tortoise, "Don't you hear the Devil is coming? You must go in the house and shut the door."

Tortoise ran leaving all the food. Spider ate. This happened three or four times.

Next time Tortoise, when he heard the song, grabbed all the food, ran into the house, and shut the door.

Spider said, "Open the door and let me in."

Tortoise refused.

Since this time – even if the Bush devil talks with twenty-five or more voices – when he comes to town to dance at night, always this song, "Motogoloma," can be heard and from the bush always comes the answer, "Job."

6. Woman Who Turned Into A Bush Devil (Loma). Woman lived in the bush. When people passed, she always told them to spend the night with her and she would cook for them.

One time two brothers started out to go somewhere. Their small brother followed. They chased him back. He came again. They chased him. He hid in the bush. When they turned around again there he was. They chased him away again. They reached this woman's town. There he was, right behind them.

They said, "We can't send you back now, lest some-

thing happen to you on the way."

Woman said, "Stay the night and I'll cook for you."
They stayed. They lay down to sleep. When her guests slept, this woman went in the loft where she had medicine that would turn her into a big devil. Then she would go below and eat up her guests. When she stooped over this medicine, she made a sound like Devil does when he dances. Small Boy heard her; his brothers were sleeping.

He called, "Ma, ma." She came down to him.

"What is that noise I hear?"

Woman answered, "Bush devil dancing in town. Why don't you go to sleep?"

He said, "I am so hungry I can't sleep."

She cooked him food.

When she thought he was asleep she began making that sound again, "Who, who."

He called, "Ma, ma."

She came down: "What do you want?"

He said, "What is that noise?"

She answered, "Devil dancing in town."

He said, "That is strange that here in the bush so far away we can hear him. I can't sleep."

Woman, "Why?"

He, "I haven't a good mat."

She gave him a mat.

The same thing happened again. Small Boy called, "I hear the sound right over my head. Sit by me, I am afraid."

She sat by him until she thought him asleep. Then she again went up. Then she changed into Devil and talked with many voices as Devil does, just as if six or more people were talking. He heard. He awakened his brothers and they escaped.

Group 2: Tales of Mysterious Beings

1. Ninegi Resent the Invader (Loma). Man said to his wife, "We will go build a house in the bush." They went and built. Man tapped a palm tree. Every day when he went to get his wine he found the gourd empty.

He said, "I shall hide and see who takes my wine." He hid. He saw two beings covered with hair, they looked like chimpanzees. They were talking together. One said to the other, "I will go inside this man's wife, and when the child she will bear is ready to be married, you turn into a snake and kill him."

Father overheard all that they said.

The child was born and grew up. Father brought a girl for him to marry.

Father remembered the danger and said, "I am going to sleep near my son."

People said, "You can't do that."

Father insisted. Night came. He concealed himself in the house.

In the middle of the night Son said, "I must go outside."

Father said, "Evacuate here and I will take it out in the morning."

Son said, "No."

Father knew that Snake had come and was lying in front of the door. He called to the people of the town to come and bring light. He fought with Son so he wouldn't go outside. People came, found Snake, and killed it. Then they all went to the chief of the town and told him.

2. PE And The Girl (Mano). A man married a woman. Woman became pregnant and bore a baby girl. When she was growing up her mother died. Father took care of her.

Father said, "I see bad luck, this town is no good. My woman died. I will go to a place in the bush now to build my town there."

He went. He cut a rice farm for his daughter. All the rice grew.

When it was ready to cut, he said to daughter, "Go cut rice and bring to me."

She cut the rice, brought it to town. There was only one house in the town. She dried it well in the sun, then beat it in the mortar.

Father was a good hunter. He killed many animals because he had two dogs. One dog was named Gegoblambwa, the other Waidodie. They were not afraid of any animal.

Tyere was a small town near a big cottonwood tree. It had a big hole inside. Pe lived in the hole. He isn't an animal, he isn't a person, he is very black and has hands and feet like person but arms and legs very short.

The man went to hunt animals. He told his daughter to cut rice again and bring it to town.

When he went away, Pe came to the daughter and said, "Come carry me to your farm, I want to see it."

When the girl saw Pe she was very frightened. She lifted Pe, put him in her basket, and took him to the farm.

When she cooked rice to eat, Pe said, "I don't want you to cook rice for yourself, give it all to me to eat."

She cooked rice, she gave it to him to eat. He ate it all.

Pe said, "Carry me to my house before you go to cut rice." She did so.

The girl, named Ko, didn't tell her father about Pe. Her father said, "Tomorrow you go to farm again to cut rice." At daybreak he left to hunt monkeys.

After he had gone, Pe said to Ko, "Come take me to your farm."

She did as before. He asked for rice. She cooked rice, gave to Pe, he ate all of it. Ko didn't eat any. She becomes thin like a spider. Her legs looked like a mosquito's.

Her father asked her, "Why are you so dry? Is

there something you haven't told me?"

She answered, "O my father, there is something. The big cottonwood tree you see there. Pe is inside. O my father, when you go away Pe comes and tells me to carry him to the farm. He eats all my rice, that is why I am so dry.

The father said, "Palaver will finish tomorrow."

At daybreak father put the two dogs in a bag and gave it to Ko to take to the farm with her. She carried the dogs to the farm, put them in one place, and returned to town.

Father said, "I go now to look for game." He went. Pe called, "Come carry me." She did as before. She cooked, she divided the rice between Pe and herself.

Pe said, "No, I want to eat all."

Ko said, "You eat all every day, today I eat some."

Pe said, "You eat, I will flog you."

Pe began to eat. Ko called the dogs by name. Pe ran. Girl told the dogs to follow and kill him. They ran one hour. Pe disappeared. She called her dogs off. Pe had got scratched and bruised on the chest and legs because his arms were so short. Ko told her father that the dogs killed Pe and ate him all up.

Father said, "I will take the dogs hunting." Ko

When Pe saw Father had gone, he came and did as

before. Ko wept.

She said, "Wait until Father passes," but Pe refused.

She carried him. She cooked rice.

He said, "Now you run, I'll be the dogs today and do as you did to me."

She ran, Pe after her. They came to Leopard and his litter.

Ko said, "I want to marry your son."

Leopard said, "Go fetch water for me to bathe, here is a pail."

Pe said, "Ko always gets water for me, but she carries it in her mouth."

She returned, her cheeks full of water.

"Fine," says Leopard, "Here is an axe, chop wood." Pe said, "She always chops wood with her hands." She went and came back with wood.

Leopard said to Pe, "Take this pail, get fire." Ko said, "Pe always brings fire in his mouth."

Leopard sent him to get the fire.

Leopard said, "Make a big fire."

Ko said, "When Pe makes a fire he always uses his

head."

Leopard put Pe's head in the fire and then Pe

Leopard put Pe's head in the fire and then Pe burned up.

3. Pei And Spider (Gio). A goblin lived in the bush. He had a son named Pei who was a great hunter. He killed many animals. He went hunting one day but didn't see any animals. All had been killed. He saw only son of Spider. He killed him and carried him home.

Father said, "Clean him, hang him up to dry. Tomorrow we shall eat him."

Spider went home. He didn't find his son. He grieved.

He said, "I must go to Devil's town. His son, Pei, kills much game."

Spider reached Devil's town. He saw his son hanging in the house.

He said to Pei, "Where did this game come from? It looks like mine."

Pei said, "I didn't know it was your son."

They fought. A banana was hanging in the door of the house. Spider knocked against it and it fell down. He ate it.

Pei said, "O Spider, this palaver between us is finished now. You have eaten my things and I yours."

4. Gnome, The Guardian Spirit Of The Animals (Gio). There was a man who killed many animals by trapping. No animal could escape. One day the animals came to Gnome. They begged him to give them counsel.

They said, "Man is killing all of us." Gnome said, "Build in my town."

They all built in his town and multiplied.

One day Man came to a big river, he crossed and saw a fine big road.

"Oh," he said, "this is a good place. I'll build here." He built a town and brought his people.

When he was making a trap one day, Gnome appeared.

He said, "Come into my kinja."

Man said, "What are you talking about?"

He struck him and struck him but all Gnome said was, "Come into my kinja."

Man took his people and went back to the big town. One day when Man was sitting near his house, Gnome came along.

He said, "Come into my kinja."

Man's three wives picked up sticks and beat him, all three of them at once. The chief of the town called out his men, they took their guns, they shot into the Gnome. Gnome got up. All he said was, "Get into my kinja.

They seized him, put him in a house, set the house afire. Everything burned but Gnome. He came out.

He said, "Get into my kinja."

The men of the town held council. Man began to get dry [thin]. He didn't eat, he didn't eat. They told Man to get into the kinja. If Gnome killed him, good; if not, he might come back. Man got into the kinja. Gnome tied him in, he tied the kinja to his chest and belly and flew off with him.

He alighted in his town. He untied Man.

He said to Man, "Do you know why you have no children. It is because you kill animals. Stop trapping and killing and you will have plenty. Do you wish to be a great warrior? I will show you my medicine, nothing can hurt me."

He took Man to the place where he had found him trapping and showed him the road to his town.

He said to Man, "If you want to have children and be a great warrior you must not kill animals."

Man reached his town, he told his people that Gnome had given him war medicine.

They said, "You lie."

They made war. He killed more than any but he wasn't harmed. He bore many children.

5. The Boy And The Witches (Mano). You all listen. My part goes. It reaches Ps. It reaches the witches, Waw! Witches kill people all the time.

Pe's people tell him, "You are going to see the witches" [if you are not careful].

Pe got up. He said, "I go to see the witches."

He went. He saw cutlasses but no men.

They said, "Pe, where are you going?"

He said, "I am going to see the witches."

They said, "Pe, when you see cutlasses cutting farm like that, you say you don't see the witches?"

He said, "No, I haven't seen witches."

He went. He saw axes, but no men. Pe greeted them.

The axes said, "Pe, where are going?" Pe said, "I go to see the witches."

The axes said, "What, when you see axes cutting trees, do you say you haven't seen witches?"

Pe said, "No."

He went on. He saw hoes hoeing the ground, but no people. Pe greeted them.

The hoes said, "Pe, hello, where are you going?"

Pe said, "I am going to see the witches."

The hoes asked, "What, when you see hoes digging like that, you say you haven't seen the witches?"

Pe said, "No, I haven't seen the witches yet." Pe went on until he came near a witch town where he met a girl carrying water.

She said, "Young boy, where are you going?" Pe said, "I am going to see the witches."

The girl said, "The witches are bad, they don't like anybody to see them; if they see anybody they kill him."

The boy said, "I come to see the witches."

They came to the town.

The girl said, "Climb up to the loft so you can hide under the rice."

He did so. A witch came. The witch lay down until daybreak.

Witch said, "I smell the smell of town people."

The boy said, "I smell the smell of people who live in the bush."

The boy went outside. He told his medicine to

catch a headman in the witches' town so he could talk with him. He told the medicine to let him see the man's hand come from a tree. The hand appeared from the tree. They greeted each other.

Pe said, "You can kill people too much. That is why

I came to see you."

Then he told his medicine to leave the man so he and the man could race. They began to run. They went a long way.

The boy said to his medicine, "Medicine, catch

him." The boy rested.

He said, "Medicine, leave him so we can race."

They began to run. Pe reached his home. Witch went back.

It said, "Pe, I will come here again."

Two days passed. It changed to a woman and came. She said, "Pe, I come to you."

Pe said, "I am glad." They went and lay down. Witch changed form. It took a long knife.

A short stick cried out, "What are you doing?" (The boy had rubbed his medicines on objects about the room so they would protect him. When the things cried out the witch thought people in the town were awake and watching him.)

It lay down. It got up. It took the knife.

The pot stone cried out, "What are you doing?" It lay down.

This went on until morning.

Witch-in-the-form-of-a-woman went to the house of a country-man. She took palm nuts. She carried them to a palm tree and threw them on the ground [to make people think nuts in the tree were ripe and falling to the ground].

At daybreak Witch said to Pe, "Come, let us go, so

you cut our palm nuts." They went.

Pe said to his mother, "If the dogs fight while we are gone, loose them."

Pe climbed the palm tree. Witch changed form.

It said, "Palm tree, come down."

When the tree was low, it took a knife to cut the boy.

Pe said, "Palm tree, become tall." The palm tree became tall.

The two dogs fought.

Small Boy said, "Ma, loose the dogs."

Small Boy took a knife. He cut the rope. The dogs

Pe called them, "Ta La W5" (Orphan), "Nyine M Ba Lo" (Sun Gone Down) - the names of the dogs were these.

The dogs came. They caught Witch. One dog swallowed it. It came up. He caught it again. He swallowed it. It wanted to come up again. Dog rubbed himself on the ground, so held it down. Witch did not come again.

6. The Witch And Her Deeds (Gio). Man married two women. One woman bore two children, a boy and a girl. The other woman was childless.

Man said to Childless Woman, "You don't bear me children, I will not give you a cloth. I will clothe the mother of my children."

Childless Woman decided to bewitch the children. The boy got sick. He died. He went to the town of

spirits.

Woman went to rice farm. She laid the baby in the sun. She went away. Childless Woman came to baby. She changed to a big bird. She carried Baby to cottonwood tree. Mother screamed. Bird flew off.

Boy [the one who had died] saw the bird carrying

Baby.

He said, "This is my sister."

He threw a stone at the bird. He killed it. Witch woman got sickness. She died. All people were glad.

Group 3: The Adventures of Spider

1. How Spider Deceived Tree Spirit And Was Punished (Mano). Everybody listen. My part goes. It comes to Tree Spirit, Bukuziū. Tree Spirit made many traps to catch game. Spider walked in the bush everywhere. Spider came. He saw the trap.

He said, "Who made trap here?" Tree Spirit did

not answer.

Spider came to town. Day broke. Spider went to the bush. He came and found a black deer in the trap.

Spider asked, "Who made trap here?"

Tree Spirit answered, "When you cut up the meat, put the small intestines on the leaves for me."

Spider cut up the meat. It filled a big kinja. He brought it to town. He cooked and ate it. Day broke. Spider went to the bush. The trap caught game again.

He asked, "Whose trap this?"

Tree Spirit said, "Mine. When you cut up the meat,

put the intestines on the leaves for me."

Spider tied the kinja and brought it to town. Every day he did so. Day broke. Spider came. He saw two animals.

Tree Spirit said, "When you cut up meat, you must

put intestines on the leaves for me."

When Spider had cut up the meat he hid in the bush. Tree Spirit came down. He came upon the meat. He

Spider said, "Ya!"

When Spider went back to town he walked lame one leg at a time, with great effort as if crippled in the back. People say Spider brings that kind of sickness to people.

2. How Spider Causes Old People To Lose Their Teeth (Mano). Everybody listen. My part goes. It comes to Spider. Spider walked in the bush. He saw a palm tree. He climbed. He cut the palm nuts. When he cut the nuts, he came down. He picked up the palm nuts. He carried them to the place where there was water. He sat down. He ate the palm nuts. He ate until he was tired. He put water in his mouth. He spat it out. When he did so, all his teeth came out. He came to town.

He said, "Let us go the bush tomorrow so we can eat palm nuts."

Day broke. They went.

Spider said, "Climb the tree, throw the nuts on the ground."

They climbed. They threw the nuts down.

Spider said, "Come down."

They came down. They picked up the palm nuts. They carried them to the water.

Spider said, "Eat."

When they had eaten, Spider said, "Put water in your mouths."

When they had put water in their mouths, Spider said, "Spit it out on the ground."

They spat. All their teeth came out. Spider is the one who has made all old people lose their teeth.

3. Spider Is Responsible For The Custom Of Beating Women (Mano). Everybody listen. My part goes. It comes to Spider. It reaches Big Bird. Big Bird bites. [He is dangerous.] He sits on cola trees. He has big pepper. Spider comes. When he comes he climbs the cola tree. Big Bird takes pepper and puts it on Spider's eyes. He falls down, he falls down to the ground. He lies down there a little while. He gets up. He goes to town.

He tells Black Deer, "Come, let us go, so we can pick the cola nuts." They go.

Spider says to Black Deer, "Climb the tree."

Black Deer climbs. Big Bird takes pepper, he throws the pepper in Black Deer's eyes. Black Deer cries. He comes up. He falls down. Spider cuts a short stick. He beats Black Deer. Black Deer begs him. Spider kills Deer. He carries him to the bush, Spider puts the meat down. He cuts it up. He cooks much. He eats. He comes.

He says, "Bird, thank you."

Spider goes home.

He says, "Red Deer, let us go pick cola tomorrow." Day breaks. They go.

He says, "Red Deer, climb the tree."

Red Deer climbs. Big Bird takes pepper and throws in Red Deer's eyes. He cries. He falls down. Spider carries a short stick. He beats him. Red Deer begs him. Spider kills him. He goes to the bush, he goes far in the bush. He puts the meat down. He cuts it. He cooks some. He eats. He comes.

He says, "Big Bird, thank you."

Spider goes home.

He tells [pigmy] Antelope and his friends, "Come, let us get cola nuts tomorrow."

Day breaks. They come.

He says, "Climb the tree."

Antelope says, "Spider, this cola belongs to you, you must climb."

Spider says, "I? I am a big man. You must climb the tree."

Antelope said, "No."

Spider says, "If people tell you to do any work you will not do it, your head is hard."

Spider climbs. He goes to Big Bird. Big Bird takes pepper. He tries to put it in Spider's eyes. Spider falls down. Big Bird falls down. Antelope comes and kills Bird.

Spider says, "Antelope, you do bad palaver, you kill

Big Bird."

He digs hole. He puts Big Bird inside hole. He fills in dirt. Spider and Antelope go to town. When they reach town, Spider finds he has left his cutlass in the bush.

He says, "Antelope, I left my cutlass in the bush, I

go to get it."

He takes Big Bird. He sees cutlass. They go back to town. Spider makes some rope [from palm leaves] and ties it to his foot.

He says to town people, "Let us go play."

He says to his wife, "When Big Bird is cooked, you must pull the rope."

Two boys cut the rope. They eat all the bird. They tie the rope again. They pull the rope. Spider comes.

He tells his woman, "Bring me rice."
Woman says, "What! you ate the rice and you say

I must bring it again?"

Spider beat the woman. Woman cries. People come. Woman says, "Spider said I ate the bird, that is why he beat me."

People said, "Spider, you do bad. Why did you not bring Big Bird to the chief?"

The people say at first [i.e., "in the old days"] no one beat women, but Spider started the custom.

4. Spider Defies Fire And Loses His Wings (Mano). Dry time. All people hungry. No chop to eat. Fire got food. He make rice kitchen, put rice in kinja, hang it up in rice kitchen. One tree Wu, very tall tree. Fire climb up Wu. He look down on rice.

He say, "If I see somebody steal my rice, I burn

him."

Spider come. He see rice. He is very, very hungry. He say, "Oh, I see good place. I see food everywhere. I eat some before I carry off kinja of rice."

Spider take banana and plantain. He eat. He take two kinja rice. He begin to bring outside. Fire see him. Spider run fast. Fire run.

Fire say, "Give me my rice."

Spider say, "No."

Spider go waterside. He see Crawfish hole. Water inside hole where Crawfish lives.

Spider said, "Crawfish, open your house for me."

Spider carried rice inside.

Spider said, "I have rice to eat now. If we have fire, we cook rice, we eat."

When they cook, it finish. Spider said, "This first rice I eat; I cook second time, we both eat."

Spider eats all.

He said, "I go get more rice. If I bring it, you eat."

Spider go, see rice, take two kinja rice again.

Fire see him, he say, "O man, you carry my rice again, I go' flog you today."

Spider run fast. Fire follow him.

He say, "Today I go see where you carry my rice." Spider say, "O Crawfish, open the house for me." Spider go inside, he cook this rice.

He say to Crawfish again, "Let me eat this rice, when

I bring again, you eat."

Spider eat the rice. When rice finish, he go again to look for rice. He take one kinja rice. He run fast. Fire see Spider.

He say, "Spider will eat all my rice." He followed. When Fire see water he scared. He go back.

Spider do as before. He take one kinja again. Fire say as before. When Spider came to Crawfish door, saw door was locked.

He [Crawfish] say, "Every day you say you bring rice for me to eat, you eat it. This time I lock the

door."

No place for Spider to go. Fire come. He burn. When Spider go to bush, Fire burn there. Fire catch Spider. Spider had two wings first. Fire burned off his two wings. That is why Spider hasn't wings any

5. Spider Shows Mercy And Is Rewarded (Gio). Spider made a trap and caught a bird.

When he wanted to kill Bird, Bird said, "Don't kill

me. I'll do you good."

He let Bird go. He caught Squirrel in his trap. Much hunger was in the land. He took stick to kill Squirrel.

Squirrel said, "Don't kill me. I'll do you good."

He let Squirrel out of the trap. Squirrel said, "Hold my tail tight."

He took Spider where there was plenty ripe food, plantains, bananas.

Spider said, "Stop, I have reached the place I want

to go."

Squirrel said, "No, I will carry you to my people." While Squirrel was talking, Spider cut a bunch of plantains and ate it. Then they passed on and reached a palm grove. All palm nuts were ripe.

Spider said, "This is the place."

Squirrel said, "No, I will carry you to my people." At last they reached Squirrel's home. All Squirrel's people were gathered.

They said to Spider, "Well, Spider, are you the one

who saved our father?"

Spider said, "Yes."

Squirrel's people gave Spider plenty food and a cow.

6. How Spider Made A Fool Of Himself (Gio). Everybody listen. My part goes. It comes to Spider. Spider went on a journey. He met Zawie. He was a rich man.

23 There is a variation of this version in which Fire

He said, "Spider, you are a great man, let me kill a cow before you pass." Spider agreed.

When they were going to kill the cow, like tomorrow, in the town was a large billy-goat. It had a large basin of rice with many kinds of meat.

Billy-goat said, "If anybody will wrestle with me and throw me down I will give him this basin of rice."

Spider said, "I am a good wrestler. I will wrestle with you."

Zawie said, "I am going to kill a cow for you. Why you make yourself small [appear as of no importance] because of this little food? Have patience."

Spider said, "Tomorrow is too far away. I shall eat

this rice."

He wrestled with Goat. Goat threw him down so hard he broke one arm and one leg.

He cried, "Oh, my leg!"

Zawie said, "No one touch him. I offered him a cow and he wouldn't wait for it, he chose to be small."

Group 4: Adventures of Nemo, the Pigmy Antelope

1. Nemo's Revenge (Sapã). Nemo went away on a journey. His wife stayed in town. One night Chimpanzee knocked at her door.

She asked, "Who knocks?"

He said, "Your husband. Open the door."

She said, "The voice of my husband is not big." She

didn't open the door.

Chimpanzee went to Bauwɛ̃ɔ̃ [doctor] to get medicine to make his voice small like Nemo's. He told him to take iron, put in in fire leave it until it is red hot, then swallow it. Chimpanzee took iron, made it red hot, but to swallow it, he was afraid. He waited until it was cold, then he swallowed it.

Next night he went to the door. He knocked.

Woman said, "Who knocks?"

He said, "Your husband. Open the door."

His voice was still big so she didn't open the door.

Chimpanzee again went to Bauwɛ̃ɔ̃.

Bauwē5 said, "I'll fix medicine for you." Himself he heated the iron red. He gave it to Chimpanzee to swallow. At night Chimpanzee went to the door. He knocked.

Woman, "Who this?"

Chimpanzee, "Your husband. Open the door."

His voice was small like Nemo's. She opened the door. Chimpanzee killed her. He took out her stomach and threw it in the drinking pot. She had two children. There was a little bird on the door sill, Samatiā was its name.

Husband came home; he said, "Open the door."

No answer. He burst open the door.

Bird said, "Look in drinking pot. All red."

Nemo went to Bauwe5.

kills Spider.

He said, "Who killed my wife?"

Bauwe5 said, "A herd will pass by. The last in the herd will be the one who killed her."

Nemo made a spear. He hid in the bush. Chimpanzees came along.

Last one was singing, "I killed Woman." Nemo killed him. Chimpanzees drove Nemo away.

Chimpanzees lay down to sleep under a tree called kotu. Nemo climbed up in tree. He threw fruit down.

Chimpanzee said, "I can't go to sleep."

Nemo threw fruit down three times. Chimpanzees went to sleep. Nemo came down. He cut the nuts. He put a piece on each side of their tails. That is why Chimpanzee has ko [the callous sitting pads] on each side of tail.

2. Nemo Is Outwitted By Tortoise (Sapā).24 Tortoise and Nemo ran a race. Tortoise called his family. He painted their faces with white clay. He painted them all alike. He placed them along the path, the last one at the end of the course.

Nemo said, "Come on, let us race."

Nemo ran, "wu-wu-wu-." He stopped.

He said, "Where is tortoise?"

Tortoise said, "I am here. You haven't run."

Nemo ran again. He reached a deserted place. He looked around.

He said, "Where is Tortoise?"

Tortoise said, "Here I am."

He ran again. He stopped to catch his breath.

He said, "Where is Tortoise?"

Tortoise answered, "Here I am."

He ran on until his mouth foamed; he panted, "Where is Tortoise?"

Tortoise said, "Here I am.

Nemo could run no farther.

3. Nemo And Elephant (Sapa). Nemo and Elephant went on a journey.

Nemo said, "We must take cutlass."

Elephant said, "No."

Nemo said, "How will you dig sweet potatoes?"

Elephant said, "I will show you."

Nemo said, "If we see a plantain, how will we cut it?"

Elephant said, "I will show you."

They came to some sweet potatoes. Elephant dug them with his foot. They came to plantain. Elephant dragged plantain down with his foot. Rain came down.

Nemo said, "How can you build shelter without cutlass?"

Elephant pulled trees toward each other, and they sat down in the shelter until the rain stopped.

Then Elephant lay down in a small stream so that the

²⁴ This Sapa version is like that of the Bulu tribe of the southern Cameroun. Among the Half-Grebo, the same story is told of the *yawe* (black deer) and the water was dammed and dried up. Nemo picked up fish. They took fish to town.

One day Nemo said to his wife, "Let us go to the bush"

She said, "Why do you go without your cutlass?"

He said, "I don't need a cutlass."

They came to some sweet potatoes.

Wife said, "How will you dig sweet potatoes without a cutlass?"

He began to dig with his foot like Elephant. He broke his leg. He then laid himself down in the stream to dry it so his wife could pick up fish. He was so small the water carried him away.

4. Death Of Nemo (Sapā). Nemo was hungry. He came to a farm.

He said, "My, how big the cassava is!" He fell down and died.

The sun shone. The rain fell. Nemo came to life. He remembered how he had died. He saw Deer looking for food.

He called, "O Deer, come, eat."

Deer came, saw the cassava, said, "My, how big the cassava is." He fell down and died.

Nemo carried him to town. He and his wife feasted. He went back to the cassava. He called other animals. He called Bushgoat. He called Pig. They all said the same thing and died. At last Goat came from town. He said nothing. He ate and ate.

Nemo said, "Why don't you say something?"

Goat ate and ate until he had eaten all the cassava. Only a very little was left.

Nemo in disgust said, "Why don't you say, 'My, how big the cassava is!"

Then Nemo fell down dead. Goat took him to town and ate him up.

Group 5: Tales of Animals

1. Leopard, Black Deer, and Dog (Loma). Black Deer said to Dog, "Let us go walking." They came to house of Leopard. Leopard's baby was very sick.

Black Deer said, "Dog has medicine to make your baby well."

Leopard asked Dog.

Dog said, "I have medicine but I have no horn to put it in."

Leopard asked, "What kind of horn?"

Dog said, "Black Deer horn."

Black Deer ran, Leopard followed him to kill him and cut off his horn. Dog ran away to town.

2. Why Cow Hates Dog (Loma). In the days when People and Dog talked together, there was a big feast. Dog went to get plenty rice and meat to eat. He ate but he didn't sacrifice. When he came back to town he met Cow near the town.

55 (quail), except that 55 does not paint his shell or the shells of his family.

Cow said, "Did you have good luck?"

Dog said, "You are a fool. If you go to the feast they will kill you. I got a big bone at the feast."

Cow was very angry. From then on he has hated Dog.

3. Origin Of Cat (Loma). Boy took care of rice farm for his father.

Every time he cooked rice, Devil came and said, "Scrape the pot, put all in my mouth."

Boy became thinner and thinner. He went to town and told his father. A brave little boy was in the town. He went to the farm and hid. He took his dogs with him.

Devil came. He said as before, "Scrape the pot, put all in my mouth." Boy did so.

Devil said, "I will plant some rice for you."

He scratched the ground a little in one place, then went to another place. He left the ground between, he didn't scratch it, which is no way to plant rice. The little boy who was hiding didn't like this.

The Devil's skin was loose. When he stooped over and scratched the ground, it lay on the ground. The brave boy came and pinned the skin down to the ground with bamboo pins. Devil moved. He tore his skin. He went away. He met Leopard.

Leopard said, "How did you tear your skin?"

Devil was afraid. He ran, Leopard after him. Devil reached his town where other devils were.

He said, "Dig hole quick."

They dug. Leopard came and fell into the hole. Leopard had left his cubs. Little Boy took one of these cubs to town with him. That is where the cat came from.

4. The Origin Of The Chimpanzee (Loma). Two Dopai (red deer) heard there was to be a big feast in town. They took off their skins and turned into women. A man was up a palm tree getting palm wine. He saw this. He saw where they hid their skins. When they went away, he took their skins and hid them in the loft of his house. When he reached his town he asked these women to marry him. They agreed. They could not find their skins.

Man became big chief. The two women became pregnant. One day they went to the farm to plant rice. One of these two women the chief had made his headwoman. She went to fetch rice from town; the rice in the farm was finished. She climbed up to the loft. She looked around. She found their skins. She hid them in the bottom of the rice bag. When she was on the road to the farm she took them out of the bag. She hid them in the water in the creek. She told the other woman. When they finished planting rice they went to the creek. They put on their skins again. One bore a son, the other a daughter.

²⁵ In the Loma language, gori le means "that is a chimpanzee." Perhaps Hanno's "gorillas" were chim-

The animals said, "These children don't look like us and they don't look like man." So they called them Gori (chimpanzee), child of animal and man.²⁵

5. Why Leopard Cannot Climb And Jump Like Monkey (Loma). Leopard got up. He went to Monkey.

He said, "Make medicine for me so that I can climb and jump like you do."

Monkey said, "I'll give you part today. You take it with you and keep it with you all night. Tomorrow bring it with you and I will give you the real medicine"

Monkey took a small monkey, put him in a basket and covered him up. He told him not to make a sound but to listen to everything Leopard would say. Leopard took the basket.

At night Leopard said to his wife, "Tomorrow you will have seven monkey heads. Monkey is going to give me medicine so I can climb and jump like they do."

Next morning the little monkey told Monkey all the things Leopard had said. Monkey gave Leopard medicine, not the real medicine, only the kind so Leopard could jump a little.

6. Why Gbea People Chose Chimpanzee As Their Totem (Gio). It was hungry time [famine] in the Gbea country.

Chimpanzee said, "I am hungry, can't sleep." He saw a cola tree in the bush. He climbed it. Many cola nuts fell to the ground. Next morning he saw the cola nuts on the ground.

He said, "Last night when I was hungry, I saw nothing to eat. I won't eat cola this morning."

The Gbea people had cola as tien [taboo], so when they saw that Chimpanzee didn't eat cola they thought it his tien, too. That is why they don't eat Chimpanzee, but have him as their tien.

7. Why Kāu (bush hen) is Bald-headed (Half-Grebo). Tane (fly) is the brother of Kāu. Every hand is against Tane. When Tane is killed, Kāu shaves his head. Kāu went to Nyesoa.²⁰

He said, "My brothers, the flies, die all the time, make my head so it will be bald."

That is why to this day Kau hasn't feathers on his head.

8. Rooster's Penalty For Not Heeding Hen's Advice (Half-Grebo). A man was lying on a mat beside the fire. In a corner, a hen and a rooster were sitting. In the loft overhead, two rats began to fight.

Hen said to Rooster, "Go up and stop them."

Rooster said, "I am not a rat. Why should I trouble about their palavers?"

Just then one of the rats fell down and bit the man who was lying on the mat. He became very sick. Two

panzees after all.

26 See p. 317.

days passed. He went to Deire (medicine man). Deire told him to kill a fowl.

When he went back home, he said, "I cannot kill this fine hen, for when I have a hen like this I always prosper, I will kill the rooster."

Hen came to Rooster, she said, "If you had stopped those rats from fighting you would not have to die now."

9. Tortoise And Black Monkey (Sapã).27 Tortoise and Black Monkey were friends. Monkey came to visit Tortoise. Tortoise called to his woman to bring the

He said to Monkey, "Go wash your hands."

Monkey washed them, he washed them; he couldn't get them white. Tortoise ate all the rice.

One day Tortoise went to Monkey's town. Monkey's wife brought rice to them. She set it on a country stool.

Monkey said to Tortoise, "I always eat my rice from

a country stool. Climb up."

Tortoise tried to climb, he couldn't. He tried to reach the food but it was too high up. Monkey ate it

10. Why Animals Live In The Bush (Sapā). At one time all the animals lived in town. Whenever a deer left town, Leopard followed and killed it until there were very few deer left. One day Nemo hid in the bush. He saw Leopard kill Deer. He told Elephant. Elephant sent Leopard to get water from the stream in a basket. When he was gone, Elephant told all the animals. They all ran to the bush. When Leopard came back he found none. He ran after them. Since that time the animals all live in the bush, distrustful of each other.

11. Death Of Leopard (Sapa). Dog came to Leopard, he said, "Give me food to eat."

Leopard said, "Go to your mother and father."

Dog saw a gourd and a palm tree. He made palm wine.

Leopard said, "Give me to drink."

Dog ran. Leopard ran after him and tried to kill him. Leopard met Bush Goat. He tried to kill him. All the animals met together.

Leopard came. Snake stung him on his cheek. Chimpanzee broke his leg. Elephant stepped on his back and finished him.

12. Elephant And Goat. One time Goat say to Elephant, "I can eat more past you."

Elephant say, "No, you small. Me, I got big belly. You can't eat more than me. If you eat more than me, you can chop [eat] my ear."

Goat say, "Yes? Let us try."

So Goat and Elephant go to bush together. Elephant chop big palm nut tree, chop this, chop that, all

day. He chop and chop so his belly get full. Goat chop small leaf, cut it small, small. He eat . . . [imitative sounds].

Night time, Elephant say, "Let us rest." Goat lie down and chop small leaf.

Elephant say, "Goat, you eat more past me, I scared you come chop my ear, like I tell you first time."

Now when Elephant walk on the road and hear Goat chop . . . [imitative sounds], he scare! He go away. He fear Goat come chop his ear.

Group 6: Tales of People

1. Small Boy And His Heritage (Loma). There were two big chiefs in the country. One of them died. They divided his goods among his children. Only a cola tree was given to the youngest son.

Small Boy said, "What! Father was so rich and I

get only a cola tree?"

He went to the tree. He picked off all the cola nuts. He tied them in a palm-frond kinja and went to live in the other chief's town. There colas were very

The boy met snake on the path, he said, "O Snake, where are you going?"

Snake said, "My mother is very sick. I go to hunt for a cola nut to make sacrifice."

Small Boy opened his kinja, he gave Snake a cola nut. Then he tied up his kinja; he went on his way. He went, he met Ant.

He said, "O Ant, where are you going?"

Ant said, "My mother is sick. I go to hunt cola to make sacrifice."

Small Boy gave him a cola nut. He met Alligator. He gave him a cola because his mother was sick. He met Wind. He gave him a cola so he could sacrifice. He came to the town of the chief.

The town-crier said to the chief, his uncle, "This is a bad boy, we must kill him. Himself a small boy,

where did he get all these colas?"

Small Boy said, "You know the chief, my father, he died. They divided his goods. They gave me the cola tree. I picked off all the colas and have come to give them to you."

Chief said, "Before we kill him, I must try one thing."

There was a crooked tree near town.

He said, "Take this axe and fell that tree. If it falls into the town, you die."

Boy went to tree. Wind whispered to him to wait until the sun set. Boy told Chief. He agreed.

Boy chopped, kpwak-kpwak-kpwak. Tree fell into the forest. Day broke. Chief saw.

Town-Crier said, "What! this is small boy and that crooked tree that couldn't fall any place but toward town! He must be a bad boy, he must die."

"The Half-Grebo have this same story, as have the

Bulu of the southern Cameroun.

Chief said, "We shall try another thing first."

He took a hamper of rice, he scattered rice all over his farm.

He said to Small Boy, "Bring all this rice back to me in the morning."

Boy went. He thought, I shall surely die. How can I pick up all this rice?"

Ant came. He said, "I will help you. Come early in the morning." Ant picked up the scattered grains.

He brought all the rice back to the chief.

Chief made another trial. He threw a ring, his own medicine ring, in the deepest place in the river. Alligator brought it up to the boy. Then Snake bit Chief's favorite daughter. She died.

Snake said to boy, "Tell Chief this: 'Tear Town-Crier apart, take a piece of him and hold to your daughter's nostrils. She will become alive.'"

They said, "You lie," but they did so.

The girl stood up. The town-crier was dead. The chief divided his town in half. He gave the boy one part.

2. A Companion And How He Helped His Friend In Trouble (Loma). Two men make friendship. They both married and went to live on the same farm. Their wives became pregnant. One bore a boy, the other a girl. They grew.

Parents of the girl said to the boy, "If you have anything, you may give it to our daughter, because she is

yours."

This boy was very poor.

One day a rich chief came to this farm. He saw the girl. He wanted her for his son; she was very beautiful.

Her people said to her, "Stay here with your hus-

band. He is poor but he has enough."

The chief came with pockets bulging with money. He made a big feast in town — plenty meat, plenty gin, plenty dancing. Girl ran away with the son of the chief.

The father of the girl said to his companion, "I have much trouble."

The companion had plenty sense. He went to Alligator. He took his gall-bladder. He came to the town of the chief. The son had made the girl his chief cook. She finished cooking rice. She stepped outside. He cut the gall-bladder on the rice. Girl carried the rice to the son of the chief. He touched rice to mouth and fell over dead.

Her father's companion said to her, "Flee to your town or the people will kill you."

He took the spirit [body?] of chief's son, he carried it to where two men were cutting honey in a

They called, "Don't stop here, whoever eats this honey will die."

One man came down from the tree. He saw honey on the mouth of the chief's son.

He called to the man in the tree, "We have killed the chief's son."

Companion appeared. He said, "Give me plenty honey, I won't tell anybody."

He killed a bush pig. He tied the spirit of chief's son in it, in a hamper. He threw it into the chief's compound. (Chief had said, "If I see any person in my compound I will shoot him.") Someone opened the hamper. The town-crier saw the spirit. He shot, thinking it was a bush pig. Next morning they found it was the chief's son who had been shot.

3. The Twins, Zine And Sele (Loma). There were twins, Zine and Sele. They are rice from a bowl. The bowl broke. Their mother then put the rice in a pan. They are from that. The pan broke. They are from a pot. The pot broke. They had a little sister. The Nyanwole (goblin) had caught her.

The mother said to the twins, "If you are so strong, why don't you go to the bush and bring back your

sister?

They went. They found their sister in Nyanwole's house.

She said, "You must hide or he will eat you."

They climbed up to the loft.

Nyanwole came, he said, "I smell persons. Is there anyone here?"

Zine answered, "I am here."

Nyanwole laughed.

Zine clapped her hands, a harp began playing. Nyan-wole began dancing. He danced and danced until they were far away. He looked around for them. He didn't see them. He ran after them. They placed a rock on the path, it became a big hill. Nyanwole went back to the house to get a knife. He cut the rock in two and followed them. He came nearer and nearer. They spat on the ground, a river gushed forth and separated them from him. He ran back for his knife. He cut the river in two and followed them. They made a big fire. He cut that in two. Then Zine turned into a big dog. She bit him so he died. They went back to Nyanwole's house for their sister. They took her and brought her back to her mother.

4. A Foster-Father And A Real Father (Sapā). A boy was living with his foster-father. He was a mighty hunter. One day he thought he had killed an elephant; it was a man. He told his foster-father.

Foster-father said, "Don't come to me if the palaver catches you. Leave my town."

The boy left and went to the town of his real father. He told his troubles to his real father. Father said, "Do you see those cows? They are all mine. If the palaver catches you I will give them all, if necessary."

5. The Chief's Sons And His Bad Headwoman. Long ago there lived two rich chiefs. One lived in big town near the river. This chief had many sons. The other chief had no sons. An old man lived in the bush with his wife. They had one child, a girl. She was very ugly. He gave her to the chief, who had no sons, for his wife. The chief took the girl. He sent her to his headwoman who was very bad. One night the chief sent for the girl to come to him to sleep. From that time she became pregnant.

The headwoman did not want her husband to have a son. When it came time for the baby to be born, she took the girl to the village. When the baby was born, it was a boy. The headwoman put the boy in a box and threw the box into the river. She took a small kitten to the chief and told him his wife had given birth to a cat instead of a man. The chief said he had never heard of a woman giving birth to a cat before. He cried and mourned.

The chief who lived on the bank of the river had a fisherboy who caught fish with a net. The box lodged in his net. The next morning he found the box, opened it, and carried the baby to town.

He said, "Father, I saw a baby in a box in the water this morning."

The chief gave the baby to a good woman to care for. When the baby was twelve years old, the mother of the baby in the other town was again pregnant.

The bad headwoman again took the mother to the village for her confinement. Again the baby was a boy. Again she put the baby in a box and put it on the water. This time she took a puppy to the chief and told him the woman had borne him a dog.

The box again caught in the net. The boy carried the baby to the chief who gave it to the same woman to raise for him.

The two boys grew to manhood. The chief who was their real father went to visit the chief on the river bank. He told the chief he had bad luck—no sons were ever born to him.

The river chief knew the truth about the babies in the box but he did not tell the other chief about it. He asked the chief whether his woman had ever had a baby.

He answered, "Only a cat."

The river chief advised him to ask the mother about this strange thing.

The chief asked his wife. She said that the midwives had tied cloth over her face but that she had heard a new baby cry — not a cat. They took a box to the farm by the river.

Now the river chief had known this for a long time. He told the two young men, "Tomorrow I will send you to your real father, the chief of this other town. Go, but tell him nothing." He told them who their mother was, but charged them to tell no one. He sent two messengers with the young men.

When the other chief saw his own sons, he cried with grief that he had no sons of his own, thinking these were sons of the river chief. He sent them to the headwoman's house to eat.

When the boys came into her house, she beat the ugly woman who was their mother and drove her from the house, saying, "You see these handsome young men? This is no place for an ugly woman to sit."

The younger of the sons wanted to reveal the truth, but the older one said, "No, let us go."

They went to the chief and said, "We don't want to stay here. We want to go to our father."

They went back. The chief asked them, "Did you see anything there?"

They said, "No, we saw nothing there."

The next day the river chief sent messengers ahead to tell the other chief that they were coming to visit him. He went, taking with him the fisherboy who had found the boxes and the woman who had raised the boys.

When he reached town he asked the chief to call all his people. When all came, it was the day now called Sunday morning.

The river chief said. "Bring a fine cloth for this my headwoman, and a gown for my fisherboy." Then he asked for the ugly girl and the wicked headwoman. The headwoman had tied the ugly girl and put her up in the loft, telling her she did not want strangers to see such an ugly girl in her house.

When they called both these women, she loosed the girl and beat her as they entered the court, saying, "I don't want this ugly girl following me."

The chief from the river said, "Bring her. I want to talk to her."

Then he said to the chief, "See these two boys? They are your sons. This ugly girl is their mother. This headwoman is bad. She put the babies in boxes and threw them into the river."

The headwoman admitted her guilt. They burned her alive. The ugly girl became headwoman. All the people were glad because their chief had sons.

If this tale had not been related by a bush boy who had no contact with the outside world, we would think that he had patterned it after some European story.

NATIVE CHARACTER TRAITS

THE general impression made upon us by the Liberian tribes with which we came in contact was that they were a superior people compared with some of the other tribes of West Africa. We shall attempt in this chapter to summarize briefly their outstanding characteristics. It must be remembered, however, that until quite recently the various tribes have lived in comparative isolation, and that, consequently, tribal differences are considerable.

Tribal Differences. Generally speaking, the peoples of the north (exclusive of the Ge and Gio) and the Half-Grebo of the southeast (especially the Webo and the Nikiabo clans) appeared to us to be the most self-confident, reserved in manner, and dignified in bearing. They were unapproachable, uncommunicative, always on the alert lest they reveal something forbidden to "foreigners." The children were obedient, respectful, quiet, and industrious. We found the Gio and Ge, and the tribes of the southeast, except the Half-Grebo, more independent, free, and democratic. At times they were boisterous. The children were less obedient, and inclined to be noisy.

The Gio, as we have shown elsewhere,² are naturally exuberant and fun-loving, with superior talents in music and dancing. From the Firestone Plantations we got another slant on this tribe. For cutting and tearing down anything, the Gio were said to be best. For building, the overseers preferred the Mano.

"The Gbunde and Loma people are made of sterner stuff than the other tribes," Lieutenant Walker of Zigida said, "They are perhaps the hardest working of any, not making excuses and running around the country like some people." At Pandamai (Gbunde) the chief was said to be the hardest worker in the community. He himself always set the pace for farm

The Palepo were said by officials to be the most disobedient. They would rather pay fines than do as the Government required. For example, when they were told to make a certain piece of road or pay five pounds fine, they paid

the fine. Another time they were told to come to Nyaaka, their district headquarters, for a certain conference or pay a fine. They paid the fine and stayed in their villages.

When we were there in June, 1928, we found everyone emaciated from lack of food. The old rice was all gone. All we saw brought from the gardens in the evening was "palm cabbage." ⁴ Possibly some of their rice had gone to pay fines, but they had a reputation among their neighbors for being improvident and lazy.

The Senses. Primitive Negroes are less sensitive to pain than white people, as anyone may observe by watching them pick up live coals; take hot pots from the fire with bare hands; or step on thorns, pull them out, and continue as though nothing had happened. Extraction and chipping of teeth, terrible cicatrizations and mutilations, all for "beautifying" the body, show an indifference to pain inconceivable to us. After floggings of ten to twenty-five lashes, they get up and walk off. An English lieutenant who had himself lashed experimentally fainted at the fourth lash.

Their olfactory and taste systems do not react like ours. Decaying flesh or fish, far from being disgusting and repulsive, is relished. In Liberia and elsewhere in Africa we have seen animals and fish, decomposed to the point of falling to pieces, cooked and eaten with great enjoyment (and the eaters have apparently not suffered from the effects). Entrails and their contents are likewise relished for food. They do not readily take to new foods or new ways of preparing them, though they will at times imitate the white man.

Sight and hearing are no better than in the white race. These senses are simply better educated in the primitive black man along lines useful to him. The outstanding exception is the native's ability to see in blinding sunlight.

Emotions. The love of mothers for their infants is absolute and constant. The love of fathers generally takes the form of pride in the children, as increasing his prestige; but genuine affection is often apparent.

¹ See p. 177.

² See pp. 155 and 157.

^a See also p. 163.

⁴ See p. 96.

The love of a man for his wife sometimes is more than carnal.⁵ A feud is started when someone's wife or sweetheart has been taken by force, not merely because the woman rightfully belongs to the man, but because he has a genuine affection for her.

The affections are short-lived, however. Though great lament is made over the loss of a relative, he is soon forgotten — except where there is ancestor worship. In the house of mourning, tears and weeping are the duty of women. Men seldom weep; it is undignified.

A youth, who afterward worked for us, was reported to have been killed. When word reached his village, his death was properly lamented, and the two funeral feasts cooked and eaten. A few years later, he returned home, to find neither welcome nor rejoicing. He belonged to the dead. The people simply did not know how to readjust themselves.

Friendship may sometimes be deep and lasting, but usually it does not go beyond comradeship. It is likely to be based upon the hope of securing another's good services or upon some mutual benefit.

Jealousy and hatred, mostly based upon fear and the instinct for self-preservation, are outstanding traits. Since success depends upon the favor of unseen powers, and the favor of these powers can be obtained only by means of powerful medicines or magic, a neighbor more powerful than oneself obviously possesses a more powerful medicine. He is, therefore, a potential enemy.

It is not unusual for an African to become angry over what appears to us to be a trifle; indeed, so angry that he may lose all desire to live, and commit suicide. A man, for example, makes a statement that is disbelieved. People repeatedly refer to it, taunting him, poking fun at him. All the while he becomes angrier and angrier, until finally he will drink sasswood to prove the truth of his statement, or attempt to commit suicide by shooting or hanging himself ⁶

Negroes generally are said to have little courage, to be easily cowed, to exhibit fear in circumstances where fear seems unwarranted or unworthy to a white man. When one takes into consideration that from earliest childhood

these Negroes are disciplined through fear, this is only natural. On the other hand, we have known them to be fearless in situations where the white men accompanying them were afraid.

Character. To the white man, the primitive African is usually an enigma. He is essentially childlike: happy, laughter-loving, irresponsible. He is also vain, pretentious, despotic. He has a strong sense of justice, is capable of extreme loyalty to his own group; yet, by our standards, he is frequently a rascal. The difficulty is that his standards are not ours, and an awareness of his own viewpoint is essential to any fair judgment of his character.

In the first place, the African's concept of truth is very imperfect. We have already shown that he draws no line between the rational and the irrational, the natural and the supernatural. This lack of discrimination influences his conduct in many ways inconceivable to us. For example, though a person may know himself to be innocent of an offense with which he is charged, he will, if "proved" guilty by ordeal, be convinced that in some mysterious way he is actually guilty. Such cases are met with constantly.

To us, the native often appears selfish when he is only exercising his right, as established by custom; as when he cuts meat and reserves the biggest portion for himself. Where life is a continual struggle for existence, every child must learn early to look out for himself and not to expect much help from others except in times of common danger. Normally, the rule is "first come, first served," and no one expects anything else.

In fact, philanthropy is something the native cannot comprehend. Why should anyone render a service without hope of reward? When the white man appears to give help freely, the native assumes that there must be an unknown motive; perhaps God or the spirits have commanded it. To accept the help, therefore, is to do the white man a favor; so instead of saying "thank you" he asks for more help. Failure to understand this attitude has caused many a white man unnecessary vexation.

The native's duty is to himself, his family, his village, his clan, his guild, his secret society, and, more remotely, to his tribe and the ances-

⁵ See also p. 186.

⁶ See also pp. 252 and 428.

tral spirits. Within these limits, an ideal of strict honesty and loyalty exists. Outside them, lying, theft, even murder and sacrilege, cease to be criminal and become heroic. The stranger is a potential enemy, a legitimate prey.

That the native is tremendously loyal to what he considers right, is amply demonstrated in the strictness with which he conforms to cult regulations. To argue that disloyalty to the cult is punished by death, and that loyalty is, therefore, enforced rather than voluntary, does not entirely negate this claim. The answer is, that it is the native himself who does the enforcing.

He has a strict sense of justice, even when justice operates against his own interests. We have never known a native to resent severe but well-merited punishment. The leader or chief who knows how to be severe at the proper time is always assured of respect and admiration, providing that punishment is not out of proportion to the fault.

While the native is entirely willing to pay the penalty for his misdeeds, he insists that others pay likewise in full. We have seen a man at a Government post arise after a flogging and stand by to count the lashes given to another. When there was a miscount, instead of rejoicing that his fellow had escaped a stroke or two, he called attention to the fact and demanded full justice.

The native also recognizes the obligation to pay debts — though he will put it off as long as he can. The imposition of fines is a long-established custom, part of the native heritage, not an innovation of the "American palaver." If this were not true, the present Government would find it very difficult to collect many of the fines imposed for offenses that the native does not quite understand.

The popular belief that the primitive Negro is irremediably lazy is based on ignorance of both his physical condition and his philosophy. It is true that much of the time he is unoccupied with anything of importance. He will work long and hard for something he wants, but when he is assured of food for the time being and has acquired the immediate object of his desires, he rests in his village, eats, busies himself with small tasks, and enjoys himself.

He sees no reason why he should do otherwise. The "white man's fashion" is an unsolvable riddle to him. Though apparently so rich, white men cannot take their ease at home, but must run about like ants, looking into everything and troubling everyone. The native calls this incessant activity the "hurry-hurry palaver." A native visiting Monrovia once said, "Look at all those hurry-hurry people in the graveyard, and the work is not finished yet."

There are two reasons for the native's inertia. The first is physical disability. If he is not actually suffering from some chronic disease, he is usually "below par" for some reason.

Most of the people are never far from actual hunger. Except for the members of chiefs' families, most of them go partially hungry all the year; and at "hungry time," before the new rice crop comes in, food is scarce in many towns. A native family customarily eats only one meal a day, and that in the evening. Working all day in the farm on an empty stomach, or with a small snack of roast cassava or a few mouthfuls of banana, is nothing unusual.

Even when food is available in belly-filling quantities, it does not often contain the requirements for health. The diet of the people as a whole is sadly deficient in protein. Meat is so scarce as to be a luxury. Milk is not used at all. Beans and peanuts are utilized only in small quantities.

Salt is more easily obtained in Liberia than in the far interior of some other parts of Africa, but many do not have the means to buy it. Their natural craving for it impels them to leach ashes and make use of the alkaline product to season their food.⁸

Although there are many vegetables and edible leaves which may be added to the diet, yet there is a tendency to eat almost entirely of starches: rice, eddo, cassava, and sweet potato. So the average diet is almost sure to be lacking in the vitamins. Fresh palm nuts and red palm oil are a good source of Vitamin A, but by no means everyone will utilize these every day.

While most of the starchy foods that constitute the bulk of the Liberian diet are wholesome and nutritious when combined with the right amounts of meat, oil, and green vegetables, there is one which may actually be harm-

⁷ See below, p. 464.

⁸ For its effect on the digestive tract, see p. 99.

ful in itself if consumed in large quantities. This is the eddo (Xanthosoma sagittifolium), a close relative of the Colocasia, which has recently been shown to have an effect predisposing to the development of leprosy. It is commonly known that the plants of this family contain an element which may cause a dermatitis. During the "hungry time," before the new rice is ready to harvest, many Liberians fill in with eddoes; and poorer families eat them all the year round. Excessive consumption of this tuber seems to cause adrenal damage.

Besides the widespread dietary deficiencies, there are several diseases so prevalent in this country as to seriously affect the physical condition of the people as a whole. Malaria is the most outstanding of these. It must be assumed that all natives have latent malaria all their lives, sapping their vitality and decreasing any re-

serve of energy.

Hookworm is very common. Perhaps fifty percent of the population harbor these parasites, and suffer from a chronic anemia and de-

crease of vitality.

Yaws affects even more of the natives. In its latent form it probably decreases efficiency. In any one of its active forms it certainly does so. "Crab yaws" of the feet makes walking painful. The rheumatic type of yaws, which is very common, makes all kinds of work difficult. Yaws of the long bones can cause any degree of partial disability, up to complete invalidism.

Gonorrhea is common, and schistosomiasis, which is often confused with it, is a serious problem in the interior. The latter causes impotence and sterility, in addition to urinary dis-

comfort and general disability.

Trypanosomiasis (African sleeping sickness), in its early stages, can exist as a chronic systemic disease with no symptoms except decreased energy, difficulty of concentration, and increase in nervous irritability.

All the diseases mentioned are present in sufficient numbers of natives to definitely lower the vitality and energy of the average individ-

ual.

Sexual excesses and the habitual use of aphrodisiacs also tend to lower the physical condition of many of the natives.⁹

Another reason for the native's easy-going attitude is that it would be quite futile for him to be much concerned about the future. Man and beast and all of nature are arrayed against any attempt to achieve security. Family responsibilities and the continual raids on the towns makes it extremely difficult to amass wealth, and a man who possesses much more than his fellows is regarded with envy and distrust. Material goods are ever liable to destruction by termites or other insects. Houses and towns are impermanent, and storage facilities are wanting. It is better to take life as it comes than to struggle against such odds.

In times of abundance the native is prodigal. When there is plenty of food, especially of meat, he eats incredible amounts. This is the principal reason for food shortages and "hungry times." We have known carriers who have walked for weeks with heavy loads to spend all the money they earned on one big feed and go

hungry the rest of the time.

They cannot resist attractive trifles. They will spend days cracking palm nuts and taking out the kernels, walk forty miles to market carrying 60- to 65-pound loads, and buy with the proceeds perfume or perfumed vaseline and other non-essentials when they need salt and cloth.

Always at tax time there is a mad scramble to get together the required amount. Not until it is upon them do they worry about it. Then they will sell anything, at half price if necessary, to raise cash. In the old days they would sometimes pawn their wives or children.

Debts do not seem to worry these people. Almost everyone is in debt, and there is endless litigation about it, but they thrive on litigation. A man may go so far as to promise to be the property of another in order to get a loan, perhaps to buy a coveted medicine; and there the matter rests until the debtor is summoned and forced to pay.

The only evidence of forethought we saw were the neatly arranged woodpiles — in the houses, in the north; near them, in the south-

east

The native's greatest joy is to impress others, if only for the moment. We knew a chief who

^o See p. 196.

craved a motorcycle and bought one for hard cash. The boy who was to run it knew how to start it, but little about stopping. The two started out, and before they had run a quarter of a mile they hit a tree, wrecking the machine beyond repair. When regrets were expressed, the chief replied that it didn't matter; and he meant it. Everyone knew that he had owned a motorcycle that actually would run. That was enough.

A red cap, a khahi shirt, the merest rag more than his brother, is sufficient to make the native feel superior. He then tends to become insolent and disrespectful, even to those in high position. Such behavior is increasing with the

breakdown of the old culture.

As Towe, the Gio paramount chief, expressed it: "When the customs of our fathers obtained, a chief was respected. His word was law. Now, any schoolboy in khaki pants can come into my palaver house and talk to me as though

I were nobody."

One of the more obvious traits of the African is his conservatism. Established custom rules every act. This is probably owing more to fear of offending ancestral spirits than to dislike of the effort required to make a change. The women are more conservative than the men. Women, too, keep their native speech purer, because they travel less. The younger men, however, may imitate the white man's

speech and dress.

About the underlying motives of native conduct much remains unknown. Except where he has been changed by contact with so-called "civilized" people, the African has an independent and self-sufficient attitude, great dignity, and great reserve. Rarely do even missionaries who have been associated with the African for years find one who is willing to reveal his deep thoughts and feelings. However friendly he may become, he usually remains inscrutable.

Our friend, Dr. Allegret, who worked for years among the Fang in the Bagoon and along the Ogowe River once said to us: "I discount much that is written about the natives' feelings and thoughts on subjects about which they would naturally hesitate to speak."

Relations with the White Man. Since dealings with strangers lie outside the African's code of ethics, the white man can establish sat-

isfactory relations with the black only by commanding his respect.

To a foreigner, a native will lie without scruple, and deny guilt even when caught in the act of wrong-doing. Never at a loss for words, he can talk until he convinces himself

that he is the victim of a conspiracy.

Another phase of this behavior is the facility with which he will enter into any sort of agreement or contract that seems expedient, without the least intention of being bound by it if he can evade it with impunity. He simply cannot say "no" and stick to it; so he says "yes" without meaning it. (This weakness results in interminable palaver, bargaining, and wheedling among the natives themselves.) Believing the white man to be no different in this respect, the native will cling to him like a barnacle to a ship in an endeavor to make him change "no" to "yes." If the white man yields, as he sometimes does to be rid of his tormentor, he has taken a long step toward undermining his own prestige. The native greatly admires a man who can stick to a decision regardless of conse-

He is also inclined to help himself to any property of the white man that he fancies. To him, the white man represents inexhaustible wealth; surely a few trifles can make no difference. His attitude is that of the essentially honest workman who takes home a plank from the lumber yard or a handful of nails from the house he is helping to build, or the clerk who takes home a few sheets of paper from the office. The native, however, will not necessarily stop at trifles. The white man who cannot win his respect will be plundered right and

left.

Fortunately, the native has a high regard for a person in authority who deals firmly but fairly and whose own conduct is dignified and honorable. He will always try out a new man to see what mettle he is made of, and it does not take him long to find out.

It is the general testimony of early travelers that when white men first went into Africa the natives scrupulously guarded any property left in their care. Loads left behind were found in-

tact years afterward.

Since then, the Negro has learned much from unscrupulous traders and others. Too few white men ask themselves how their conduct measures up to native standards of dignity and honesty. Anyone who quarrels with a native or with his fellows, who habitually gets drunk, who consorts with native women, forfeits all respect. This is one reason why we hear so much about "thieving rascals," "dishonest scamps," and the like. The moment a white man is recognized to be just an ordinary human being with frailties and vices he can look for trouble.

White traders have occasionally had the idea that they could draw business to themselves at the expense of competitors if they would dress and live like the natives — only to find that they lost the natives' respect, and consequently their trade.

The man who carefully guards his honor, who remains calm but firm under all circumstances, who does not yield to unreasonable demands but is, on the other hand, willing to negotiate fairly a difference of opinion, will be served well and faithfully.

Intelligence. It is almost impossible to formulate a statement concerning the intelligence of the native which will be brief, accurate, and informative. An attempt to measure their intelligence by the same standards used for civilized people can hardly fail to give a false picture; yet other standards are lacking. If by some historical miracle we could compare the Liberian native of today with the white men of Central Europe when they were at an analogous state of development, we should have a

very interesting problem.

When the question of intelligence is raised we naturally think of the record the natives make in mission schools. But to judge the tribe by the reactions of a comparatively few individuals to formal education imposed from without, is manifestly unfair. Those who have seriously discussed this aspect of the question are inclined to agree that the native pupil rather early reaches a plateau of accomplishment. There seems to be a rapid development of the child's intelligence up to the twelfth or fourteenth year, when a stationary period sets in, followed by a decline. It may be questioned whether this apparent cessation of mental development early in puberty is an actual characteristic connected with race and climate; or whether the African, finding his superficially acquired education without function and meaning for the practical matters of his life, simply drops it as he approaches manhood. Formal book-learning should not be the only measure of intelligence.

His intelligence and mental abilities can be more fairly judged by a study of his adjustment to his own community, and by his achievements. Unfortunately, we are poorly equipped to evaluate all his adjustments, but some of his

achievements speak for themselves.

In the sphere of art these are considerable. The native African's music has enriched and influenced our popular and our more recent classical composers. His wood carvings and other artistic expressions of his life in the seclusion of the forest have stimulated modern sculptors and painters.

So natural are the native's argumentative talents that he may be said to have been born to the law. His eloquence, even when obliged to use a language not his own, is unquestioned.

Mechanically, he is backward. He has discovered the uses of neither wedge nor wheel. Wooden objects he hews out of solid blocks in the most tedious and primitive fashion. Yet he has usually figured out ways to get things done with a minimum expenditure of energy.

Foreign innovations that fit in with his needs he assimilates and copies. He makes a good mechanic. His backwardness lies in the fact that he never seems to say to himself, "Why didn't I think of that!" He is content to accept the solutions that have been worked out by his race, and shows little or no desire to improve

upon them.

No one who has associated for long with the natives and studied them sympathetically would be willing to dismiss this attitude by attributing it to unintelligence or stupidity. These people can retain in mind and reproduce from memory a staggering amount of detail. They can and do, think, reason, and deduce. Their reasoning begins from different premises and recognizes different laws and principles from ours, but the native is no fool.

As in every race, the mental as well as the physical development of the people has been influenced by a multitude of environmental factors.

First among these factors is climate. It has long been stated as a general observation that races living in tropical climates usually attain lower levels of civilization than those of the temperate zones. The damp heat is the reverse of stimulating. There is no long, severe winter driving a man to lay in supplies of fuel and dried foods. The black man has adjusted his pace and his physical processes to this climate over long periods of time, and his mental habits and development have as a result been affected.

Closely connected with the climate is the matter of disease, which we have already discussed. It dulls the intelligence of the individual and lowers the level for the whole race. If the West African could be wholly freed of his health handicaps, no one knows what improvement might be evident within a few genera-

tions.

Another disadvantage prevailing here is the almost total lack of mental stimulus afforded by exchange of ideas with other people. In the first place, these people have had no written language. Just as a deaf-mute child cannot develop a normal mental life unless given special education, so a people without a medium for the exchange of thought cannot reach the same levels as a people with a written language. The spoken language, which is adequate for their daily needs and for concrete and practical affairs, has developed very few abstract concepts. Also, the tribal area in which any one of these languages is understood is small; so the exchange of thought orally is limited to a comparatively small, isolated area. Intercourse between tribes has been almost lacking until recent times. Intercourse with outsiders was limited for generations to the slave-traders and other exploiters. The modern era is still too new to have made any great change.

In addition to the effect of climate, disease, and restricted interchange of thought, there have been conservative social forces at work among these people for centuries, acting selectively to modify the tribal characteristics. Rugged individuals were systematically eliminated for generations by communal interests, represented by the all-powerful secret societies. The zo's of the Poro have not only understood the use of poisons, but have had the power to use them almost with impunity against any

rivals who threatened the status quo of the organization. There has been a general tendency among the people to pull down an upstart who becomes too powerful, or who refuses to share his wealth with the other members of the clan. Warfare has tended to keep the life expectancy of champions at a low figure. The guilds have definitely discouraged initiative and inventiveness. All this was bound to result in a dearth of progressive individuals.

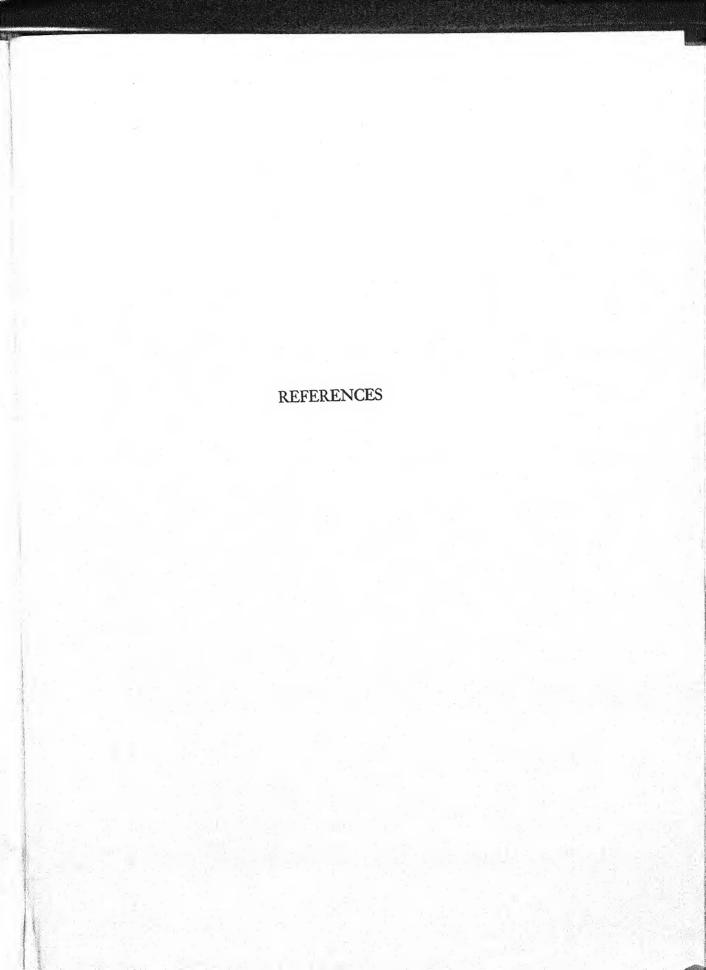
The practice of the sasswood ordeal also contributed to the leveling effect, eliminating again the more outstanding individuals. A person accused of witchcraft could either confess and have medicine made to remove the evil influence, or he could demand a sasswood trial, daring fate either to kill him or to free him of the charge. Sasswood is a violent poison, and many an outstanding man has died from its administration. Others who have not died, having been found guilty by a mild reaction of the poison, have been just as completely lost to the community through being exiled or sold into slavery.¹¹

Therefore, individuals who stood out above the common level have always had a strong chance of being eliminated by one means or another; and this has been going on for a long time. Had the process been reversed, and initiative encouraged for a few thousand years, the result today would have been different.

We must also be aware that the Liberian native is now being asked to bridge the gap from his own culture to that of the Western nations. He is trying to take a stride in one generation which has normally and legitimately taken us many centuries. This sudden contact with foreign concepts is confusing. The native is inclined to imitate much that he sees, and to acquire in a superficial manner some of the ways of civilization. That his education so often stops there, and never goes any deeper than the surface, is quite natural, and reflects quite as much blame upon the teacher as upon the pupil. The native cannot be justly measured by his reaction to this imported culture. He cannot be fairly judged by his attempt to assimilate the mass of new ideas presented to him in this

¹⁰ See above, pp. 463 ff.







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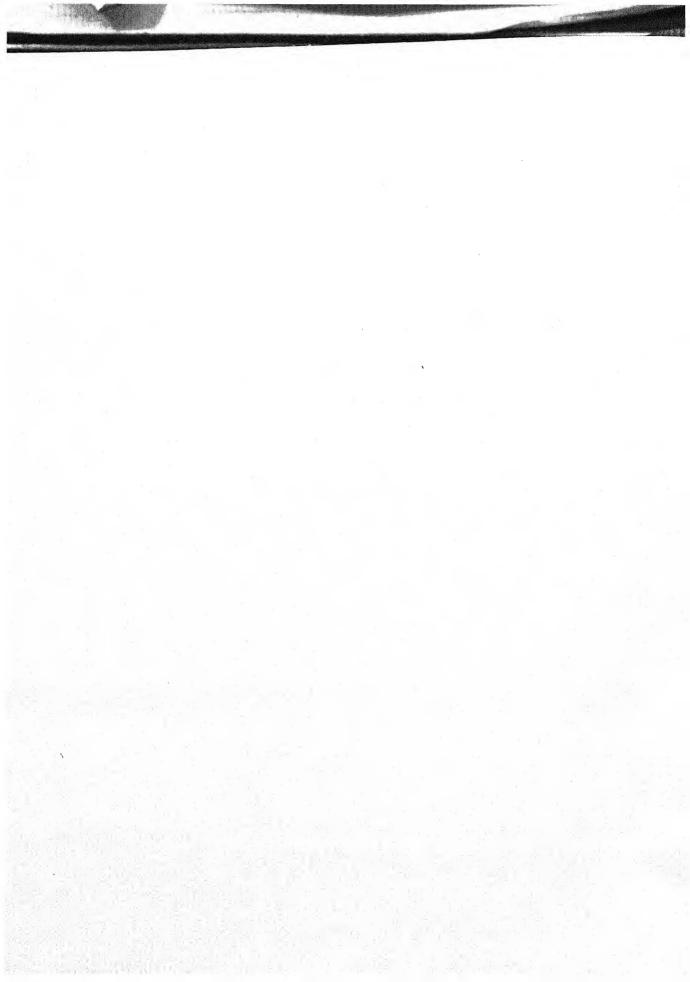
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APPENDIX A: LANGUAGE



LANGUAGE

HE various tribes of Liberia speak lan-L guages which may have some features in common, but are each distinct in themselves. Very little has been done in the way of studying these languages. Westermann, Johnston, and Migeod 1 are more or less in agreement about the general classification of the languages spoken in Liberia. The listing shown below has been adapted from them. It will be seen that of the tribes in this study, the Loma, Gbande, Mano, and Gio fall into the group called Mande-fu. The Ge do not speak a separate language. They speak either Gio, or a Mano dialect. The southeastern tribes, Tie, Sapa, and Half-Grebo, speak languages related to the Kru, falling into the group called Kru, or Kwa.

In their sentence structure, their idioms, etc., all of these languages resemble each other so much that it is a comparatively easy matter for a native to learn the language of a neighboring tribe, and it is not at all uncommon to find a man who can converse in three or four languages. Those who act as official interpreters often speak a half dozen or more languages in addition to English. Not only do the native tongues have many points of structure in common, but there are many instances of similarities in the vocabularies, particularly between Loma and Gbande, Mano and Gio, and probably also between the three southeastern tribes.

LINGUISTIC GROUPING OF THE TRIBES OF LIBERIA, FROM WESTERMANN AND OTHERS

LIBERIA, FROM VVESTERN	TANN AND OTHERS
Mande-fu	Mande-tan
Loma (Buzi)	Vai
Gbunde	Malinke
Gbande	
Mende	
Kpelle	
Mano	
Gio (and Ge)	

¹ Migeod, 1911-13.

West Atlantic
Kisi
Gola

(considered most likely the original language group of West Africa)

Kru or Kwa Kru Bassa Grebo De Gbe Half-Grebo Tiế Sapã

Sikon

The native languages are fully developed, they have their own grammatical rules, and they possess a sufficient number of words to express adequately all that the native man wishes to express. Naturally, these languages are strongest in the words expressing concrete, tangible ideas, and their weakness, if they have any, is in terms to express abstract or intangible ideas.

When the native has to deal with intangibles, he may sometimes speak in parables, or he may put his idea into figurative concrete form. For example, when his feelings have been hurt, or he is unreconciled to some circumstance, he says simply, "My heart can't lie down!" A sacred object, from which the virtue has gone out, the native says has died.

Where the vocabulary seems poorly provided with words to express ideas which the civilized man wishes to express, it is so because the native has had no desire nor need to communicate such ideas. If he has no elaborate range of terms to describe colors, it is because for all his purposes, things are either black, white, red, or some modification of these. If he lacks terms to specify accurately the time of day, or the month of the year, it is because accuracy in these matters has never been essential in his life.

THE MANO LANGUAGE

It is proposed to present a very brief discussion of the Mano language, in order to illustrate some of the points which may be found in a language of this type. It is by no means a com-

plete study.

The Mano language is called by the people who speak it, Māwi, the Mã speech. It is an agglutinative language, with a strong tendency toward monosyllabic words composed of an initial consonant and a vowel or diphthong. Being an unwritten language, spoken by a tribe living in a moderately wide area, the language is in a state of fluidity. It is still growing. It is continually absorbing words from without, modifying the meaning and the pronunciation of its own words, and building up new words. It possesses several dialects spoken in different localities, but people from all parts of the tribe can understand each other.

In Mano, the tone, or pitch, of an individual word, and the rise, fall, or evenness of the voice during the speaking of the word is very important in determining the meaning of the word. It may be conceived somewhat like this: a word may be begun on a high, medium, or low tone, and it may be rising, falling, or sustained in this initial pitch. These variations make it possible to multiply the number of words which may be formed from a single consonant-vowel combination. To learn to recognize and to reproduce these tonal qualities is the hardest part of learning such a language. It seems almost impossible for a European to appreciate these subtle differences. The native himself often has trouble identifying single words, if they are spoken outside their natural context. Under normal circumstances, a single word is not removed from its context and there

To give an example that will merely suggest the possibilities inherent in this tonal influence, there are at least five words in Mano which would be spelled b-a. The pitch and the rise or fall of the word as it is spoken make possible the following variety of meanings:

is no confusion.

ba	medium, sustained	you or your
ba:	high, falling	slippery
ba	high, sustained	sheep
ba	medium, sustained (short)	sore, ulcer
ba	medium, rising	shoe
ba:	low, sustained (long)	dormouse

Beside this tone value, which is connected with individual words, there is, of course, a cadence, or inflection, of the phrase and the sentence, which is even more important in an African language than it is in English or French if one is to be understood.

Interchanging of Consonants. As is commonly true of West African languages, there is considerable mutability of certain consonants. Perhaps the most obvious is the pair l and d. In many cases there seems to be no distinction between these. The same word, pronounced by different speakers, or by the same speaker under different circumstances, will sometimes sound like an l and again like a d. Indeed, at times one feels that there are three sounds there, rather than two. There is a pure l, an unmistakable d, and another sound which lies halfway between.

This close similarity of sound is illustrated by

the following groups of words:

li mouth
di cow
di or li woman
duo slave
duo bush cow
duo or luo day
do or lo want, hunger
do stop
do or lo sell

Other consonants which tend to blend, or become interchangeable, are the following pairs: r and l; m and n; kp and gb, p and b;

g and y.

The kp and gb sounds are quite common in Mano and are entirely distinct from the simple p and b. It may sometimes be hard for the untrained ear to distinguish b from gb, but the native undoubtedly is always aware of the difference, and it is not likely that there is any interchanging between the b and the gb, or between the kp and the p. The sound km is found occasionally, and this may be confused with kp. Ny is a common sound and is distinct from simple n. Pl seems to occur only where a short vowel has been elided from familiarity of usage, as in plu for pulu and $pl\varepsilon$ for $p\varepsilon l\varepsilon$.

Consonants which do not occur in Mano are pr, sk, sh, ch, st, tr. The native man's tongue always has trouble with these combinations

when he tries to speak English.

The elision of consonant sounds occurs in Mano sometimes, as well as the contraction of a word by suppression of a vowel. Besides the two instances of a vowel dropped between p and l, given above, there is a very common tendency to drop a short vowel when it occurs between k and l, or any compatible pair of consonants. Examples of elision of consonants are:

wa yi — wai (it is) not there.

 $p \in v \circ - p \circ p$ plural form of $p \in e$, things.

Sentence Order. The usual order of the sentence in Mano is:

subject-object-verb

Gā a bu bh. Man, he, rice eats. subject-verb-predicate nominative

 $\hat{B}u \ l\varepsilon \ ti\varepsilon$. Rice is hot.

The adjective follows the noun it modifies. Possessive noun or pronoun precedes the noun it modifies. *Ka pulu*, white house; *um ka*, my house; *Se a ka*, Se's house.

The same order is maintained in asking a question, the inflection only determining whether the sentence expresses an interrogation, a positive statement, or a negative statement. For example, Ba lo lo yi can mean (1) Do you go to market? (2) You are not going to market. (3) You are going to market. The inflection which converts this sentence into a question is almost the reverse of that which would be used in asking a question in English, and probably the only way to learn it is to hear it repeatedly.

Nouns. The nouns seem to be the most fundamental words in a language. They tend to be the first words used by a young child, and they are the words which a foreigner first picks

up when he learns a new language.

The great majority of Mano nouns are monosyllables. A certain number are words of two syllables. It is impossible to say whether these two-syllable words were originally formed from two monosyllables or not. Some of them are the names of very common and ancient objects. Then there are other nouns, often polysyllabic, which are easily recognized as being formed from descriptive phrases. A number of these are names of animals or plants which are called by their uses or by some peculiarity inherent in the species. A few examples of each class of nouns are given:

man g5 stick or tree yidi

² Smith, 1920.

house	ka	box	gbolo
cloth	50	rope or vine	$\widetilde{b}arepsilon larepsilon$
woman	li	war	$g\imath l\imath$
rice	bu	earth	$s \varepsilon l \varepsilon$
water	yi	month	$m \varepsilon n \varepsilon$
pot	gbo	bird	тõ
sickness	ya:	"palaver,"	
animal	wi	matter, }	m 5
		affair	

A certain scavenger gbo-si-kpongh (dung-takbeetle ing beetle)

"elephant" tree biε-yıdı (crawfish branches)

a vine with prominent nodes
gray pigeon kpa-sılı-ko
inent nodes
gray pigeon tɛ̃ngı-gu-gu (gu-gu imitates the note)

PLURAL. There is no change made in the form of a noun to indicate the plural. When necessary to make it plain, the number of objects is stated more or less definitely. Gbuonase, "many," or "plenty," is used to denote a large number. Although it is the rule that a noun does not change its form in the plural, yet interestingly enough there is a small group of words that are exceptions to the rule.

mi person mia people or persons
pe thing po things, property
no child no children
lo woman loa women

The plurals po and no are formed by contraction from the word pevo and novo, and the complete words are sometimes employed without any contraction. But it is not clear just what the original meaning of the particle -vo was. Neither is it plain whether mia and loa could have been formed from the same particle and suffered a change of vowels, or whether they have a different etymology.

Connected with the subject of plurals is a group of nouns in which there is a reduplication of syllables, which seems connected in some way with the idea of large numbers. E. W. Smith 2 says that in a noun reduplication suggests a plural or collective meaning. In Mano this group of nouns is largely made up of the names of various insects which do occur in large numbers.

mosquito
mia nia
small, red, biting ants
large, wingless wasps

kpia kpia

Gender and Case. There is no recognition of gender by a change of form in any Mano noun or pronoun. The native who is learning to speak English calls all objects he, whether male, female, or inanimate. To distinguish the sex a child is referred to as man-child, gī nefu or woman-child, li nefu. In the case of a beast, gī is used meaning male, and mū, meaning female, that is digī, bull, and dimū, cow. In botanical names, a species similar to a given named species is sometimes called by the same name, with the suffix gī. It is not always clear just what this conveys to the native mind—possibly strong, coarse, unfruitful, or unsuited to the use which is made of the type-species.

There is no declension of nouns. They retain the same form whether used as subject, object, or predicate noun. To indicate the possessive case, the noun is followed by a, his; e.g., Nya a so, Nya his cloth; gō a ka (the) man his house. In this one respect at least, the language shows a parallel with the old English usage. When the noun standing for the thing possessed is omitted or understood, they say Nya z1, contracted from Nya a z1, Nya his part.

Pronouns. There is a complete set of personal pronouns, singular and plural, but no change in form for case, or for gender. The third personal pronoun, singular is frequently used before the verb, even when there is already a noun for the subject; e.g., Nya a lo, Nya (he) goes; Gɔ a ga, Man (he) died.

The six personal pronouns, with their various forms are as follows:

ist person 2nd person 3rd person singular ma, um, un, ba a ma, 'm, 'n or i plural ko or koa ka a or oa (kwa)

In the first person singular, euphony and custom determine when one form is used, and when another. In the second person singular ba is equivalent to old English thou, or German du. I is the more formal or polite form. To an acquaintance one says, Ba Vuo as a morning greeting. To a stranger one says, I yua.

Adjectives. Adjectives, including those of number and those of color, follow the noun they modify.

so gbuo big cloth so ti black cloth so peda two cloths

The adjectives follow the rule of the other parts of speech in remaining unchanged for number, gender, case, and there are no changes to form degrees of comparison. The meaning of the comparative and superlative states is obtained in a roundabout way by the use of such phrases as "Nya is big past Pei." "Sei is big past all."

Some common adjectives:

big	gbuo or gbako	good	SE
small	ping or peiti	bad	yэ
black	ti	new	da
white	pulu	- old	zi:

Reduplication has been referred to in a group of words that includes the names of certain insects, etc., where the repetition of the syllable seems to have a plural or collective force. It must also be noted here, since there is a considerable group of adjectives which are similarly formed. Here the reduplication seems to have been originally for emphasis.³ A partial list of these adjectives is given:

lolo soft hard, difficult gaga quick tietie or titie klingkling well, healthy kmakma כשכשי crooked, worthless fıfı complete singsing all flabby fleflesweet, delicious nengneng

For the most part nouns are used without any article. If an indefinite article is needed the ordinal *one* is used. Sometimes the place of the definite article is taken by the third personal pronoun. That is, with a proper noun, or with a noun which in English would require a definite article, the third person singular a (he) follows the noun. This is equally true whether the noun in question is in the nominative or the objective case. $G\bar{o}$ a le ka yi, man he is house in, the man is in (the) house. Mano does not require a definite article with "house" here unless there is some doubt about which house is meant.

⁸ Smith, 1920.

Bu le nengneng, rice is sweet. Bu a le nengneng, the rice is sweet. Gã a bu a bh, the man eats the rice.

There is a demonstrative adjective $b\varepsilon$, which means either "this," or "that"—the one

pointed out.

Numerals and Cardinals. Cardinal numerals are formed on a base of five. That is, the numbers from six through nine are formed by adding something to five.

Ten is a secondary base for the larger num-

bers.

one do peda two three yaka vise four sədi five five and one sodi do slado six sodi peda five and two slapeda seven five and three sodi yaka slaka eight five and four sodi yise sleisenine ten or *vũ do* one ten ขน vũ do wεlε do or wele do eleven (ten plus one)

vũ do wele peda or wele peda twelve, etc.

vũ peda twenty (two tens)

vũ peda wele do twenty-one, etc. (two tens plus one)

wũ or wũ do one hundred

ORDINALS, MULTIPLICATIVES, AND DISTRIBUTIVES. The language has a separate word for "first," binse. For any other of a series the same word is used as they use in counting. Perhaps more often they would use a circumlocution such as this. Instead of saying, "Come back on the third day," they would say, "Let two days pass before you come."

Even the simplest sort of multiplication, such as a determination of the cost of several similar objects, or the number of cups of rice needed for a group traveling together, are computed by counting out little piles of pebbles.

Distribution of objects is accomplished without any such word as "each." The African says, "Give them one, one"; or "The eggs cost

two cents, two cents."

One-half is rendered by the word $p\tilde{\epsilon}$, which actually means nothing more definite than "a piece," "a part."

Verbs. Next after nouns, verbs are the most important parts of a language. A great number of the commonest verbs are simple monosyllables.

to go	lo	to leave	go
to come	$n ilde{u}$	to cease	$d \circ$
to eat	bli	to remain	to
to drink	m	to cut	kã
to sit	уа	to walk	ta
to set	yα	to catch	kũ
to lie (down)	wo	to kill	$z\varepsilon$
to see	gε̃	to die	ga
to say	gei	to take	si
to hear	ma	to do	$k\varepsilon$
to know	$d\sigma$	to fix	$b \varepsilon i$
to finish	nyā	to cook	kpa
to split	þε	to cause	bo
A * 1	1	1	

A considerable number of common verbs have been built up from nouns or other words by the addition of a particle. Two such verb-making particles are themselves verbs. They are $k\varepsilon$ (to make or to do), and bo which is difficult to translate satisfactorily, but judged by the meaning of its derivatives seems to have a meaning of to set free, actuate. It may be connected with gbo to waste, or to throw away. Both $-k\varepsilon$ and -bo as suffixes form a series of verbs.

to dance	tãkε	tã	rhythm
to work	sãkε	sã	activity, play, work
to sacrifice	saləkε	salə	sacrifice(n)
to make magic	miake	mia	magic
to cry	gbobo	gbo	tears
to steal	kãbo	kã	theft
to sing	tãbo	tã	rhythm
to beg	kpwibo	kpwi	mercy
to joke	sãbo	sã	play
to fear	tuobo	tuo	fear
to beat	mebo	$m\varepsilon$	to hit or beat
to work	yεbo	yε	errand, task
to urinate	weibo	wei	urine

VOICE, TENSE, MOOD, ETC. Whatever the native has to say he expresses in the active voice. The verbs therefore do not have any passive voice. The speech is simple and direct. To say that a man was hurt by a falling tree is too roundabout and indefinite for the African taste. He simply says that the tree hurt the man. If

there is no agent that can be named he says, "person" did this, or "thing" has done so-and-so.

It is in keeping with the native's disregard for time as such that the language has no formalized scheme of forming tenses. A nũ can mean he comes, or he came, depending upon the context. When there is need to be more specific about the time of an action, it is done in various ways. A nũ yoda, he came yesterday. A nũ fã, he came a long time ago. A nũ a,

also indicates past.

One way of indicating future is by employing the device which is also used in English, combining with the verb to go. A lo, he is going to. A lo $n\tilde{u}$, he is going to come. Another way to express action which is just about to take place (that is, progressive present or immediate future, corresponding somewhat to the periphrastic) is by affixing the verb-particle pia. A nupia means he is just coming. He is coming any minute. He is in the act of coming. Another expression closely connected with the future tense is a $lo k\varepsilon$, he wants to do. When an act seems imminent, a tree is toppling under the axe, or a patient is hovering on the brink of death, the native simply says, "The tree wants to fall down." "The man wants to die." (Compare colloquial English, "He like to have died.")

THE COPULA "TO BE." The copulative verb, to be, occupies much the same place in Mano that it does in English. Since there are no changes of tense, number, etc., the form is nearly always the same, $l\varepsilon$.

Göle ti. Man is black.
Gbolo peda le gbuo. (The) two boxes are big.
Ple be le Gapa. Town this is Gapa.
Yoda bu le gbuo. Yesterday rice was plenty.

The only irregularity in the use of the verb $l\varepsilon$ seems to be that when the subject is one of the personal pronouns, the verb is suppressed—absorbed into the pronoun, perhaps.

un ti I am black.
i ti You are black.

le ti He is black. (An antecedent would be required immediately preceding.

They would not say, "he is black," unless it was plain who is referred to.)

ko ti We are black.

ka ti You are black.
o ti They (people) are black.

Other Parts of Speech. The words expressing various relations probably enter into a language much later than its nouns and verbs, and similarly they are less easy to discover in studying an unwritten language. It often happens that prepositions and adverbs seem to have been derived from nouns or verbs, as for instance "up," lai from "sky," la; "down," tã, from "ground," tā. Considerable study is needed to work out such derivations. We will mention a few of the words that seem to be used now as prepositions or adverbs to express relations without attempting to analyze them or indicate what part of speech they may have been originally. It is almost needless to note that adverbs of manner are formed without any change from the corresponding adjective. "Good," se means also, "well," lolo means "soft," and also "softly," and so on.

As was noted above, the usual way of indicating a negation is by the tonal rise and fall—the inflection of the sentence. This is generally sufficient to convey the desired meaning. But when a negative needs to be made especially emphatic wa is the adverb "not." It may

modify a verb or an adjective.

Gō be le domi wa That man is not the chief
Yidi wa se A bad tree (tree not good)
Gō le wa yi There is no one there (man not inside)

The affirmative answer to a question is 'm, scarcely more than a grunt. The negative answer is Gbao, "no."

The Mano do not have the conception we do of negation. We say, "There is no one in the house," or "There is no rice." They say, "Person is not in the house," or "The rice is finished." Absence or emptiness is not an entity to them. It is too abstract.

Also, in common with many other African and Eastern languages, a question is answered literally in the form in which it is asked, a habit which always seems annoying to Europeans;

e.g. Did you not cook rice today? Yes, I did not cook rice today.

There are a group of interrogative particles. The commonest are the words me, "what" or "where" and dī "who," "whose."

тĩ	of, concerning, about	Gĩ a gbã ya lo mĩ	The man set the dog on the squirrel.
lai yi tā bei ka	up, above in, inside down downstream ("ocean") on, with Used with the verbs "come" and "go," to produce the meanings of	Ko da le lai So le gbolo yi Ya tā Po a kpo tā Nū a ka Lo a ka	Our Father is above. Cloth is in box. Sit down. The things put down. Bring it. Take it away.
$li\varepsilon$	"bring" and "carry away" before (of place),	Yıdı le ka lie	Stick is in front of house.
sono	in front of beside, close to,	Yi sono ka	House beside the water.
m̃i	at beyond, on the other side	A go Ya mẽi	He comes from beyond the Ya River.
piə	to, toward, along, following	Zi a lo yi piə A lo ta zi piə	The road goes to the water. He goes to walk along the road.
	As a verb <i>pie</i> or <i>pio</i> means to follow, to mind, as in herding goats. As a verbal auxiliary it throws the verb into a progressive tense.		
zei dĩ	here there	Nũ zei Ba a lo dĩ	Come here. The sheep have gone there.

e.g. Ba gei me? You say what?

I lo me? You go where?

I to le dī? Your name is what?

Dī a pe le? Whose is this thing?

"Why" "for what reason" is expressed by the phrase, $M\varepsilon \iota k\varepsilon$? "what makes" "what's the matter.")

Me i ke i ya tã? What makes you sit down? In keeping with their disregard for time they have no word for "when." It is covered by a

phrase such as "what day."

The conjunction, "and," is often omitted entirely, but between a pair of nouns, wa or oa sometimes expresses this relation, as in Nya wa Pei o nũ, "Nya and Pei they come." Another connective which is used in a series is ni. The concluding phrase of the Lord's Prayer is translated, Sele ni, yikega ni, labo ni, "kingdom, power, and glory." This particle follows the

last word of the series as well as standing between the words.

The conjunction "when," can sometimes be represented by a. A lo a, ma nu, "when he goes, I come."

Agglutinative Feature of Mano. The Mano language, as we have noted is still flexible, and still growing. The language possesses within itself the elements to combine to form new words when needed. There are many examples to indicate this. In the section on nouns, some examples were given of names built up like a descriptive phrase. New articles introduced from outside the country are often appropriately and logically named without the necessity of adopting a foreign word. A group of words with the prefix -kwi (American, or more exactly "foreign"), shows some of the things which were introduced, and named for some resemblance to some indigenous article.

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Some of these are:

kwito duck kwito pineapple (American chicken) (American palm

nuts)

From a resemblance between the fruit and a bunch of the

nuts

kwisõ sweet potato

(American sõ — a wild edible yam)

kwiglo banana

(American plantain)

The bicycle has been named the "fish-net-frame horse," dono kana so, from the resemblance of the wheels to the large circular fish nets laced onto a stiff rim.

On the other hand, foreign words are made use of and become absorbed into the language with a modification of pronunciation in many cases. Words which have been taken into the language in this way are:

cupo cup pāni pan mashi matches sili. shilling

nampo lamp or lantern

Ho zei! a work chant used by a group of men pulling or hauling together, taken by the Kru seamen from, Haul sail! and passed on from one tribe to another.

There are some cases where words other than the names of imported objects have been taken from English, apparently to fill a lack in the native language. For instance, there seems to be no good word in Mano for "try," meaning "make an attempt." It is most frequently rendered by an interpreter as traike, the prefix $-k\varepsilon$, "to make," being the usual one to transform another word into a Mano verb. As one might suspect, there is no Mano word for "time," and this too is taken over from English. Tãi a bo is what the laborers say at noon when they want to stop for lunch, "Time is up!" Bo is the word meaning "done," "ripe," etc., applied to food that is sufficiently cooked and fruit that is ready for eating.

Abbreviations for Tribal Names Used in the Glossary

Bassa	Bas.	Kpɛlle	Кр.
Bulu	Bulu	Kru	Kru
Gbandε	Gban.	Loma	L.
Gbunde	Gb.	Mandingo	Mand.
Gε	Gε	Mano	M.
Gio	Gio	Mende	Men.
Grebo		Palepo	Pal.
Half-Grebo		Pidgion	Pid.
Kelepo	Kel.	Sapā	S.
Ketibo		Tiã	Tiã
Konibo		Vai	Vai
Vonor			



GLOSSARY

A			ba - sore, ulcer	M.	476
a (see oa, pl.) - he, she, it,	Gio, M. L.	67, 68, 151,	ba – stick	Gio	447
its, his, hers (third person	19	6, 214, 215,	ba (or bandi) - sweet po-		
singular)		3, 242, 394,	tatoes	Gio	31
	4	12, 443–47,	ba $(or$ bwa) – taboo, law,		
1 if	M.	477–82 481	sacrifice	Tiē	345
4 - 111011, -			ba — there, beside	M.	315,444
Abi - old term for God	_	3, 260, 315, 18–20, 326,	ba — tortoise	Gio	152
	-	7, 343, 368	ba - tree (terminalia scuti-		
Abi ple – "God's town"	Gio	327, 329	fera), source of potash	M.	98
	0.10	3-/13-9	ba — wrestling	Tiē	158
Adi ma buo fau – council of	L.	414	ba (or i) - you (second per-		
elders	L.	7.7	son singular)	M.	173, 223, 224,
ado beni – pebble-reader, di-	L.	25			443, 444, 445,
viner	1.	35			476, 478, 481
ai, ai, ai - exclamation at			ba: — dormouse	M.	476
opening of market (mar-	М.	180	ba: — slippery	M.	476
ket is open) akom butie – bad death	H. G. (Webo)		bableu - group of 3 bright		
	Gb.		stars in Orion's belt (a		
ale — to carry	Gu.	441	man carrying a load)	S.	413
ale wo vule - torture ("to	Gb.	441	babolo - tree snake	Gb.	342
carry him to suffer")		441	ba bua — a greeting of friends	Gio	173
alizabai — rattle	L.	152	babudu - the "board" game	S.	158
alu — moon	L.	446	badia — commander	Gr.	235
amala — quarters	L.	446	badigi - double- or triple-		
ani —	S.	444	headed drum	Gb., L.	152, 155
anyu - to reach over	Gio	447	badio - war leader, com-	·	
a o (or ta ngalio, or ha o)			mander	H.G., Pal.	39-4 ¹ ,
- answer to greeting	S.	173			235, 239
a o (or ha o) - a greeting	Gio, M.	173, 179	badiye (or padiye) - otter	Tiē ·	89
aponyinio - answer to eve-			badue - wind instrument	S.	154
ning greeting	H.G., S.	173	bai – devil mask	M.	, , , , ,
a te a lo – dead ("his breath	~1		bai – tree (Terminalia su-		
is gone out")	Gio	242	perba)	all	96
ava — to come	L.	173, 446	bai bele – liver abscess	М.	398
a wulu – my word ("I say	C				390
thus")	S.	214	bai bulu – tree or climbing shrub (Sarcocephalus escu-		
a zo a bwi – dead ("his	Gio	2.42	lentus), root of which is		
heart lie down")	Gio	242	used for making eyewash		392, 398
В	T	445	baka – musical bow	Gb.	153, 224
ba — before	L.	445	baka – musical instrument		, , ,
ba — to sell	L.	446 476, 481	made of the shell of the		
ba — sheep	M.		forest tortoise (Cynixis)	Gio	153
ba — shoe	М.	476	baka - skin pouch in which		
ba (or gbala) – snake		100	medicine is carried	L.	233
(night adder)	M.	300			

Note: In the glossary are included a number of Mano words not occurring in the text, in addition to all the

in the various chapters.

	400	THE DESCRIPTION OF					
1	bakagı – game in which mu- sical bow is employed	Gb., L.	153, 224	bau saga — a bunch of dried ears of corn	S.	226	
	Bakolo — ordinal for second- born girl	L.	215	bauwē5 — medicine man, doctor-diviner (intermedi-	•		
	Ba kona – snake society ("snake medicine")	M.	300	ary between God and man)	S.	154, 262,	
	baku – small bit of stick	L.	-			318, 351, 437,	
	bala — fast	M.	445			455, 456	
	bala — mud	M.		ba vu – answer to morning	3.6		
	bala – small pangolin	M.		greeting	M.	173	
	bala – small stiff weed (Sco-	1714		ba vuo (see ka vu, pl.) –		·	
	paria dulcis)	M.	60	morning greeting ("you wake?")	м.	173, 478	
	ba la bli – plant (Cassia sp.)	M.	397	bazi - light red, brown, or	we.	73,47	
	bala fili nu – sheepskin war			yellow	L.	127	
	leader, captain	.L.	235, 239	be (or b1) - poison for caus-			
	bala fimi – a devil	Gb.	284	ing insanity or loss of	*		
	balagi — umbrella hat	Gb.	110	memory	M.	380	
	balai — journey (luck) medi-			bea – bowl	Gio	133	
	cine	L.		bea – swamp plant	S., Tiē	87	
	bala kpwa – smallest of 3 dance drums ("child"			bede bedi – cassava leaves	Gio	96	
	drum)	M.	155	be gba – good mother hen	L.		
	bala li - largest dance drum	+ 1	33	begli bu – pop gun	Gio	222	
	("mother" drum)	M	155	bei – cassava	M.	65, 222	
	Bala mal (n) afu(i) (see bale			bei – downstream	M.	443, 481	
	mele nafui) - degree of	-		bei – game of battledore and shuttlecock	Gio	225	
	the Poro (all highest)	Gb.	288		M.	225	
	Bala mile – degree of the Poro (the ram's horn			bei – potter's clay	IVI.		
	Poro (the ram's horn nafui)	M.	406	bei klı yo – March ("cas- sava bark bad")	М.	65	
	bala si - hurry, take speed	M.	•	beikpa bu – pop gun ("cas-		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	balau - xylophone	M.	149	sava stem gun")	M.	222	
	bala zei - medium-sized			beila — cassava leaf	м.	96	
	dance drum	M.	155	bela — bracelet	L.	113,446	
	bali – spring-noose trap	L.	78	belawogi – squash	L.	see 96	
	balie - camping to fish and	arests as		bele — pumpkin	L.		
	hunt	Tiē	75	bele — ram	Gb., L., M.	273 268	
	balovia – tree (Spondias mombin) which has plum-			bele bole - degree of the	Go., D., IVI.	200	
	like fruit	L.	97	Poro ("pumpkin to swal-			
	balu - covered hamper	S.	123	low")	L.	273	
	bangoga - poisons to cause			bele mele - official dress of			
	sickness of the head and			the Poro when outside of	7.		
	slow death	Gio	380	the Bush (ram's horn)	Gb., L., M.	268	
	banuyai – dog's name ("you come sit down in here")	M.	71	bele mele nafui – Poro devil (all highest); (the ram's			
	barutu - tree (unidentified)	S.	74	horn)	L.	268	
	bau (or gbao) - no (inter-			belo — mushroom	Gio	370	
	jection)	Gio, L., M.	223	belo gbo-puffball mush-			
	baudi - poisons for crip-	Cio	202	room (Lentinus tuber re-		in with	
	pling one permanently	Gio	380	gium) ("mushroom drop-	Cio	270	1
	baufo — wrestling	S.	158	pings")	Gio	370	1

		ALLENDIA B.	GLO0011K1		T °/
beo (or bea) - leader or			binse – first	M.	479
captain	S.	235	bio – clan chief, paramount chief, commander	Tiã 168	-71, 235, 238,
beo (or beo) – leader or captain	S.	235	Cinci, commander		239, 257, 296,
cup	Pal.	214			373, 426, 447
betebeli – low-bush white		V 31	biso-biso – bushy	M.	
	L.	126	bi – poison for causing in- sanity	M.	
ber (harvest begins)	Τiἕ	66	b1 - sacred, magic, diviner	M.	329, 338
be - antelope (Cephalophus		•	bını – to dry out	M.	
dorsalis)	S., Tiẽ	191	bi t5 – sacred (magic) hill,		
bε – friend	M.	444, 447	where some slaves go at	M.	220
$b\epsilon$ — that, this	Gio, M.	447, 479, 480	death	IVI.	329
be: — fruit or seed of any plant or tree	M.		bi yi — water in which sacred fish are found ("sacred	*	.0
bei – to fix	M.	477	water")	M.	338
bele - brown antelope (un-			bla – to knock or hit	S.	447
identified)	M.		blam5 — medicine for talk-	S.	426
bele – clay	M.		ing palaver (sheep's horn)	Gio	149
bele - rope vine; hence belt,			blande – xylophone	GIO	*49
hence trousers	M.	108, 109, 477	blayungli - tree (unidenti- fied), ingredient of per-		
bele – small drag nets of seines; fish nets	L.	73	fume	Gio	117
bele kala – wild yam vine	M.	56	blegieyıdı — tree (unidenti-		
bele kpo yidi – ulcerating		•	fied), ingredient of per- fume	M.	117
granuloma ("stick the			blele – to fall down	S.	447
termites eat")	M.	393	bli —	S.	447
bele wola - devil's voice	C1		blidibu – vine (unidentified)	S.	391
(bull-roarer)	Gb.	270	blo — land	Tiã	310
h∂i — mud	Gio	445	bloba – clan chief	H.G.	168
bī — dark, shadow	M.	68	Blo-Kwi - society for hunt-		
bi – flower (of any variety)	М.		ing out witches (the land		
bī – traps made by small	Gio, M.	222	Kwi)	Tiã	310
bia boe – Warrior's class	G10, 141.		blon - great genet	M.	
bia boe — Warrior's class (Class III of the age			bli — to eat	Gε, M.	196, 220, 272,
classes) big men	H.G., S., 7	īiē 165			394, 443, 477, 479
bia di – in the hole	S.	447	blı (or ba lie) – suffix mean-		7//>7//
bĩ a nũ – twilight ("dark is			ing home of, town of,		
coming")	S.	68	place of, residence of	Gb., S., Ti	30, 329
bieyali - orange-like wild			bli – to sing	S.	169
fruit (unidentified)	M.	59	blı ny5 – singer, minstrel		
bie – elephant	Gε, M.	89, 272, 477	("sing person")	S.	169
Bie ka – Poro devil, enter- tainer ("elephant's house")	Gε, M.	272	-bo-sufflx meaning to cause to set free, to actuate; also		
bie-yıdı — "elephant" tree	M.	477	a suffix for forming verbs		444, 479
bĩmia sẽ sẽ – night	M.	68	bo (or gbo) - feces, any	7	
bina – black mamba	M.		waste material, trash	Gio, M.	443
bing - African pitch pine			bo (see moi, pl.) — foreleg	s	94, 444
(Canarium schweinfurthii)		393		Gio, M.	223
bingi — rice bag	L.	445	bo – goat		

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488	TRIBES	S OF THE LIBE	RIAN HINTERLAND		
bo - hide pouch	M.		bolo — pepper	L.	98
bo – people	Gr.	26	Boloba - Prime Minister, or		•
bo — soup	M.		speaker in king's court	H.G., S.	167, 168
bo —	Gio	447	bolobo - soup pot	S.	133
boa – sword	L.	328	bolobolo - small, red, elon-		
boba - palm-oil strainer in			gated pepper	L.	98
shape of a broom	Tiē	125, 226	bolo tu — fish poison (leaves)		
bobε – to bear bobεtjo – October (first new	М.	444	bolowolo – March (first cut- ting, clearing and burning		
moon)	Τiε̃	66	of farms); also, April		
bobetjo - December (first			(planting moon)	Gb.	66
new moon)	S.	67, 364	bomo – bittern	M.	
bobo – to hear	Gio		bon - temporary law or de-		
bobo (n) gi - supernatural be-			cree	Gio	414
ing similar to Pe (singing			Bondo (or Bundu) - the		
goblin)	Gb., L.	343	women's cult or Bush	Gola, Mende	287
bo bo tai tu - tree with fruit			bongo ni — baby doll	Gio	222
resembling cherries	S.	07	bo no - tree (unidentified)	Gio, S.	432
(Maeschotrya edulis)	٥.	97	bono (or gbono)-weighted-		
bobwa – palm-oil strainer in shape of a broom	S.	125	log trap	М.	see 76
bodio - head doctor, high	0.	•,	botue (or bugbwe) - wild		
priest	Gr., H.G., S.	39-41, 167,	fig tree (unidentified)	- S.	
P	,,	171, 361, 363,	bo yıdı (or di bi) – shrub		
		367, 376, 377,	(Glyphaea laterifolia)	М.	393
		423, 426	bo yo – August (constipa-	3.4	
bodio batwa – head doctor's	77.0	*	tion month—hungry time)	M.	66
assistant	H.G.	39	bo yo di — September ("Bo	M.	66
boε – feet	S	447	Yo's mother") bo – to arrive, to complete,	141.	00
boe — irons for burning holes	M.	129, 142	to repress; done (apply-		
bofia (or bo fie ka) – vine			ing to food); ripe (apply-		
with orange-colored fruit	М.	98	ing to fruit)	Gε, Gio, M.	480
(capoclinus sp.)	IVI.	90	bo - bamboo (tree); hence		
bo fie ko (or bofia – vine with orange-colored fruit			flute	M.	154
(Carpodinus sp.)	M.	393, 400	bo-Bongo antelope (Bon-		
boi – friend	L.	173	go Boocereus eurycerus)	H.G.	88, 166
boi —	Gio	445	bo (or kpwo) — catfish	Gio, M.	
boi ava – answer to after-	G.10	ידד	bo - to cut; a cutting	Ge, Gio, M.	412,447
noon greeting ("friend			bo — half moon	M.	412
comes")	L.	173	bo — hog	M.	215
boiku - tan or yellowish	L.	71	bo – neck	Gio	66, 94
boi, ngwe - answer to morn-			bo - poplar tree (Mitragyne		
ing greeting - "Friend, I			stipulosa)	M.	124, 180, 181,
wake"	L.	173			389, 393, 402
bola – loin; rump	S.	94	bo — pot	Gio	260
bola – mushroom (puffball)			bo - the Patriarchs (Class IV	12	
"white"	S., Tiế	348, 370	of the age classes)	H.G.	88, 166
bole - game of hide-and-			bo - zebra antelope (Ceph-	***	
seek	Gio	223	alophus doria)	H.G.	166
bole – to swallow	L.	273, 445	B5 (or Gb5) — beneficent so-		
bolo – clicker (a musical in-			ciety which can control	Gb., Gio, L.	303
strument)	S.	152	lightning	au., G10, L.	203

B5 (or Kele B5 or K'le B5) – circumcision Bush; first	•		buna – tree (Spondias mom- bin) which has plum-like	D.K	07. 207
grade of the Poro	Gε, Gio	171, 267, 287,	11 uic	M.	97, 397
B5 (or Bw5) – Sande wom-		288, 290, 293, 294	***************************************	Gola, Mende, Tenne, and other tribes of	287
en's cult (cult equivalent	C- M	-600 -0-		the Sierra Leon	e
to the Poro)	Gε, M.	267, 280, 281, 287, 313,	bunoga – "I can talk"	L.	446
		417, 423	_	L.	133
1 1 cours not covered		T-77T-3	bus por co.sz	H.G. (Webo)	412
bogbea - soup pot, covered	Gio	133	butiabwe — moon	S.	447
pot bo gie – initiates, while in			bwa – swamp or mud	5.	х тт/
the Bush	M.		bwa (or ba) – taboo, law, sacrifice	Tiã	345
boke - small oil pot ("buck-	S.	122	bwande (or made) - food		2.12
et")		133	taboo in general	S., Tiế	345
bole — totem	M.	351	bwe (or dugba) - small war	ο:	* =0
b5go – palm bamboo	Gio	445	drum	Gio	150
B5 kpoa (n) ge – boy's Bush			bwebe kalo (or ditete) -	mni «	66
(cleared space of the B5	Gio	276, 277	July and August (rains)	Tiē	
cult) booms — "rich one"	Gio	168	bwelie – bell	S.	151,447
	GIO	700	bwila - a large, crested	Gio	87, 235
boome va (or se deī) — clan chief ("rich one big")	Gio	168	hawk-eagle	Tiế	89
b5n — flute	Gio	154	bwili – python	Gio	242
	M.		bwi – to become still		158
bono – giant rat	171.		bwo - the "board" game	Bas.	130
B5 ze zo – cutting devil of the B5 cult	Gio	280, 281	bwo (or gbeketele) - click-	M.	152
	Gio, M.	222, 444	er (a musical instrument)	171.	-3-
bu — gun	M.	477, 479, 480	Bw5 (or B5) - Sanda wom-		
bu – rice bua – cow's horn fetish	M.	7///7/2/7	en's cult (equivalent to the Poro)	Gε, M.	267
bubu (see tobe—robe of			bwole – totem	Gio, M.	351-53
Sudan type	Mand.	110, 111, 157	bwomoron – hospitable	Kp.	214
bude — intestinal ulcers	S.	391	C C		
bude - non-striking thunder	L.	410	chunu bulu – oil jar	Tiē	133
bude - water tortoise	Gio	445	D		
		115	da (or ya) – to climb	Gio	447
budu – rectangular, square or oblong house	M.	289	da — to fall	M.	213
bue - wild yam (unidenti-			da — father	Gio, M., S.	213, 443, 481
fied)	Gio	348	dã - thorny shrub or vine		
buga — ammunition	Gio	231	(Acacia)	M	37
bugbwe (or botue) - wild			daba – to kill	S.	447
fig tree (unidentified)	S	107	dabenu – town-crier	L.	169, 237
Bugo - one of the 2 daugh			dadalai – priest of lai	M.	
ters of the moon-carrying			dagba -rice fanner	S.	125
spirit who carries star	s		dagie – to bury (impolite)	M.	444
during the day	- L.	413			
bu kpai abo no – a larg	e		dai kpa blı — Poro devil, en tertainer (can vary hi	s	
green grass snake	M.	450	height; "dry leaf eater") G ε	272
bukuziű – tree spirit	M.	453	dajio – doctor, diivner	S.	35
bulu — liver	L.		dali – medicine of diviners	м.	404
bulu – pot cover, bowl	S.	133	dan – medicine of diviners		

490	TRIB	ES OF THE LIBE	RIAN HINTERLAND		
dama — hourglass-shaped drum	Gio	150	de pu — medicine man of fer- tility society	Gio	215
datuwe – dropsical swelling davagi – tree with plum-like	L.	390	de sã nyō — medicine-man ("tie thing man")	Tiã	171
fruit of Burseraceae	L.	97	de zo (or ge zo) – leading devil of the B5 cult	Gio	
dawe - long-lived	S.	214		G10	171, 280
dawuogli – rice pot	L.	133	dhro jebli (<i>or</i> so:u jebli) — member of the Kele So-		
da - new, young	M.	478	ciety	S.	313
da — rain	M.	410	di – cow	M.	413, 443, 476
de le we-non-striking thun-	M	- 470	di – day after tomorrow	M.	68
der ("rain [is] talk[ing]")	M.	410	di – inside	S	447
de (or de) – thing	S.	94, 447	di - seat of soul in the solar		
de —	Gio	447	plexus	Τiε	321
de: - pot of birdlime	M.	79	di – spear	Gio, M.	214
dea - 2 or 3 days ago	M .		di: - to hunt with nets; also		
-dea - suffix meaning town	•	•	hammock	M.	81
of, home of, place of, residence of	H.G.	30	dī — among, under	M.	
debe - sacred fish	Gb.	338	dī — gunpowder	M.	
debepabe – small, red, round		,,,-	dī — there	M.	481
pepper	S.	98	dia - suffix meaning town of,		
debu - vine (unidentified)	S., Tiē	295	home of, place of, resi-	***	
dedezo - probably October			dence of	H.G.	
(the harvest moon)	Gio	66	dia – poison producing tem-	S.	
deire - medicine man	H.G.	458	porary disability (needles) dia — bushy shrub (New-	٥.	380
dekonyo - title of respect	S.	214	bouldia laevis) used in		
denga – cat's cradle	Gio	226	treatment for sleeping sick-		
-deo (or dia) - suffix mean-			ness	M.	390, 398
ing town of, home of,	-		diā — fiber of oil-palm leaf-		•
place of, residence of	H.G.	30	lets	M .	*
de – medicine, medicine	Gio, H.G.,	M 21.562	dia mi da a ga – dancing		
man, diviner, doctor	Gio, Fi.G.,	M. 215, 263 280, 281, 323,	devil (he who sees will	M.	200
		330, 360, 368,	not pass by)	IVI.	272
		373, 404, 409,	diā wele – cord of fibers; hence, spring noose of oil-		
		424,	palm leaflets	M.	
de – mother, woman	Gio, L.	71, 287,	dĩã wele – car's cradle	M.	226
de (or de) - thing	C Tis	288, 446, 447	die bodio - commander or		
de ba zua – a dog's name	S., Tiế	351-53, 447	general	H.G.	363
(what's in a women's			di bi (or bo yıdı) - shrub		
mind [belly]?)	Gio	71	(Glyphaea laterifolia)	M.	393
de be i ya - black magician,			di bele gã (see di kũ mia) -		
bad medicine	Gio	380	Orion (the boys who pull		
dede — trap	L.	444	the rope)	М.	413
de ke - to make medicine	Gio	280, 281	dibo – one-stringed noise-	λſ	
dε kε zo – head medicine-			maker	M.	153
making zo of the B5 cult	Gio	280, 281	dide – diarrhea, dysentery	S	391
de li (or duoba) - third of			didi fofo – a roadside grass	Kp.	402
group of snake girls; also	M		Die-ordinal for second-		
female diviner de mi – male diviner	M. M	404	born of second set of	M	216
de un – maie diviner	M.	373, 404	twin boys	М.	210

\(\lambda_{}\)	C.		donyagi - tree with fruit re-		
die – town	Gr.		sembling red cherries		
die – to pass, to go ahead,	M.	226, 391,	(Maesobotrya Sp.?)	L.	97
to run	****	443, 478	dopai – red deer	L.	
digi — pot	L.	446	doseri (or do sılı – monster	H.G. (Webo)	340, 341
dig5 — bull	M.	478	Doso - one of two sons of		
diide – diarrhea, dysentery			the moon-carrying spirit		
("belly runs")	S.	391	who carries stars during	L.	413
di ku mia (see di bele gã) -	•		the day dosue – medicine of the	ъ.	4-7
Orion ("cow-catching	3.6		Pote-biaiti	Gb.	306
people")	Μ.	413	dovo – doctor	H.G. (Webo)	35
di mãi – next day after day	M.	68	dowolo volo – Wednesday	L.	67
after tomorrow	M.	478	do wu su-game of hide-		
dimű – cow ding – snail (<i>Achatina acha</i> -	171.	470	and-seek	Gb.	225
tina)	M.		do-to know	M.	479
dingə (or dini) — a sling	Gio	226	do (or lo) - market; market		
dine — a small bird (unidenti-			day; hence week; to buy,	C1 *	
fied)	M.	224	to sell	Gb., L.	67, 179, 476
dini (or dingə) — a sling	Gio	226	do(or lo) – to need, to want	M.	476
disĩ – to sneeze	M.	385	do — to rule	M.	
ditete (or bwebe kalo) —			do – to stop, to cease	M.	476, 479
July and August (rains)	Tiã	66	do – to wait, to stop, to	C:-	6- 4-3
dı (or lı) (see loa, pl.) -			stand	Gio	67, 412, 447, 476
mother, woman	M.	66, 215,	d5 - to cough	M.	44/,4/
		287, 288, 476	dodo – doctor who can see		
dı (or lı) — mouth, door	M., Gio	220, 447	witches	H.G.	
dı – witch, bad spirit	Gio, L.	307, 331–335	dobo — to go	L.	445
dĩ – who, whose	M.	480, 481	dogbe – wooden trumpet	S.	154
dı da bɔɔ̃ (or lı la bɔɔ) —			dolo — cold, raw	M.	
girls' excision Bush of the	7.4		domi - clan chief; title of		
Sande cult	М. М.	226	respect for all chiefs-		<i>(</i> 0 0
dılı — whip-top			chief, ruling person)	M.	168, 478
dıka — spark	L.	413	dono – fish net (large dip	à.c	.0-
djoe – bell clapper	S.	447	net)	М.	482
do — one	Gio, M.	443, 446, 447, 479	dono kana so — bicycle ("fish net-frame horse")	M.	482
do - tree (unidentified),		44/14/9	do sılı (or doseri) – monster	H.G. (Webo	•
bark of which is used to			dou – new	Gio	
strengthen wine	Gio	104	dra tuo — to fall down	Gio	447
doba – to kill	S.	260	drebolo — bath pot	Tiã	133
do boko – Wednesday	Gb.	67	dri – antelope (unidentified)	Tiễ	348
do boko folo – Tuesday	L.	67	driabwe – bath pot	S.	133
dőbwanini – plant (unidenti-			drie (or dolwe) – fish poi-		(200)
fied)	Tiã	217	son; also a tree (unidenti-		
dodria (or tjotria) – star	S., Tiẽ	413	fied)	S., Tiã	74
doe-group of stars from			dro — slave	Kp.	215
Orion's belt (the elephant)		413	d'ro - son of; daughter of	M.	214
dolo (or t'to) – camwood			dru - combination storage		
shrub (Baphia nitida)	M.	107, 402	and carrying basket, used		
dolwe (or driε) — fish poisor	ı S.	74	by smiths	M.	124
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492	S .		duo - to shoot (an arrow),		
		94 446	to throw, to drive	M.	443
du boy	L. M		duo – slave	M.	215, 328,
	Gio, M.	94			329, 476
du daugines	M.		Duoba (or de l1) - third of		
uu 11010	Gio	447	group of Snake girls; also	3.6	
aa co amaa	S.	447	female diviner	M.	303, 404
uu — to tae	М.		duo g5 – slave man	М.	2.15
dua — axe	Gio	56	Duo lazu – slaves' town		0
Dua - Snake woman	М.	301	where they go at death	L.	328, 329
dua — uninitiated	Gio	280, 287	duo si - town-crier and mes-	Cia	160
dua gwo bwuje – Orion's			senger	Gio.	169
belt ("to take an axe			du'u - bird (Centropus mo-	Bulu	207
handle")	Gio	413	nachus)	Duiu	307
duā dī — Melegueta pepper			Duwa - third of group of	Gio	202
(Aframomum baumanii)	M.	389, 398	Snake girls		303
dubwe – game of tug-of-			duwe - small gourd	S.	392
war	Gio	225	duwi —	S.	444, 447
Duda (or Jeda; or Dula) -			duwulaetea - ceremony of		
residence of Ku on the	Tie	228 222	taking newborn child out		
Cavally River	Tiễ	328, 329, 331, 336, 369	for first time and naming	L.	211
		331, 330, 309	it	 .	***
dudo (<i>or</i> tobo) – wooden			dzina – specter, ghost, spirit	Vai	340
mortar	S.	102	apparition	Vai	249
dudu – sugar ant	M.		E	Gio	445, 447
dugba (or bwe) - big war	~.		e – he	Gio	
drum	Gio		eba —		445
Dugbwi - one of 2 rivers			ele — already	L.	446
behind the hill of the dead	S.	14, 27, 329,	enbwambo – black, gray,	c	125
		342, 348, 369	dark blue, or dark green	S.	127
dui dui – January (misty			enbwambo plipli – absolute	S.	127
month, moon of harmat-	M	65	black		127
tan)	M.	٠,	englese - here around me	Gio	447
dukba (or gbele) - big drum			ε – cannot	Gio	445
for war or dance	М.		ε (or $\varepsilon k\varepsilon$) – exclamation	М.	-1
Dula (or Duda) residence of	57 1.∼	0	ε — it	L.	446
Ku on the Cavally River	Τίξ	328, 329,	ε biealiu (pl.; see ε bieliu,		
	т	331, 336, 369	sing.) — a greeting	Ket.	174
dulu – little child	L.	449	ε bieliu (sing.; see ε biealiu,		
du mana – exclamation of	3.4		pl.) - a greeting	Ket.	174
scepticism	M.		ejeli —	L.	445
dumboi – paste of cassava	37-:	100	$\varepsilon k \varepsilon (or \varepsilon) - exclamation$	М.	
roots	Vai	100			
dumboy - paste of cassava	T7	60 6v d	∂n — yes	Gio	447
roots	Kon.	fig. 61, d	F		
dumpwie – game of blind-			fã — wind	M .	
man's bluff	M.	225	fã – word, news	L.	446
Dumuma - great fetish of			falali (or kwiligi, plegi) -		
Namu and Wai	М.		folk tale	L.	447
duo (or luo) – day	M.	213, 476	fali - short-snouted croco		
duo-forest buffalo (bush			dile (Osteolaemus tetra		
cow)	Gio	71,476	spis)	L.	340

falivali - broom for sweep-			F5 - ordinal for sixth-born	M.	215
ing courts and streets	Gb.	124	boy	M.	•
fana – a large fish	M.		f5 — to pierce	141.	
fanga – singing drum	L.		fo Glü – Poro devil (pro- tector of palm nuts)	Gio	fig. 90, e
Fanía – ordinal for sixth-		,	folo – tree (unidentified)	Vai	370
born girl	M.	215		м.	
Fa nía – a Poro devil not	M.	272	fonő – pay	Pal.	130
seen by the uninitiated	171.	-/-	fu – bowl or dish	Gb., Ge, Gi	o, L., M.,
fã nyõ ε lẽ na – answer to			fu (or vũ do) – one ten	C5., C5,	100
greeting ("no bad news there")	L.	175	G ga – to die	Gio, M.	242, 478, 479
fao – feather headdress	S.	447	-	L.	445, 446
fasavili — small zebra ante-			ga — to do	Gio, M.	
lope (Cephalophus doria?)	Gb.	200	ga – foot, leg	M.	
faye – game similar to bat-			ga (see gana) – ge's shirt	111.	
tledore and shuttlecock	S.	225	ga: (or gaga) - hard, diffi-	м.	
fã – a long time ago	M.	480	cult	M.	
fāi — a climbing shrub (Man-			gã: — guinea fowl	1720	
niophyton africanum), a			gaga (or ga:) - hard, diffi-	M.	478
source of fiber	M.	122	cult	M.	95
fefegi — whirlwind	Gb.	411	gai – small, brownish skink	Gε, M.	
fi - energy, strength	M.		gai yumbo – warriors	M.	
fía fía – poor, not rich	M.	221	ga kpɔ (or gāma) — ankle	M.	
findato – unidentified leaf			gala — fence	171.	
which has healing powers	Gb.	203	gala (or jala) - gathering of	S.	313
fifi – completely	м.	478	the Kele Association	Gb., L.	21, 36, 50,
fili — bracelet	M.	113	Gala - God, heaven, spirit	G0., D.	315, 317-20,
fili genkili – broad bracelet	М.	113			326-28, 330,
flala – Christmas Bush (Al-					331, 373, 379,
chornea cordifolia)	M.	107, 389,			404, 407, 413,
CHOTHER COLLEGE		393, 398		-	445
flefle (or toko-toko) – flabby	. M.	476	gala —	L.	446
fli – foam, suds, hair, wool	M.		gala dawo-onu - female di-		
flia — twins	Gio, M.,	444	viner (God's-will inter-	L.	404, 407
flo – to loose, to untie	M.		preter)	Gb., L.	125, 127
	Μ.		galagi – type of mat		
flo – hoe flumo – cylindrical leather			gala la (or gana) - shrub		
pouch	M.	fig. 76, b, f	(Lonchocarpus cyanes- cens), leaves of which pro-	_ *	
flumo – a man's Bush name	e		vide a blue dye	L., M.	127
(big men in the Poro cult) M.	304	Gala na boa – sword of Goo	i L.	328
fo — toad	M.	444	Gala Na Kela – messenge		
fo - tree (tarettia utilis)	M.	122	of Gala	L.	3 ¹ 7
foa tuo – April	S.	67, 364	Gala na kpwe-spear o	o f	
foe — breath	S.	320	God Report	L	328
	_0 -0		Gala ta - God's town, spin	18	
fola yi – small brown snak	Gb.	214	itual abode	Gb., L.	21, 317, 328,
folo – to shine	L.	67, 412			330, 331, 413
folo (or volo) – sun, day		397	Gala ta ye (see Gove laz	au _	
fone – tree (unidentified)	Gio	391	ye) - spirit-town river	L.	328
fo (or vo) - to leave,	to M	443	galebo — day break	L.	446
make, to fill	M.	717	gama — true, truth	L.	446
f5 – great hornbill	М.				

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gãma (or gãkpo) – ankle	М.	113	gbana – hammer, hammer-		
gama fili – anklet ("ankle			heads	M.	140–43, 410, fig. 64, <i>e</i>
bracelet")	M.	113	gbana — thunder	M.	410
ga mi (see ga mia, pl.) – human spirits (dead per-			gbana we – striking thun-		,
son)	M.	336	der (voice of blacksmith		
gana (see ga) - ge's shirt	M.		hammer)	M.	410
gana (or gala la) — shrub			gbangala — minnows	M.	
(Lonchocarpus cyanes-			gbao (or bau) - no (inter-	O: M	
cens), leaves of which pro-	M.	207	jection)	Gio, M.	480
vide a blue dye gantru – small termites' nest	171.	397	gbato — whip	M. L.	fig. 74, d, g
from which issues the rain-			gbaviligi — soup pot	M.	133
bow	Gio, M.	411	gbāwi — chief's robe	171.	110
gaou - salutation for the new	*		gba ya tjo — March and April ?	Tiē	66
moon	L.	412	gba yıdı—a tree used in		
gate – small in person	Gio	214	medicine ("black deer		
Gau (or nenu) — ordinal for third-born girl	L.	215	stick")	M.	234
gaze — anklet	Gio	113	Gba ze Gε-Poro devil		
gazie da bozu – camping to	G. 10	,	(executioner of boys who		
fish and hunt	L.	75	break the sacred law of the Poro)	Gio, M.	
ga – green mamba	M.		gbā — red squirrel	M.	
ga flo – small grass snake	M.		gbā tā—a small, bright red		
gai — long cutlass	M.		bird (unidentified)	Gio, M.	
gãi – wild bitter orange	M.	390	gbea (or ge, or gei) - dance		
gba — black deer	M.	234, 443	rattle for purposes	M.	152
Gba ze Ge - Poro devil (ex-			gbēa — short tongs	M.	143
ecutioner of boys who			gbea (or mea) — son of	M.	
break the sacred law of the Poro)	Gio, M.		Gbe Glü – Poro devil (the	Gio	f. 00 f
gba — gun	L.		one with the hamper)	M.	fig. 88, f 388
gba — hindleg	Gio	94	gbei – leprosy gbeī – a "quarter" of a town	M.	300
gba (or gbana) – shoulder	Gio, M.	94	gbeketele (or bwo) – clicker	174.	
gbā — dog	M	443, 444, 481	(a musical instrument)	M.	152
gbā — hindleg	M.	94	gbele (or dukba) - drum		•
gbā – spice tree (Xylopia			for war or dance	M.	150
aethiopica)	M.	122, 392, 396	gbese - rattles similar to cas-	_	
gbã – striking thunder	Gio	410	tanets (seed rattles)	S.	226
gba-a tangle of brush and	3.6		gbe - pot cover	Gio, M.	133
vines (thicket)	M.		gbeke – tree (Craterisper-	2.6	
gba bulu – the "board" game	Tiē	157	mum laurinum) gbese ko – bitter root (Paul-	M.	393
gba gble – condition simu- lating paralysis agitans	М.	390	linia pinnata), from which		
gbako (or gbuo) – big,		37-	toothbrushes are made	M.	118
large, much, plenty, many	M.	478	gbəli – cassava snake (Bitis		
gbala — shoulder	Gio	94	nasicornis)	M.	
gbala (or ba) - snake (night			gbī: — deadfall for small		
adder)	М.		game	M.	
gbalu - stick used for house			gbie – foreleg	Gio	94
poles (Myrianthus liberi- cus)	M.	41	gbieso — chine (between the shoulders)	Gio	94
Jus /	ATAR	4.	bilourders/	0.0	94

		million b.	GLO007IK1		777
gbieso – small, red, round pepper	Gio	98	juice of the fruit is used as a cosmetic	M.	315
gbie – cutlass	M.	447	gbonei — a small black bird (unidentified)	м.	
gbie kpma bono – hot iron ordeal	М.	428	gbono (or bono)—weighted- log trap	M.	
gbikiki – very far, very long, very far away	M.		gbo-si kpongli – scavenger beetle ("dung-taking		
gbimbi — small, long-legged	M.		beetle")	M.	477
grass frog gbing – far, long, tall	M.		gbu - small swamp crocodile	M.	
	M.		gbű – to help	M .	
gbini — python	M.		gbũgbũ – hand drum	M.	
gbini — very heavy gbini — to bend down, to	141.		gbulu – a shelter, either a		
rest on	M.	224	roof, or a head covering	M .	
gbini za – cicada	М.		gbuo (or gbako) – big,		
gbo – rubbish, refuse, feces,			large, much, plenty, many	м.	478, 480
dung	Gio, M.	370, 477	gbuonase – very many, a	3.6	
gbo — rump	M.	94	good many	M.	475
gbo – to waste, to throw		i x	gbwa – big road	Τίἕ	215
away, to tear	M.	479	gbwadie – fishing basket,	TTCC	***
gbo — axe	M.	56	used as a scoop net	H.G., S.	124
gbo - bill (of bird), beak	M.	444	gbwa-wimi – hill of the dead	Gio	336
gbo — pot	M.	443, 477	gbwe – game similar to	S.	225
Gb5 (or b5) — beneficent society which can control			"pom-pom-pull-away" gbwe — general name given to either boys or twin	5.	225
lightning gboa — light-colored antelope	Gb., L.	303, 410	girls; also ordinal for second-born of first set		
(Cephalophus sp.)	M.		of twin boys	Gio	216
gbobo — to cry	M .	479	gbwei – family head	M.	162
gbobogizegi – small, red,			gbwei boi - species of millet	M.	348
round pepper	L.	98	gbwela - insignia of office		
gbogbo — to defecate	M .		of clan chief (big knife)	Gio	169
gbogbwa – soup pot	M	133	gbweng - long tongs	M.	143
gbo gili — those uninitiated in			gbweu - zip! (exclamation:		
warfare	M.	235	so what!)	M.	447
gbogone — rice pot	M.	132, 133	gbwilebo — xylophone	S.	149
gbole — to drink	L.	446	gbwiligbwili — bedbugs	L.	117
gbolo — box	M.	477, 480, 481	gbwini – bell	M.	152
gbolo - rubber-producing fig			gbwogi – dance	Gb.	157
tree (Ficus vogeliana),			Gbwogi-thieves' association	Gb., L.	305, 439
bark of which is used for			gbwolu – fine woman	L.	214
medicinal purposes	M.	391	g'di (see gli:, gri, gili) -		
gbolo – uninitiated person ("shadow," "image"); also,			poison (literally, "sass- wood" – Erythrophyleum		
first grade of the Poro	М.	267, 268, 287	guineensis)	Gio	
gbolo ge – a Poro devil seen	м.	272	ge — to beg	Gio	214
in public	Gb.	272 287	Ge – ordinal for second- born of first set of twin		
gbolo wa – the initiated			boys	Gio	216
gbone — rice pot	Gio	133	gebade (or gılıbadei) —		
gbondo — shrub or small tree (Randia malleifera), black			striking thunder	L.	410

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geda — undesirable	Pal.	215	ge na – Poro devil (singer)	Gε M.	272 387
gedu (or julu) – sasswood			gene – thorn gene zolo – red flowering	141.	307
tree	H.G.	166, 313	shrub with thorns (Com-		
gega —	L.	446	bretum aculeatum)	M.	387, 400
gei (or ge, gbea) — dance rattle for cult purposes	M.	152	gelegele – broad	M.	
gei - hardwood tree (Chlo-			ge sagli - constellation (the great bear)	Gio	413
rophora excelsa) from which mortars are made	M.	130	ge toro (or ge t'ro) - mush-	м.	212, 359
gei – to say, to tell	M.	444, 447,	room (Nepatica)	141.	, 339
		479, 481	ge t'ro (or ge toro) – mush- room (Nepatica)	M.	
geî - thorny tree (unidenti-			ge wologi – sky people	L.	409
fied) whose scratch is sup- posed to be fatal	Gio	447	Gε Yumbo – young man's secret cult; dance rattle;		
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altissima)	M.	394	entertainer	M.	164, 237,
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ga pulu) — totem (thing one sees behind the back) ka ny5—sections of town in which a family lives (colloquially, "the quarter") kaseng (or kasheng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Ke. a totem), Bush devil Ke. a totem), Bush devil Ke. a totem, Bus		7			M.	126
ke yu ke yu - cry of warning of approach of the devil Gio 280 (colloquially, "the quarter") Kaseng (or kasheng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. Kasheng (or kaseng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. Ke yu ke yu - cry of warning of approach of the devil Gio 280 (in graph of the devil He graph of the devil He gio 280 (in graph of the devil He gio 280 (in graph of the devil He gio 280 (in graph of the devil He graph of the devil He gio 280 (in graph of the devil He graph o						
ing of approach of the devil Gio 280 (colloquially, "the quarter") Kaseng (or kasheng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. Kp. 354 ke—year M. ing of approach of the devil Gio 280 (ing M. 447 ke—but (conjunction) Gio, M. 447 ke—to make, to do; also suffix for forming verbs Gio, M. 221, 224, 445, 446, 479–82 totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 ke—year M. 65	one sees behind the back)	L.			- 1	•
(colloqually, "the quarter") M. 163 ke - but (conjunction) Gio, M. 447 kaseng (or kasheng) - totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil kp. 354 fix for forming verbs Gio, M. 221, 224, 281, 374, 445, 446, 479-82 totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 ke - year M. 65	in which a family lives			ing of approach of the	Gio	280
kaseng (or kasheng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil kasheng (or kaseng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. ke—inside ke—to make, to do; also suf- fix for forming verbs Gio, M. 221, 224, 280, 281, 374, 445, 446, 479—82 totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 ke—year M. 65		M	*60	ke - but (conjunction)		447
monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 ke—year M. ke—to make, to do; also suf- ke—to make, to do; also suf- fix for forming verbs Gio, M. 221, 224, 280, 281, 374, 445, 446, 479-82 445, 446, 479-82		IVI.	103			
totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 fix for forming verbs Gio, M. 221, 224, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 374, 280, 281, 381, 381, 381, 381, 381, 381, 381, 3						11
kasheng (or kaseng)—totem, monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. 280, 281, 374, 445, 446, 479–82 M. 65		Kp.	354		Gio, M.	221, 224,
monster (often taken as a totem), Bush devil Kp. 354 ke-year M. 65		1.00		J.		280, 281, 374,
가면서 있다. 바로 바로 맞지 않는데 프로젝트 아트 프로그와 이 스트를 보고 있다면 하는데 이 전에 되었다. 그는데 그는데 그는데 그는데 그는데 그를 다 되었다.						445, 446, 479-82
ka so! — exclamation M. keī — gall bladder M.	totem), Bush devil	Kp.	354		M.	65
	ka so! — exclamation	M.		keî – gall bladder	М.	

			kinja – carrying frame, ham-		
keke — title of respect ("uncle")	L.	237	per	Pidgin	22, 53, 54, 98, 108, 121, 124–27,
kεla – messenger	L.				129, 136, 143,
kεlε - association of men	S., T.	261, 262,			144, 180, 219,
		313, 314			282, 419, 441,
kele – mask	S.	313			452–55, 458, fig. 48, <i>a</i>
kele $(or \text{ kle})$ – palm of the hand	M.		kipelevelegi – xylophone	Gb.	149
kele – small brown frog found on stream bank	M.		kisi pennies or "irons" — twisted pieces of metal		
Kele B5 (or B5, or K'le B5) — circumcision Bush	M.	267, 287	used for currency (from Kissi tribe near Loma	Pidgin	36, 137, 181, 187, 250, 260,
kele kalaba (see kalaba) – leaders of the Kele Asso-					301, 410, 424, fig. 65, u
ciation	S.	313			11g. ♥), 12
kele kpe-weed (Cythulia			kiti ya kiti – game of tug-	S.	225
prostrata)	M.	393, 398	of-war	L.	94
kele kpesse - small purple			kıkıgezu – brisket	S.	101
weed (Lindermia senegal-			kılıgba – clay pot-stand	з. М.	446
ensis)	M.	397	kılıne: — riddle		66
ke nai (see ke nanu, pl.) -	r 161	.60 .9=	kla – hoe	Gio	
initiated into the Poro ke nanu (see ke nai, sing.) —	L., Mend.	268, 285	kla bo pa — May (hoe-neck filled month)	Gio	66
initiated into the Poro	L., Mend.	268	kladio – strong man	Gio, S.	214
kεndε – to help	Gio	23	klajeny5 – person who can see spirits	S.	324
ke za (or ko ke za) – private palaver "inside matters" or "inside house matters"	H.G.	423	Klaklabe – Warrior's class (Group A of Class III of	11.0	85, 165,
kō (or kā) — black cola (Garcinia kola)	M.		the age classes)	H.G.	235, 311
ki (or kwi) – skin, hide;			klao - camping to fish and	e .	75
hence letter or book	Gio	444	hunt	S. S.	75 447
Kia — ordinal for second- born of twin girls	S.	216	kle – farm kle (or kele) – palm of the		
			hand	M.	417
kiambwe (<i>or</i> tjangbı) — March	S.	67, 364	K'le B5 (or B5 or Kele B5) — circumcision Bush (first		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
kie – small, red, elongated	d C:	98	grade of the Poro)	Gε, M.	267, 287
pepper	Gio		klekle - chronic constipa-	3.6	202
kie – chimpanzee	M.	fig. 86, a	tion (%Lond	M.	392
kie ge – small boys' play devil of the Poro	м.	272	klε pε – property ("hand thing")	M.	417
ki-Gbua-la - big men of th	.e		k'l∂ — gizzard	М.	
Ki-La Society	M.	258	kli – true, so	М.	
Ki-La - society to enforce	e		klı — peeling, bark	М.	65
law and order	M.	258, 304, 305,	klıklı – very small	M.	
		349, 433, 434–36	klingkling - well, healthy	M.	478
Ki-La mi – a nobleman;			k'lok'lo - completely	M. ,	
member of the Ki-La Se	O	240 410	klolo – box-like rack	S.	123
ciety	М.	349, 419	kma – scrotum	Gio, I	Л. 94
kilele —	М.	444		М.	71,444
kineli – brisket	S.	94	kmã – fish		

302	2 2 2 2 2				
kmā – tree (Albizzia zygia) kmakma – big (influential),	M.	396	ko:la — a kind of clicker (a musical instrument)	Gio	152
strong	M.	350, 478	Kolba – degree of the Poro (runner or messenger)	L.	273, 288
Kmakma yıdı – hardwood (Hymenostegia lyrata) for			koli – head wife	Gio	193
making charcoal ("big		•	kolo – cold	Gb.	66
stick")	M.	350	kolo – to rule, direct	L.	273
kmã ti – tree (Albizzia zygia), wood from which keys of xylophone are			kolo gwei – December (very cool weather; cold small moon)	Gb.	66
made	M.	149	kolotue – tree (unidentified)	Tiē	296
kmã yi – a dog's name ("there is fish in it")	M.	71	kolo wolo - January and		290
ko - callous sitting pads of			February (a big cold moon; cold month)	Gb.	66
the monkey	S.	456	koloua — iron	L.	446
ko – loin	Gio	94	kolu – chief's staff	S.	214
Ko - ordinal for fifth-born			Kolu – ordinal for first-born	0.	~~~
girl	M.	215	of twin girls	L.	216
ko (or ko la) — shrub (Ery-	3.6		ko ma – exclamation	M.	213
thrococca manii)	M.		kon – small basket	Gio, M.	123
ko – sun perch	M.		Kona – ordinal for first-	,	,
ko – war	Gio	214	born of twins; also medi-		
ko (or koa [kwa]; see ma,			cine	M.	216, 300
um, un, sing.) — we, our, us (first person plural)	M.	224, 444, 478, 480, 481	kondobo (see nafu, nafui, namu) – devil of the Poro		
koa – eagle	M.		(the seizer)	Gb.	268
koa (or ko [kwa]; see ma,			konigi — harp	Gb.	154
um, un, sing.) – we, our,			konkie – larger, red, elon-	C '.	-0
us (first person plural)	M.	478	gated pepper	Gio	98
Koba – boys and youths			konsuo – larger, red, elon-	M.	98
(Class II of the age classes),	0. 771-		gated pepper	Gio	226
corresponding to Pubodu	S., Tiế	see p. 165	koso – a top	Gb.	
kobaganu – neck-ring	L.	112	kotigi – bell	Gb., Mend.	152
kobi – fine square house in	т		koti zigi — memory-test game	L.	224
the Poro	L.		Koto-kpawolo – Great One kotu – tree (unidentified)	S.	407
Kobli – where slaves go at death	Gb.	329		3.	456
kodie – war spear	Gio	214	Koula-podo – one of 2 sons of Sotala gi, the moon-		
kodubu-vine (unidentified)	S.	74	carrying spirit. (He car-		
koe – war	L.	446	ries the stars during the		
kofli nyū – let me pass (par-		777	day)	L.	413
don me)	M.		kozuvezoge - stoppage of		
kogbwa – type of noose trap	Gio	78	the bowels	Gb.	
ko kea – commander	L.	235, 239	ko - hand, forearm; foreleg,	3.7	
koko (or gulewoko) –	~-	-331-39	branch	M.	447
wooden bowl or dish	L.	130, 133	ko – house	Gio, M.	272, 288, 423
Kokwe – ordinal for second-	1-1-1		ko - large tree (Ricinoden-		
born of twin boys	L.	216	dron africanum) with an oily nut	M.	394
ko la (see ko) — shrub (Ery-			Ko (or kau) - ordinal for	10 10	
thrococca manii)	M.	399	first-born girl	M.	215
ko:la – eggplant	L.	96	ko: - to dry	M.	
551					

		APPENDIX B: O	GLOSSARY		503
	Ci. M		kpa sılı – crawfish	M.	477
k5 – basket	Gio, M.		kpa-sılı-kə — vine with prom-		
ko dε – house mother in Sandε	Gio	288	inent nodes (Cissus sp.,		
kogi – neck, belly	L.	94	and others)	M.	477
ko ke za (or ko za) – private palaver "inside matters" or "inside house matters"	H.G.		kpa yanga — lesser kingfisher (Halcyon senegalensis fuscopileus)	M.	
kokogi – termites' nest			kpaī kpaī — climbing shrub (Dalbergia saxitalis)	M.	400
(Termes mordax, or related species)	Gb.	362	kpεa – gε's tall headpiece	M.	
Ko kona – ordinal for first-			kpei da – plant used as		
born of twin girls	M.	216	treatment for headache	M.	
kokwai – francolin (bush	,		(Dracena surculosa)	M.	94
hen)	M.	297	kpe (or kbe) – neck	M.	71
kɔ̃la teng – painted dove	M. -	6	kpe – what? why?	M.	
kəli — to crow	L.	446	kpele – flying squirrel	M.	
kəlön wele — old trade beads	M.	112	kpele – heard	M.	
ko o dea nya – exclamation	0:	68	kpele kpele – pepper bird	M.	
of admiration for sunset	Gio	00	kpene – crooked		120 142
kaple ba – bowl or dish	м.	130	kpεya – small-bladed adze	M.	129, 142
(wash basin)	M.	-,-	kpî — bed	М.	
ko wene – finger	IVI.		kpīa kpīa – large, wingless	M.	401,477
ko za (or ko ke za) – private palaver ("house matters")	H.G.	423	wasps	M.	7
_	M.	226	kping kping – straight	M.	
kpa — bridge	M.	479	kpılı – an edible nut	M.	94
kpa — to cook	M.	272	kpılı – penis	171.	77
kpa – dried	Gε	-7-	kping ke ko fu – cat-claw thorn vine (<i>Mezoneurum</i>		
kpa — grasshopper	M.		sp., near benthianianum)	M.	393
kpa – last month	M.	222	kpo – a knot, a lump, a fist	M.	4 ¹ 3
kpa – stem	M.		kpo – rump	Gio	94
kpa — trap	M.		kpo – tree with apple-like		
kpa: — rattan			fruit (Mimusops djave),		
kpai – corn, maize	M. M		from seeds of which an		* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
kpai – rice kitchen	M.		oil is derived	M.	97
kpai bli sa – parrot ("corn-	M.		kpo: – gourd	M.	
eating parrot")	L.	94	kpolo wai (or kpwolo wai)	T	268
kpakigi – shoulder kpakili – tree (<i>Bussea occi</i>		· ·	uninitiated (sinners)	L.	200
dentalis)	M.		kpon – hammock frame	M. L.	427
kpakizozuve – chine (be-			kpoto – ordeal	M.	481
tween the shoulders)	L.	94	kpo – to put (down) kpo – a tangle of vines on a		T-
kpala – lesser hornbill			tree trunk	М.	
(Tropicranus	3.6		kp5 — gamble		
albocristatus)	М.		kpongli – beetle	M.	477
kpala-kpala - to figure out	a Gio	443	kp5 wele – cowrie shells	M.	
thing	Gio	ידד	kpu – stump	M.	
kpa lu ge – long-legged Poro devil	Gε	272	kpulu – a block	M.	413
kpana – striped grass mous			kpume - 2-handled sledge		
kpana yıdı – small tree wit			hammer (also used as		* 1
striped bark (Monodor	ra M.	394	small anvil)	М.	35, 142-44, 349, fig. 64, g
tenufolia-benth)		77.			

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504	TRIBES	OF THE LIBER	IAN HINTERLAND		
kpune – living	Kp.		kpwoa – uninitiated person		
kpwa - strong, to be straight	L.	273, 446	("outsider")	Gb.	268
kpwade – gun; also, a game	Gb.	30, 226, 277	kpwodo – basket for carry- ing food	L.	123
kpwade pa – oath ("gun kill [me]")	L.	277	kpwogi - council of chiefs	L.	414
kpwafage – type of noose	υ.	2//	kpwoive - bright red	L.	127
trap	L.	78	kpwokro - punishment for	Ot-	
Kpwa kolo g1 - degree of			conscientious objectors	Gb.	235
the Poro ("strong rule	L.	272	kpwolakpwala – September (rice harvest)	L.	66
thing")	L.	273	kpwole – rattle	Gb.	152
kpwala – grove; farm kpwalie – broom for sweep-	.		kpwole – riddle	Gio	446
ing the house	Gb., L.	124	kpwolo wai (or kpolo wai)		77*
kpwana – sorrow, sadness,	•		- uninitiated (sinners)	L.	268
misery	Gio	215	kpwono-scarification marks		
kpwanagize - large, red,			resembling vaccination	M.	388
elongated pepper	L.	98	kpwo (or n5) – catfish	Gio, M.	338, 349
kpwane - dog's name (find	_		kpw5 di — sacred catfish (Siluridae)	M.	338
your own thing)	S.	71	kpwoli – to search	L.	
kpwange – house of spirits	Gio	287	kpwudu – flock	L.	445
kpwasada – leaves of okra			krajenyo – people who can	٠.	413
plant (Hibiscus esculen- tus)	L.	96	see witches	Tiã	336, 342
kpwaza-malamala-gi – rain-	υ.	90	kro – patience	H.G.	31
bow	L.	411	krvou – leopard's tooth	Kp.	214
kpwe – dead	Gio	242, 324	Ku (or kuo, kwo) - ances-		
kpwe – spear	L.	328	tral spirit as God (a divin-	e mis	
kpwe – circumcising zo	М.	280	ity)	S., Tiế	71, 317, 318, 324, 328,
Kpwea – association	Gio	334, 423			330, 351, 370,
kpwea - initiated members		331.1.3			371, 377, 405
of a tribe (cut one)	м.	268, 280, 287	ku — dead	S.	324, 447
kpwede - to fix, to repair	L.	- 214	ku – oracle-spirit that is con- sulted by Bauwɛ̃ɔ̃	S.	261
kpwego - thorny vine			kū – to catch	M.	351 214, 412, 413,
(Smilax kraussiana)	M.	122	Ru - to caten	141.	443, 444, 479
kpwei - to talk	L.	446	ku a pa bi – dead	H.G., S.	328
Kpweiwu - ordinal for sec-	* _		Ku a zuzu-judge of the		
ond-born boy	L.	215	dead	S.	328
kpwele – conundrum in			kuba — dropsy	Gb.	390
story form	L.	447	kubuve – hypogastrium	L.	94
kpwele – light tint, white	L.	127	kus – tree (Pentaclethra macrophylla-benth)	M.	396
kpwele ve fofo – pure white	L.	127	kugu — old	H.G.	162
Kpwembli – first Snake girl	Gio, M.	202 202	kuhuhu – spirit (thing in	11.0.	
of group	_	302, 303	man that lives on)	H.G.	321, 325
kpwiliya — machete	L.	56	kui (or kwi) - foreigner or		
kpwi tidi – purple mahog- any tree (Entandrophrag-			white man (a man who	M	
ma sp.)	L.		knows book)	M.	215
kpwi – mercy, kindness	M.	320, 479	kukoi – whistle imitating bush hen	Gb.	297
kpwibo - to beg, to sacri-	ar e T		kukwingi - raft on which to		
fice	M.	477	cross river of the dead	L.	328

kula — captain, town's war leader	Gio, M.	87, 235	kwalowolo — leaves of young cottonwoods	L.	97
kulatu - tree (unidentified),	Tiē	220	kwanai (see kwɛ̃) — plant (Strophanthus sarmento-		
source of poison		230	sus)	M.	386
kuloi – locust pods	S.	102	kwaze – broad bracelet	Gio	113
kulongi – October (heavy	т	66	kwa — hand	Gio	214, 417
mists; no rains) kulu – bird, blue plantain- eater (<i>Corythaeola cris</i> -	L.	00	kwa po – property ("hand things")	Gio	417
tata)	M.		kwē – basket for carrying		1 /
kulu – chicken hovel	M.	51	food	M.	123
Kuluba – degree of the	.,	,-	kwea — up	Gio	23
Sande, like Kolba of the			kweaweagi — "kernels," small		
Poro	Gε	288	lumps appearing on the		
kunu — bellows	M.	137	neck (a symptom of Try-		
kunu — owl	M.		panosomiasis)	L.	389
			kwedisa — parrot	M.	223
Kuo (or ku, kwo) – ances- tral spirit as God (a divin-			kwei - tree with plum-like		
ity)	S., Tiế	317	fruit of Burseraceae	M.	97
kuo – tortoise (Cynixis)	М.	see p. 153	kwe - antelope (unidenti-		
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	S.	-	fied)	S.	348
kupabu – a monster	_	342, 343	kwε –	L.	446
kupie – a small basket	L.	123	kwē - common monkey,		
kusu (or kususu, kuzu, ku-			"Jack" (Cercocebus tor-	3.6	
zulu) – spirit of the liv- ing (thing in man that			quatus atys)	М.	
lives on)	Tiã	321, 324	kwē — poison (Strophanthus sp.)	M.	
kususu (or kusu, kuzu, ku-			kweiye – "by-and-by"	Gio	447
zulu) – spirit of the liv- ing (thing in man that			kwele - suffix meaning town		
lives on)	S., Tiế	321, 322	of, home of, place of,	**	
kuviva – wild nut (Garcinia	,	J , J	residence of	Kp.	30
kuviva – who hat (Gareina kola)	Gb., L.	396	kwene — small	М.	226
	Gio		kwi (or kui) – foreigner or	3.6	
kuwi — penis	dio	94	white man; also a prefix	M.	215, 481, 482
kuzu (or kusu, kususu, ku- zulu) — spirit of the liv-			kwi (or ki) – skin, hide	Gio	26
ing (thing in man that			Kwi (see Kwi-a-yunu) –		
lives on)	Tiã	321, 324	spirit, sometimes witch; common name for Kwi-a-		
kuzulu (or kusu, kususu,			yunu Society	H.G.	243, 300, 310,
kuzu) – spirit of the liv-			yunu Society	11.0.	311, 312, 336
ing (thing in man that			Kwi-a-yunu (or Kwi) - so-		3 73 733
lives on)	Tiẽ	321	ciety for hunting out		
kvadaworu – anklet	L.	113	witches	H.G. (Webo) 243,
Kwa - ordinal for first-born	. *			ı	300, 310
of twin girls	Gio	216	Kwi ba (or ya Kwi) - Big		
kwa (see ko, koa; see ma,	21 1		Devil of the Kwi-a-yunu		
um, un, sing.) - we, our			Society	H.G.	310, 311, 312
us (first person plural)	M.	478	kwiglo – banana	M.	482
kwai – firewood	M.		Kwi-iru - children of de-		
kwai kuo – musical instru-			parted spirits	Gr.	312, 313
ment made of the shell of			Kwi-La - society of peers		305
the forest tortoise (Cyn			Kwi-La-me vo-leader of		
ixis)	M.	153	Kwi-La Society	Gio	305

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	C.L	41.2	lau – public, open	H.G.	423, 425
kwiligi — basket kwiligi (<i>or</i> falali, plegi) —	Gb.	413	lauli – outside	Gio	68
folk tale	L.	447	lau za – big trial ("open or	11.0	
kwi nijunu - members of the			public matters")	H.G.	423, 425
Kwi-a-yunu Society			lazu — town	L.	328, 329
(Kwi people)	H.G. (Webo)	310	la - leaf	M.	374
kwiső – sweet potato	М.	482	la – sky, heaven	M.	67, 480
kwitó – pine apple	M.	482	la — up, above	M.	480, 481
kwito – duck	M.	69, 482	la wele — hail	M.	411
Kwo (or ku, kuo) – ancestral spirit as God (a divin-			la yewe — non-striking thun- der	Gio	410
ity)	S., Tiế	317, 331	le — there	Gio, M.	445-47
Kwo - place of the dead	Tiã	331	leakpwe – type of noose trap	M.	78
kwoboi – tree (unidentified)	Gb.	305	-	M.	223, 224
kwole – white	L.	71	ledi — child's game	L.	446
kwo – chicken	S.	4 4 7	lega — cannot	M.	440
kwolo (or kola) – bush or		• • •	lei – thatch bat (mammal)	M.	412
forest	S., Tiẽ	351, 352, 353	leibwong – eclipse	IV1.	412
kwolo-j1-dε — totem	S., Tiế	351, 352	lendi – game of hide-and- seek	M.	223
L	,		le — to be	Gio, M.	223, 224,
la — to be	L.	446	is—to be	G10, 111.	443-47, 477-81
la – rice fanner	M.	125	le (or nyene) - farm clear-		112 111
la – to sit down	Gio	26, 447	ing; also farm	M .	411
la - upstream, on top of	M.	443	le - there, then, that	Gio, M.	443, 444
labo — glory	M.	481	le – thing, is	L.	345, 444-46, 457
lai – celt, whetstone for			lea — blood	M .	
razor	M.		li — to go	L.	215
lai - fetish cone (symbol of			li — on or in	S.	447
Dunuma)	M.		li — smaller	M.	423
lai – tree snail	M.		lie - before (of place), in		
laike gele - lightning	Gε	410	front of; also the road		
laike gli – lightning ("sky			ahead	M.	481
makes flash")	M.	410	liniga — to go	L.	446
lai pele – monkey trap	M.	78	li za – small trials ("smaller		
lala — to make level	M.		matters")	M.	423
lala boko – Monday	Gb.	67	$\ln (or di) - mouth$	M.	476
lala sogi – family head	Gb.	162	lı (or dı; see loa, pl.) –	C' 14	
lala va — Tuesday	Gb.	67	woman, mother	Gio, M.	155,195, 213,
lali — Saturday	Gb., L.	67			373, 404, 443, 444, 476–78
lalo — bell	Gio	152	lıblı — food	M.	77777
lalugi — moon	L.	412	lı la bɔ̃ (or dı da bɔ̃) —	.,	
lalugi nina – new moon	L.	412	girls' excision Bush of the		
la nyambo – lightning	Gio	410	Sande cult (a cutting or		
lapie – morning	M.		to cut)	M.	287
lapolo - stand behind, pledge	Kp.	215	lılı – ringtailed monkey	M.	
latagoli-November (streams			lılı – to swing	M.	
all full)	Gb.	66	lı nefu – woman-child	M.	478
latako – July (hungry time)	Gb.	66	lo – to go	М.	221, 223, 242, 444, 453, 477-81
latawoli – November (streams all full)	М.	66	lo — squirrel	M.	390, 443, 481

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lo – to stand up	L.	445	ma – people (suffix)	Bas.	
loa (see di or li, sing.) —	M	4 200 800	ma - the "board" game		7, 158, fig. 74, a
women	M. M.	477	ma - to hear, to understand	Gio, M.	425, 479
loa b5 — women's Bush	IVI.		ma (or 'n da) – my father;	C	
lo guo – cure for St. Vitus' Dance (Cesmodium ascen-			my uncle	S.	213
dens) ("squirrels' pea-			ma – a nut; a tree, source of	Cia	07.08
nuts")	M.	390	potash	Gio	97, 98
	М.	481	ma – seed of locust	S.	97
lo ka – to carry away	141.	401	mã – iron-headed arrow	M.	82
lolo – tree (Harungana mad-			mã (or mwã) — taboo in	0 5514	
agascariensis), (pain kill- er)	М.	279, 389,	general, law	S., Tiế	345, 372
C1)		391, 395	ma: — affectionate greeting	М.	
lolo gbea – tree (Vismia		37 . 373	madε (or bwandε) - food		
leonensis) (small pain kill-			taboo in general	S., Tiế	
er); treatment for dizziness	M.	389	-mai – people (suffix)	L.	21
lo:na — silence	Gio	425	-mai – suffix meaning town		
longana – sunset ("sun			of, home of, place of, resi-		
gone")	Gio	68	dence of	L.	30
lõno – vine (Landophilia			maida – cassava leaves	L.	96
sp.), source of latex	M.	82	maino - one who is obedi-		
lo yo - Chorea or St. Vitus'			ent and does things well	S.	214
Dance ("squirrel's sick-			mai wololo (or na wio) –		**
ness")	M.	389	answer to a greeting	H.G. (Wel	bo) 173
lozo — to fall	L.	68	makwomo - to be bought or		
lo (or do) - market; market			given in marriage (to take		
day; hence, week, to buy,			woman)	M.	215
to sell	M.	67, 179, 476, 477	mala blo — soup pot	Tĩ̃	133
lo-to want, to hunger, to			male - tree (unidentified)	М.	35
desire	M.	480	mana - the "board" game	Kp.	158
15 - peach tree (Pentadesma			mana – a curse	M.	
butyraces)	М.		mana - red iron wood		
loa – lion monkey	M .		(Aphira alata)	M.	
lo duo – market day	M .	213	manga manga – stickey	M.	
lolo - slowly, soft, softly	M.	478, 480	manī — to swallow	M.	
lu – forest, bush	M.	443,444	maniningi (or mivang) –		
lu (or du) – to tie in a bun-			a person's shadow	Gb.	320
dle	M.		masa - chief, rich man (chief		
luava - medicine of the			of the country)	L.	168, 446
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cephalus diderrichii)	Mand.	392	ond-born of twin boys	S.	216
lu bo – bush goat	M.		maso - strainer in the shape		
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luo – bush cow	M.			Gb., L.	293, 322,
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'm ('n) — yes	M.	480	melai) - society which		
'm or ma (see um, un, 'r	ı;		catches bad spirits of the		
see ko, or koa [kwa], pl.			dead	Gb., L.	303, 307,
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50 8				mene - moon; hence, month,		
	- ordinal for second-			menses	M.	198, 370,
bo	rn of twin girls; also,	L.	216			412, 477
		L.	444	mene - plant (species of		
	e – to crouch, hide	Pal.	202	Costus of the Zingibera- ceae family; symbol of the		
	ino – woman doctor	1 41.		Poro and Sande cults)	Gio	376
ma	yū nō—sacred wife of chief (law wife)	Tiē	372, 373	mene (or mene) – raffia-		
	agi – plantain	L.	446	fringe curtain "no tres-		
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	(Minusona diama)		11g. 90, 4, 2	mene gbo-puffball mush-		
me -	tree (Mimusops djave), vith apple-like fruit, from			room ("moon droppings")	M.	
Se	eeds of which an oil is			mene gbo la-poison leaf		
	erived	Gio	97	(unidentified)	М.	
mea	a (or mia; see me, me,			Mene Mia-Snake Society	~ :	
m	nē, mi, sing.) – persons,	0:		("Snake people")	Gio	300, 301
	eople	Gio		mene na - evening star	M.	413
	a (or gbea) — son of	M.		mene zo vo-leaders of the	~ :	
	be a - one who has	C:-	205	Snake Society	Gio	
	aken Kwi-La medicine	Gio	305	me zu (see zu, mi zu) -		
me	bī-a person's shadow	Gio	320	soul of man (thing in man	Gio	321, 324, 326
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	veride) of the mint family	GIO	90	mgbā (or nbwē) — far away	G10	77/
Me	elai (see molegi, monegi,			mi (or me, me, me; see mia,	Gio, M.	242, 306,
n	natai) - association which catches bad spirits of the			mea, pl.) - persons, people	G10, 1721	321, 322, 323,
	dead	Gb.	303,333			326, 327, 349,
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	•		300, 333	mia (or mea; see me, me,		
	elika – name designating			mε, mi, sing.) – persons,	M C- Cia	22 67
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me	ene (or mene) – rama- fringe curtain "no tres-			miã - blood vessel	M.	
	passing" symbol of the			miake – to make magic	M.	479
	Poro and Sande cults	Gio	267		M.	
m	ε̃ti − black snake	Gio	447	mia ke mi – magician	M.	
	ε – to hit, to beat	M.	479	miali — needle	M.	320
	E (or me, mã, mi; see mea,	0.00		mi bī—a person's shadow	L.	410
•	mia, pl.) - persons, people	Gio	306, 374,	miemie – lightning-flash		4.~
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	i∈ — what? where?	M.	224, 480, 481	person at death		
	nebo – to hit, to beat	M.	479	mivang (or maniningi) -	Gb.	320
m	neī - beyond, on the other	10 =	0-	a person's shadow mi zu—soul of man (thing		
	side	М.	481	in man that lives on)	м.	242, 321, 322,
m	ne kū – to beautify, to be	M.	. 444	III IIIII CIIII II O		327, 427, 428
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mi - to drink	M.	444, 479	mwulu lio – morning greet- ing and also answer to	*	
mini - pad for the head; ring for cushioning a load	M		greeting (light has come)	H.G., S.	173
carried on the head	M.	274		Gio, M., S.	
mo – more	Gb.	214	'n (or 'm) – I, yes	M.	447
mo – on	M.	224, 444	na — his	L.	444
mo – wide open	M.		na — like	M.	444
Molegi (see monegi, melai, matai) — association which			na – sky	Gio	67
catches bad spirits of the			na — to	M.	443
dead	Gb.	303, 304, 333	nã — no	L.	345.
molia — fine	Gio	214	nã — wife	M.	
moling - the spirit of the			nabu — fire	L.	446
dead	Kp.	325	nabwe — firewood	S.	447
monawobuuli - July (hun-			nafu (see nafui, namu, kon-		
gry time)	L.	66	dobo) - shortened form		
Monegi (see molegi, melai,			of nafui	L.	268
matai) - association which			nafui (see nafu, namu, kon-		
catches bad spirits of the	Gb.	303	dobo) - the Big Devil of	CI I	a 60 a ma
dead	М.	444	the Poro	Gb., L.	268, 273
m5 — to be able	M.	477	nafui so (see nafu so, namu		
m5 – bird (of any variety)	IVE.	T/ /:	so) — the Big Devil of the		
m5 – for, of, concerning, relating to, about	M.	443, 444, 481	Poro ("the catching devil")	Gb.	268
m5 — matters, affair ("pa-			nafu so (see nafui so, namu		
laver")	М.	477	so) — the shortened form	Gb.	
m5a — small	M.	387, 390,	of nafui so	GD.	
		392, 402	nafu zengi — instrument of the Big Devil of the Poro		
m5a yıdı — a glabrous shrub			("Nafu's finger nails")	L.	268
(Rauwolfia vomitoria) ("small tree")	M.	387, 390,	nakwi — crabs	L.	288
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m5m5 — a very long time			namu (see nafu, nafui, kon-		
ago	M.		dobo) - the Big Devil of		-
mpowe - paste of dry cas-			the Poro	Gb., Kp., L.	268
sava roots (dumboy)	S.	100	namu so (see nafu so, nafui		
mpowe (or tobo) - wooden			so)	Gb.	
mortar	Tiã	102	nana — proverb	S.	443
mu – to drink	Gio	428	nana — tongue	M.	
mu (or pu) — gone	S.		nana - tree frog	M.	
mū – female (of an animal)		478	nangma - head of the Poro	M.	
		,,	na-pin - phrase meaning		
mű (or mwi – short grass (unidentified) that grows			"you search for them"	M.	443
in sandy or rocky places			na po pu – dawn ("sky	~:	6=
mumo - hunting with net	_	81	things white")	Gio	67
		132, 133	Nau-ordinal for fourth-	L.	215
munu – oil jar, small oil po			born girl nã ve le—taboo ("[I] no		
mwā (or 'mā) — taboo	S.	345	eat [this] thing")	L.	345
mwele s5 – wrong doing	S.	319	nazai – wife	Gb.	194
mwi (or mũ) – short gras			nbwe (or mgba) – far away	Gio	
(unidentified) that grow		38	'nda – my uncle	Gio	447
in sandy or rocky place	DO IVI.	34			

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ne (or ni; see no, pl.) –	Gio, M.	220, 447	nike zigi viaiti – Orion (rope to lead cow)	Gb.	413
child	S.	447	niki – small brother	M.	
ne (or ne) - not	Gio	292	nina — new	L.	412
ne — razor	S.	447	ninang - bad spirits, genie	Gb., L.	339, 340
neai – flows	M.	195	nine — behind	Τiἕ	28
ne lı – bad-luck wife (flirt)	S.	446	nindoe - rainbow rising		
nene – riddle	3,	77-	from water	L.	411
Nenu (or gau) — ordinal for	L.	215	nine - cold, chill	M.	
third-born girl Nessa (or Nyessa) – God	H.G., S., Tiế	315	ninegi - imaginary monster	Gb.	251, 342, 351,
ne to — razor basket	Gio	292			352, 411, 450
ne – falsehood; a lie	M.	443	nitie (or tie; see niatie, pl.) –		
/	S.	444	magical brass bracelets or rings of a medicinal nature		
	Gio	443	("water bracelet")	H.G.	329, 363, 421,
ne - yet nefu - small brother; child	M.	446, 476	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		figs. 67, v; 75, m
		11 / 1/	niya - water, creeks, streams	S.	299
neke —to lie (to speak falsely)	M.		niya tchia – Water Leopard		
nenga — hippopotamus	M.	446	Society	S.	299
nengneng – sweet, delicious	M.	478, 479	n, iyua - answer to greeting		
	L.	446	meaning "good luck!"	M.	173
nga – I will	Gban.	315	nı (or ne; see no, pl.) —		
Ngala - God	Tiã	405	child	M.	477
ngamu – antelope horn			nı (or 'n lı) — my mother	S.	213
ngawulu (<i>or</i> nyū ba ju) — son	S.		nı junu — people	H.G.	310
ngi — head	L.	94	nınbē — pigmy hippopota-	PC1-4	
(n)gɔlɔ — town	Tiã	30	mus	Tiế	200
ngu – tree (Maesobotrya			nivo - phrase meaning chil-	M.	477
edulis?) with fruit resem-			dren	IVI.	477
bling red cherries	Gio	97	'nlonge – unidentified con- stellation in the west		
ngwe-to awake; a morn-			("the sun's children")	Gio	413
ing greeting - (you wake			no $(or\ o)$ — they, people	M.	23
up!)	L.	173	nowi - degree of the Sande,		
ngwo - tree (unidentified),			like bala mal(n)afuli of		
bark of which is used by	M.	405	the Poro	Gb.	288
diviners	Gio	320	no (see ne and ni, sing.) -		
ni (or te) – breath	Gio	,	children	М.	477
ni (see oa and wa) - con-			no – to give	M.	
nective meaning "and" (used in a series)	M.	481	No - ordinal for fourth-	M	215
ni – for instance	M.	444	born girl	M.	215
ni – water	Gio	23	nɔ̃ (or kpwɔ̃) – catfish	Gio, M.	
	M.	114	N5 – head zo woman	M.	
nia — razor	M.	477	N5tia - fifth of group of	Cio M	303
nĩa nĩa – mosquito	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•	Snake girls	Gio, M.	3~3
niatiẽ (see nitiẽ or tiẽ, sing.) – magic brass bracelets or			nramwa – bunch of palm	S.	447
rings of a medicinal nature			nuts		345
("water bracelet")	H.G.	346, 363	ntea — taboo	Kp. L.	446
nia:ze - bright red, light	<u>H</u> alling		nu — boy		10 mg
red, brown, or yellow	Gio	127	nu (or nui) – people, per	L.	306, 307, 446
Nije - witch cult	Tiã	314	son nu poisons	Gb.	379
nike mela-"devil's" horn	Gb.	270, 413	nu – poisons		Establish (

					•
nű — to come	M.	67, 68, 338,	nyε — eye	M.	224, 323
(3.5	~ :	446, 447, 479–81	nye – man	H.G.	162
nue – water-cow (Manatee)	Gio	352	nye – medicine; remedy,		
nūka—to bring nui (or nu)—people, per-	М.	481	magical substance, fetish, poison, etc.	M.	323, 358, 374
son	L.	324, 325	ny $\tilde{\epsilon}$ (or ny $\tilde{\epsilon}$) — to finish	M.	215
nui sa - corpse, spirit of the			nye be mi - sand-reader		
dead	Gb.	324, 325	(person who cuts the	M.	404
nu la — month	L.		sand)	IVI.	404
nu we-muscle	M.		nye ke mi – medicine-mak- ing person	M.	37 4
nya – egg	M .		nyε kugu – family head		
Nya - ordinal for second-			("man old")	H.G.	162
born son	M.	215	nyene (or le) - farm	M.	
nya – red hornbill			nyeno kalagba – head wife	S., Tiē	193
(Lophoceros camurus	7.17		nye sete – sand	M.	
pulchrirostris)	M.	6- 60 4-	nye so – medicine cloth,		
nya — sun	Gio	67, 68, 412	shirt worn over medicine	M.	234
nya a do lauli – noon ("sun	Gio	68	Nyesoa (or Nesoa) – God	H.G., S., Ti	ē 252,
he stand outside high")	Gio	00	,		315-19, 340,
nya beni — pebble-reader, diviner	M.	35			370, 457
nyainyelezi – ringworm	Gb.	397	nyine – sun	м.	67, 68, 412, 453
nyaka — empty	L.		nyine a lo (or nyine le pia		
nyaka – rice fanner	Gb.	445	nyini:) — sunset ("the sun,	M.	
	GU.	125	he has gone")	IVA.	
nya keng — eclipse of the sun ("sun's [small]			nyine a nu mia nyu zei – noon ("the sun comes		
circle")	Gio	412	over the middle of a per-		
nyama – rice bird	M.	223	son's nose")	M.	67
nyãmã — cat	M.	•	nyıne le pia nyini: (or nyine		
nyamu - Big Devil of the			a lo) - sunset (light eve-		
Poro and Sande	M.	269, 274, 275	ning time sun)	M.	68
nyanwole – goblin	L.	459	nyokpwadoba – June (rice	-m:-	66
nya pele – sunrise ("son			growing well)	Tiế	00
breaking")	Gio	67	nyo: - to push hard	M.	
nyasuo – small, red, elon-			ny5 — bad	Gb., L.	175
gated pepper	M.	98	ny5 – breast, udder	M.	
nya wulu – phrase meaning			ny5 – man, person	S.	162, 169,
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ond-born of twin boys as	3.4	2.6	ny5 kalagba — family head	S.	162
first children	M.	216	("man big")		
$ny\tilde{e} \ (or \ ny\tilde{e}) - to \ finish$	M.	447, 479	nyu – person	Kp.	325 67
nyegi – spirit which carries			nyū – nose	M.	07
sun between setting and	L.	412	nyu kpune – living person	Kp.	
rising			nyun∂ — young, immature	М.	
nyemo —	S.	447	nyuno la—sandpaper tree	М.	207
nyeni – thing	L.	342, 351	(Ficus exasperata)	IVI.	397
Nyeno - ordinal for first-	D.I		nyu sa —dead person ("corpse and spirit")	Kp.	325
born of twin girls	Pal.	216	Nyu soa – God; a mask	Kon.	316
Nyenojuruso – ordinal for	D-1			M.	
second-born of twin girls	Pal.	216	nyano — oil, fat	TAT.	443

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0	T	446	pã — tree (Combretoden- dron africanum)	М.	
o — before	L. S.	446	Pe: (or Pei) — ordinal for	1724	
o (or o) — his	s. S.	447	third-born boy	M.	215
o – oh! (exclamation) o (or no) – they, people	M.	174 23, 220, 444,	Pe Belle – boy child imme- diately following twin		,
	3.6	480, 481	boys	M.	216
oa (or wa; see ni) – and	M.	481	peda — two	M.	215, 216,
oa (see a, sing.) – we, our, us (third person plural)	M.	478	podd tho		224, 478–80
okpwai – francolin (hush		7/-	Pei (or Pe:) - ordinal for		
hen)	Bulu	297	third-born boy	M.	215
olale - to kill	H.G.	260	peledi - head wife ("house		
o mbieliu (see waa) – an-	-		mother")	L.	193
swer to a greeting	Ket.	174	peleku – to come	L.	215
onu de ku ku-wrong do-		7.	pelevili — an edible plant	L.	97
ing, mischief ("the thing one does [which is] not			pe-pangi — instrument which disguises the voice of the		
right")	H.G.	319	Big Devil; the devil's horn	L.	
oro - water pot	Gio	133	pe — anything	М.	443
o (or o) — his P	S.	444, 447	pε (or pε ya) — assistant to Abi	Gio	438, 451
-pa - suffix meaning town			Pε-an association of small	3.4	
of, home of, place of, resi-	01.34		boys	M.	343
dence of	Gb,. M.	30, 259, 327, 329	pe—to break, to tear, to split	Gio, M.	260, 412, 479
pa – to fill full	Gio, M.	66	pe (see po (contraction); or		
pa — giant monitor lizard	T:s		pevo, pl.) — thing, goblin, supernatural being	M.	207 242 417
(Veranus niloticus)	Tiē	see p. 200	supernatural being	147.	307, 343, 417, 438, 443, 446,
pa — to kill	L.	277, 446			451-53, 477, 481
pā — broom	M.		pε —	L.	446
pabe — pepper	S.	98	p€—to ask for	M.	•
pabe nini – small, red, elon-		-0	pē – one-half ("a piece, a		
gated pepper	S. M.	98	part")	M.	412,479
pabo – to tell a secret	Tiế	80	peiti (or ping) - small, little	M.	478
padiye (or badiye) – otter painyo – rich person	S.	89	peke —	Gio	445
pakpwai – wood from which	5.	214	pe kulu — iron	M.	773
keys of xylophone are			pεlapeyε – small ants	Tiã	75
made	Gb.	149	peldi – money (small brass		
palai - tropical ulcers	Gb.	397	bars); English coin		
pale (or polo) - Poro Bush			(mother of all things)	M.	181, 362
scarification marks	L.	119	pele — breaking	Gio	67
pan → phrase meaning			pele — to roast	M.	476
"about a week ago"	M.		pene — today	M.	68
panjebo – rainbow in the			peni — to pop	Μ.	
east	L.	411	pevo (or po-contraction;		
panyo - title of respect	S.	214	see ps, sing.) — things,		
papai – musical bow	L.	152	goblins, supernatural be-	М	242 477
patamave - place of Sanda			ngs pε wε (or bewe) — Septem-	М.	343, 477
circumcision school, first Bush	L.	289	ber (harvest begins)	Tiã	66
paulugledi – clicker (a mu-		209	pe ya $(or pe)$ – assistant to		11.43
sical instrument)	Tiã	152	Abi	Gio	343

		ALLENDIA D.	OLOODIII.		3 3
(ple – salutation	L.	412
pε yɔ (see pε yɔ-pɔ, pl.) – bad thing, goblin	Gio	343	$pl\epsilon$ — to wash	M.	
pe yo-po (see pe yo, sing.)			plegbala – May (rains be-		
— bad things, goblins	Gio		gin)	S., Tiẽ	66, 67, 364
	M.	78	plege - to come down	Gio, L.	351
pi-to blow (the fire)	M.		plege pulu – totem; also, the followers of a chief	Gio, L.	351, 352, 353
<pre>pi — small wood-boring beetles</pre>	M.		plegi (or falali, kwiligi) –		
pia lakpala – forks, as of a	_		folk tale	L.	447
tree, road, or stream	L.	30	ple, ple, gaou ple — "glad,		
pie (or pia) —	M.	481	glad, new moon, glad (to see you)"	L.	412
piebo — proverb	Gio	443	-plie (or -ple, -plei, -pie) –		
pievo – proverb	М.	443	suffix meaning town of,		
pie (or ple, -plie, -plei) —			home of, place of (modi-		
suffix meaning town of,			fication of pue), residence	· ·	
home of, place of, resi-	Gε, Gio	30	of	G_{ϵ} , G_{io}	30
dence of pi∂ — suffix denoting action	de, dio	J	plin ti - climbing fern, club		
in progress; to follow, to			moss (Lygodium smithi-	M.	
search for, to, toward,			anum)	IVI.	
along, following	M.	323, 411,	plipo – November (moon		
//		445, 480, 481	when rice cutting is al- most finished)	Gio	66
ping - small "bitter-ball"	M.		plo – bow	S.	
(Solanum incanum)		450	ploi — scrotum	L.	94
ping (or peiti) — small, little	M.	478	po - foreleg, or upper arm	м.	94
pingala — blacksmith	M.	213	po - hunting or fishing bas-		
pini – grass (Olyra latifolia)	М.		ket	S.	124
pini guo—squash plant			po — wild fig tree (unidenti-		
(Circumeropsis edulis),	M	96	fied)	Gio	107
kernels of which are edible	м.	90	pobe - bowl or dish (of		
pipi – sword grass (Scleria	M		wood)	S.	130
barteri)	Μ.		pobo - small basket for dry-		
pito nu – a Poro devil, en-			ing game or fish	H.G., S.	123
tertainer (can vary his height)	Gio	272	Pobodu – Class II, "wood ashes" (age classes – boys		
Piwa - ordinal for first-born			11 to 18 years)	H.G.	165
of third set of twin boys Piwu – ordinal for third-	Gio	216	poda — shrub or tree (un- identified), fruit of which		
born boy	L.	215	gives a black stain which		*
ple:ε — flute	S.	154	is used cosmetically	L.	117
		-51	podo - tree (unidentified)	Gio	122
-plei (or -ple, -plie, -pie) -			pofia - chine (between the		
suffix meaning town of, home of, place of, resi-			shoulders)	M	94
dence of (modification of			pogwes - a mass of leaves	S.	447
pue)	G ϵ , Gio	30	poi dãi – town chief		
plei domi - town chief	M.	166	("town's father")	Gio	166
-ple (or pie, -plie, -plei) -	•		po ju – baby doll	H.G. (Sap	222
suffix meaning town of			po kpwa – woman membe		
home of, place of, resi-	-		of the Poro	Gb.	268
dence of (modification of	f	20.227	poli -group of stars from	n	
pue)	Gε, Gio	30, 327, 329, 480	Orion's belt ("the hunter"		413
P		3-71 T-0			

7.4					
polo (or pale) - Poro Bush			pudu po: - pure white	S. Gε, Gio	127
scarification marks	L.	119, 284	pue — town		30
polo – small tree (Alchor- nea cordifolia)	Τĩε	348	puiyano — daughter puli — approximation of Eng-	S.	214
polo - tribesmen's name for			lish word "public"	M.	215
the Poro cult	Gb., L.	267, 268	pulu - back (of a person)	Gb., L.	351-53
polo fegi — beginning degree of the Poro	Gb., L.	273	pulu — pure white pulu (see pu) — white, or	Gio	127
polo g1 – initiation rites of the Poro ("the things of			very light tint	М.	127, 394, 476, 477, 478
Poro")	Gb.	268	pulu sedede – pure white	M.	127
polo-gi-zu - full name of the	~.		puluve — loin	L.	94
Poro ("Poro thing in") Polo kpwa – degree of the	Gb.	267	pumwe – tree (unidentified)	S., Tiế	191
Poro ("strength")	Gb., L.	273, 288	<pre>pungugi — vine (unidenti- fied), ingredient of per-</pre>		
polo nui — initiated members of the Poro	Gb., L.	268	fume	L.	117
ponea — to mark or decorate	L.	446	punogi — rump	L.	94
pono – plant (Ageratum	2.	71	punu (or pudru) — neck	S.	
conyzoides)	Tiã	217	puo — broom	H.G.	124
popainda – leaf at entrance			puti - back entrance of ani-		
to girl's Bush	Gb.	293	mal's burrow	М.	
popialo – tree (Bandieracea simplicifolia), with in-			pwā pwā — harrier hawk (Gymnogenys typicus	3.6	
flated fruit pids	M.	154	pectoralis)	M.	
pote - magic; also, a guess-			R robotu – small tree (un-		
ing game	L.	224	identified)	S. ,	118
Pote-bala — leader of the Pote-biaiti Association	Gb.	306	S		
Pote-biaiti — association of		. 3	sa — dead	Gb., Kp.	324, 325
magicians	Gb.	306	sa — fence	M.	228
powe - July	S.	67	sa — mat	M.	125
po (see pe, sing., or povo) -			sa — parrot	M.	223
things, goblins; also, prop-			sa – to take by force	S.	28
erty	Gio, M.	67, 417,	sã — circle	H.G.	423
	A	477, 481	sā — hunter's bow	M.	
pobwe — whip top popo — wild eggplant ("bit-	S.	226	sã – play, joke; also trial or ordeal	Gio, M.	423, 479
ter-ball")	Gb.	337, 339	sabi - tall hats worn by girls		
popo-zo-wolo – caretaker of sacred fish; high priest of			coming out of the Sanda Bush	L.	294
the hill people	Gb., L.	337, 339	sãbo – to joke	M.	479
pu (or mu) — gone	S.	3377.237		S.	400
pu — ten	Kp.	215	sabwe – tree (unidentified)	J.	400
pu (see pulu) - white or			Sade (or Zade) — Sande Society	L.	287
light skinned, light tint	Gio	67, 127,215	sade ki – initiated women	L.	
pu — gun	S.	222, 447	Sade kwala – Sande school		
Pubodu – "wood ashes"			or grove	L.	287
(Class II of the age			safalā — soap	M.	
classes — boys 11 to 18 years)	H.G.	165	sagli – forest tree (unidenti-		
pudru (or punu) — neck	S.	94	fied)	Gio	97, 413
pudu — light tint	S.	127	sãi (or se) — flank or side	Gio, M.	94

sai wele – short ribs (ribs	М.	04	sa yua – poison for causing a lingering painful death	Gio	380
next to the flank) sakala — "washrag" gourd	IVI.	94		Gio, M.	94, 444
(Luffa cylindrica)	М.	102		Gb.	
sā ke – place of trial for				S.	444, 447
matters pertaining to the			se — mat	Gio	260
B5 or Poro	H.G.	423	Se: (or sei) — ordinal for		
sãke – to work	M.	479	first-born son	Gb., L., M.	213-14
saki — hairpin	L.	114	sē — combination storage		
sakpwe - the "board" game	Gb.	158	and carrying basket used		
sakpwe – riddle	L.	446	by smiths	Gio	124
sala – greed (as for meat)	M.		Se Ba - girl child immedi-		
sala — sacrifice	Gio, Gb.,	141, 264,	ately following twins	Gb.	216
Saio — Sacimico		00, 330, 338,	sede wolo - evening star	S.	413
	367, 3	69, 371-73,	se dži (or boome va) – clan		
		411,479	chief (country's father)	Gio	168
saləga nya zai (or zaləga			Sedibo (or glaro) - War-		
nya zai) – medicine wom-	Ch I	2772	rior's class (Class III of		
an of a chief (sacred wife)	Gb., L.	372	the age classes)	H.G.	165, 166, 313
salə gıko – feed a fetish	L.	367	Sei $(or se:)$ — ordinal for	~: × 3.6	
sal∂ke — to sacrifice	M.	479	first-born son	Gb., L., M.	213, 214
salekwoti - hail ("sacrifice	*	4**	sei – shrub (Microdesmis	2.5	
stone")	L.	411	puberula)	M.	
sala li — sacred wife of a			Se kona – ordinal for twin	3.6	216
chief ("mother of a sacri- fice")	M.	372, 373	boys as first children	M .	210
	L.	367	selama — wooden figurine	M.	366
sala w5 — sacrifice in general	2.	3-7	used as medicine		
sa:lã – plant (Thaumatococ- cus daniellii), leaves of			sen – copper	М.	113
which are sometimes used			sepe - tree (unidentified),		
for purposes of thatching	M.	38	bark of which is used to make a one-stringed noise		
sambli — rattle	S.	152	maker	M.	153
Sande (or Sandi) - the			sepegi – rice fanner	L.	125
women's cult or Bush	Gb., L., M.	287	seri (or sili) — snake	H.G. (We	
Sanden (or Sande) - the				S.	
women's cult or Bush	Kp.	287	semia — fish	٥.	447
Sandi (or Sande) - the			sewa - name of boy with	T	216
women's cult or Bush	Gola, Mend.	287	twin sister	L.	210
sane – snake	S.	300	Se Wolo - boy child im-	Chundo	216
Sane ny5 - Snake Society			mediately following twins	Gbunde	210
("Snake people")	S.	300	seze – fine, good	Gio	447
sangela - tree (Cathormion			se - African walnut (Coula		
dinklagei), the bark of		*	edulis)	M.	97
which is used as soap	Μ.	117	se - well, good, fine	Gio, M.	214, 443,
sangi – bell or gong	Gb.				447, 478, 480
sani - light red, brown, or			se: (or semi) - black ma-		
yellow	S.	127	gician; also, poison	М.	
sani sõ – bright red	S.	127	sẽ — charcoal	M.	136
sao – sense, meaning	S.	31	sē – pigmy antelope (Neo-		
sã yoda - bush (Dicranolo	H- v - v		tragus pygmaeus)	M.	
pis laciniata), wood from			sele (or sete) - earth, dirt	•	
which is used as a gamin	g M.	432	land, country, kingdom	M.	477, 481
stick	IVI.	7)-			

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4.6	TRIBES OF	THE LIBER	NIAN HINTERLAND		
516			so - to catch	Gb.	268
semi (or se:) – black ma-	М.	380	so - dancing game	M.	225
gician; also, poison	171.	J	so — horse	M.	481
semia yıdı bele – vine (Adenia cissampeloides)	M.	153	so (or sou or zo) — man		
	М.	173	who circumcises boys	Tĩ̃	294
sene — a greeting sene — tree (unidentified)	Gio, M.	107, 122	so-poison for causing in-		
seng kete – totem, monster,			sanity or loss of memory	Gio	380
bush devil	Kp.	354	so — smallpox	M.	388
seng polo - totem, monster,			sõ – wild, edible yam	O' M	200 402
bush devil	Kp.	354	(Doiscorea sp.)	Gio, M.	200, 482
sete (or sele) - ground	M .	327	soba — clay block before	L.	144
sete do - townsmen	M.	327	smithy fire	L.	- 11
Shemne - "Mosquitoes"			soe – medicine bracelet made from the red heart		
(Class I of the age	77.0	164	of the camwood tree		
classes)	H.G.	104	(Bafia nitida)	S., Tiế	87
Si – assistant to Sanda lead-	M.	288	soe — moon	H.G.	412
er who catches initiates	Gε, M.	272, 288	((Tuobo and Sabo)	
si — hawk	M.	288, 411	so fani – donkey	M.	
si — spider	Gio, M.	288, 430,	sojbwa – Pleiades	S.	413
si-to take, to catch		7, 477, 479	solo (or weni) – cassava	0	-6
si-to take away from here	H.G. (Webo)	215	leaves	S.	96
sī – gambling game of tops	М.	160, 226	solo — small seed-eating	Gb.	347, 413
siā — today	S.	444	birds	db.	ל־די/דכ
siãgli — star	M.	413	solo kwiligi – Pleiades ("little birds [in a] bas-		
siali – assistant to Big Devil			ket")	Gb.	413
of the Kwi-a-yunu Soci-			somo dika – star (raffia		
ety	H.G.	310, 311	spark)	L.	413
sibli — Friday	Gb., L.	67	somo dıka gbeliga nyungi		
sie – hot, fire	Gio	430	- unidentified constella-		
sie — to spoil	М.	444	tion (machete-handle	L.	413
siewei – trap noose	S.	226	star)		T-7
si ge - Bush devil of the			somo gi — torch of dry raffia midrib splits	L.	413
Poro ("hawk devil")	Gε	272	Son — ordinal for first-born		
sine(h) - degree of Poro	L.	273	of twin girls	S.	216
fighter	Gb.	226	sono - beside, close to, at	M.	481
sīngi — a whip top	M.	478	Sotala-gi - spirit who carrie	S	
singsing — all	S.	150	the moon back to its start	; -	
sitou – war drum		- 10	ing place	L.	412, 413
sıkəlı – a wild rubber tree (Funtumia elastica)	M.	394	sotragi – monster ("goblin"		342
sılı (or seri) – snake	H.G. (Webo)	340	sou (or so or zo) — docto		295, 313
siza – here, this side	М.		so:u jebli (or dhro jebli) -		
slado —six	M.	479	member of the Kele So	S.	313
	M.	479	ciety sozo — lizard	Ti 	200
slaka — eight	M.	479	so — cloth	Gio, M.	260, 477,
slapeda — seven	M.		22 — CIOUI	Q.10, 1747	478, 481
sleise — nine		479	so—to go	Gio	445, 447
so — to come up	L.	446	so—hunter's magical brace		
so (or s5) – bow trap, calle	d Gio	79	let	S.	
"choker"	GIO	19			

sɔ̃ (or so) — bow trap, called "choker"	Gio	79	cine for yaws ("pepper- seed stick")	M.	
s5 – fashion, character	M.	"	suoyi - farm ("weeds in it")	M.	215
s5 — palaver	Gio	445	supu woti – stone anvil	L.	138
s5 – quail, chicken	H.G.	456	suso — a star	Gio	413
s5 — tooth, teeth	Gio, M.	444	susu – a person's shadow	S.	320
s5 — year	S.	65	suwa — plant (unidentified),		
sodi — five	M.	479	seed pods of which are		
so fo (or so vo) – weaving		7/7	used as an ingredient of	~ :	*** ***
("cloth-making")	M.	127	perfume suzu – herb (garden stink-	Gio	117, 203
sakpwa – to remember	L.	445	weed) (Eryngium		
sələ $(or sərə)$ — to sew	M.		foetidum)	M.	389
sone - to rot, decay	S.	444	swãswã – fruit bat	M.	
soro $(or solo)$ — to sew	M.		T		
so vo (or sofo) — weaving ("cloth-making")	M.		ta — basket for carrying food	S.	123
stezene — rooster	L.	446	ta - fishing basket, used as		
su — inside	L.	446	scoop net	Tiẽ	124
su - large black antelope		• •	ta - to plant (seed)	M.	
(Cephalophus sylvicultrix)	Gio, M.	155, 200	-ta (see tai) - suffix mean-		
su - moon; hence month	Gio	412	ing town of, home of,	T7 T	27 20 166
su – weed, grass	M.		place of, residence of	Kp., L.	21, 30, 166, 317, 328, 330,
su a bə kũ ndi — half moon					331,413
("moon she will soon			ta – to walk	Gio, S.	445, 447
catch the circle")	Gio	412	ta—to waik		479, 481
su a do bo gi-full moon			tã - glow (of fire)	M.	
("moon she stands in a	0:-		tã - ground; hence down	M .	480, 481
large circle")	Gio	412	tã — rhythm	M .	479
su a pe kũ – last quarter of			tã — tobacco	M.	
moon ("moon she [is] cut [in] half")	M.	412	tãbo — to sing	M.	479
subai — moon	H.G. (Kel.)	412	ta glia su - phrase meaning	* .	
	Gio	413	"one town"	L.	446
su bo — evening star	G.10	1 3	tãke — to dance	M .	479
subulomõleglai — morning star	Gb.	413	-tai (see -ta) - suffix mean-	•	
su do — new moon	Gio	412	ing town of, home of	,	20
suei (or suo) — prefix mean-		•	place of, residence of	L.	30
ing animal (meat)	Gio, L.	94	ta la w5 – orphan	M.	453
Suke – warrior's association			talo — a greeting	S.	173, 174
spirit, or spirit of owner	Gb.	306	talu – war time	Tiã	215
su keng - eclipse of the			tama - French silver coin	Go M	180-82
moon ("moon's [small]	.		(the franc)	Gε, M.	100.02
circle")	Gio	412 98	tama — hourglass-shaped	M.	150
suo – pepper	M	90	drum	L.	446
suo (or suei) – prefix mean	L.	94, 445	tama — plenty	L.	166
ing animal (meat) suo longo la – plant		717 112	ta masa gi – town chief	H.G.	457
(Ethulia conyzoides), use	d		tane — fly	M.	130
in treating headache	M.	394	tangala – chair		-30
suo welle yıdı – plant o	or		ta ngalio (or a o) — answ	S.	173
tree (Drypetes sp.), bar	ck		to a greeting tauwi – sling	S.	226
of which is used in med	1-		Lauwi		

518	I KIDE	9 OF THE 222-			
tayizegi – plant with spicy seed (Aframomum albo-			Dack	S.	124
vialaceum)	L.	211	tiē (or nitiē; see niatiē, pl.)	H.G.	363
tchia – leopard	S	299	- Diass inig, a mount		303
te (or ni) – breath	Gio	242, 320	ting - tiny brown mouse	M.	
tebena — behold!	L.	446	tini — black beetle	M.	
tei – native game, similar to			ti sẽ – absolute black	Gio	127
battledore and shuttlecock	H.G., S.	225	tisi (or disī) — to sneeze titie (or tietie) — quick, at	M.	
teive - black, gray, dark	L.	127	once	M.	478
blue, or dark green	L.	127	titi sẽsẽ – absolute black	M.	67, 127
teive gaviki - absolute black	Gb.	67	tīu – basket carried on the	Tĩ̃	124
tene – Sunday	_	67	back		
tene folo — Sunday	L.	-7	tjagbe — January	S.	67, 364
Ten Ki - military association	M.	304, 305	tjagbo - seed of locust tree	S.	97
of younger men	S., Tiế	410	Tjangbi (or kiambwe) –		
tē — lightning			March	S.	67
tē (or twē) — taboo	Gio, M.	345	tjene (or tschena) - to tear,		
tege — medicine	L.	409	to break	H.G., S.	-
tēne−to climb	Μ.		tjiabwetjo – December		
tene gene - tree (Dichro-			(cold moon)	Tiẽ	66
stachys glomerulata), bark			tjo — moon	Kon., S., Tiễ	412
of which is used in weav-	M.	122	tjotriā (or dodriā) — star	Kon., S., Tiế	413
ing mats	Gio	477	tjulu — tree with apple-like		
tengi — gray pigeon	Gio	443	fruit (Mimusops djave),		
teni — orphan		226	from seeds of which an	•	
teni – spear	Gio	220	oil is derived	S.	97
tete - strainer, resembling a	H.G.	125	to — basket for carrying food	Gio, Tiế	123, 292
basket cover	n.G.	,	to — ear	M.	
ti-black, gray, dark blue,	Gio, M.	127, 215,	to - to leave, to let alone, to	3.6	444 470
or dark green	G10, IVI.	444, 478, 480	refuse, to remain	M.	444, 479 68
	Gio	447	to — tomorrow	M.	00
ti-to hear		717	to — tree with plum-like	Gio	97
tiã — bamboo arrow	M.		fruit (Burseraceae) to (or toa) — wooden mor-	GIO .	
tiā — palm-oil strainer	Gio	125, 413	tar, or pestle	H.G.	102
tiã kpo - unidentified con-			to – cat's cradle	S.	226
stellation ("palm-oil stain-			to - oil-palm tree, or nuts	M.	482
er" and "fist")	Gio	413	tő — salt	S.	98
tiba — love	Gb.	194	toa (or to) – wooden mor-		
tiba nazai - favorite wife			tar or pestle	H.G.	102
("love wife")	Gb.	194	toa numu – water bottle	L.	133
tibegazai – evening star			tobe (see bubu) - robe of		
("the moon's head wife")	L.	413	Sudan type	L.	110, 169, 174
tibwa – head of the rear	Pal.	39, 40	Tobo — ordinal for first-born of twin boys	S	216
guard in war			tobo (or dudo) – wooden		
tidie – palm butter strainer	Tiē	125	mortar or pestle	S., Tiẽ	102
Tie Bli Sai – a bad devil	Gio	fig. 90, g	tofa (see tufai) - species of		
tien — taboo	L.	457	Costus of the Zingibera-		
tietie (or titie) - quick, at			ceae family (symbol of		
once	M.	478	the Poro and Sande cults)	L. 249, 250	, 253, 267, 276,
tie – fire, hot	M.	477		290, 291	, 293, 303, 360

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY

			11 1 121 6 4 4 4		
tofai – leaves (Aframomum sp.), bundles of which			tschle—the hill of the bad dead	S.	328, 329
were used as crab traps	Gb.	74	t'to (or dolo) — camwood tree (Baphia nitida)	M.	
Togbwe – fourth of group	M.	303	tu — horn	Gε	
of Snake girls	171.	5 ~5	tu – iron spike	M.	
Togwe – fourth of group of	Gio	303	tu – tree (Sterculia tor-	-	
Snake girls toloe—tree (Musanga	0.10	J .J	mentosa)	M.	402
smithii)	S.	97	tu a: (or i tu a:; see ka tu a:,		
Toloñazai – the moon's son		•	pl.) — evening greeting		
who stands behind Tibe-			("I see you again")	M.	173
gaza, the evening star	L.	413	tuamo - stupidity	Gr.	
tomo legai - shooting stars			tubakai – palaver house	Pal.	39, 40
and comets (sky fireflies)	L.	412	tue tue - frequency of uri-		
ton — law	Gio, M.	414	nation ("fast, fast")	M.	
tonebu - vine (unidentified)	S., Tiế	191	tufai (see tofa) - leaves	L.	
tono — rain	L.	409	tufoi — leaf	L.	33 ²
tono tege - rain medicine	L.	409	tunu - mouthpiece of bel-		
tose - arrow smeared with			lows	M .	137
poison	Tiē	230	tunu - termites' nests, ant		
to ta kbi - persistent weed			hills	М.	31, 228
(unidentified), ingredient			tunu – town walls	Kp.	228
of medicine	M.	234	tuo — fear	M .	479
toto pu — pop gun	S.	222	tuobo — to fear	M.	479
tou - hourglass-shaped drum	S.	58, 150	tupo - tree (unidentified),		
towi — penis	L.	94	ingredient of perfume	Gio	117
to — chicken, fowl	м.	444, 482	turu - horn, trumpet	M.	155
to — name	М.	215, 481	turu li-largest of 3 horns		
t5 — hill	Gio, M.	329	("mother horn")	M.	155
toko-toko (or flefle) – flabby	. M.		turu kpwa – small drum	3.6	
tokpwai – tree (unidenti-			(child drum)	M.	
fied), bark of which is		104	turu zei – medium-sized	M.	155
used to strengthen wine	S.	104	horn		221
to kudu — fowl basket	M.	123	tutu – altogether, completely	IVI.	221
tono – cold chisel	M.	143	tutu – bird (Centropus sene-	M.	
to nya wei – gonorrhea	М.		galensis senegalensis) tutugi — wooden barrel-	171.	
("chicken egg urine")	141.		shaped tub	Gb.	130
Tose — beneficent society which can control light			tuwe — hairpin	S.	114
ning	Tiã	410	twa - cloth shirt (magical)	M.	19
to yuno la – weed called			twē (or tē) — taboo	M.	
pusley (Portulaca olera-			U		
cea), ingredient of coug	h	200	un, um (or ma; see ko or	r	
medicine	M.	390	koa [kwa], pl.) – I, my	,	
treple - type of noose tra		78	me (first person singular) M.	395, 444,
troge - dancing game	Gio	225			477, 478, 480
trũ – brush	S.	124	Uwu - ordinal for fourth	L.	215
truka – to play with	Gio	445	born boy	L .	,
tschele - the hill of the		250 222	V hig great	Gio	168
good dead	S.	328, 329	va – big, great va bε na – a greeting		
tschena (or tjene) - to tea	ar,	260	("what news there?")	L., M.	175
to break	H.G., S.	200		and the second	

320					
va e wãla — oath (eat or swallow medicine)	Gb.	426	vusine — January and Febru- ary (a big cold moon)	L.	66
vaī vaī – small, red, biting			W (man and mi) and	M.	48+
ants	M.	477	wa (or oa; see ni) — and	S.	481 260
vã — small shrub (Olax	M.	224	wa (or we) - to break	M.	396
viridis)	Gio	234	wa - to hurt, to be painful	M.	223, 444,
ve – hypogastrium	Gb.	94 226	wa — not	171.	477, 480
veleviligi — sling	L.		wa (or oa) - their, or they	M.	287, 444
ve — eat	M.	345	wa — when	Gio	445, 447
vele – gray antelope	171.		waa (see o mbieliu) – an-		1137 117
voduo – January (cold moon)	Τĩε	66	swer to a greeting	Ket.	174
Vogbwo - degree of the			wa go kpwange – initiated		
Poro (the beggar)	L.	273	("they [who have] been	~.	
voli – large, green pepper	M.	98	in [the] house of spirits")	Gio	287
volo (or folo) - sun, day	L.	67, 68, 412	wai — monkey	Gε, M.	71, 272, 444,
volo a loza – sunset ("sun					(fig. 90, d)
he falling")	L	68	wai – phrase meaning "not	M.	215. 477
volovoe - type of mat	Gb., L.	125, 127	in there" wai (or wei)—woman mem-	IVI.	215, 477
vo - big, chief	Gio		ber of the Poro	M.	268
vo-there, over there	M.	315	wai ge - Poro devil (slap-	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
vo $(or fo)$ - to weave, to			stick entertainer)	Gε	272
make, to fill	M.		Waisemu - degree of the		
v5-large fly (Chrysops	3.6		Poro	Gb.	288, 307
sp.)	M. Tiẽ	Y 77 Y	waitinki – black-haired		
vo nyo – war leader	M.	171	monkey (variety of	3.6	
voũ — large rat		470	colobus)	M.	
vũ (or vũ do) — ten	M. M.	479	Wala – God	M.	315, 316
vua – small gourd	IVI.		wala fwa gwē — aluminum	M.	114
vũ do (or vũ) — ten ("one ten")	M.	479	hair pin Wala go (or Go or Wala	171.	114
vũ do wele do (see wele		7/2	vala g5 (0/ G5 0/ vvala vo) — God	M.	315
do) — eleven ("ten plus			Wala vo (or Go or Wala		, , ,
one")	M .	479	go) — God	M.	315, 316
vũ do wele peda (see wele			wala-wala - December (imi-		
peda) - twelve ("ten plus			tation of the sound of		
two")	M.	479	rain drops)	M.	66
vui – large, green pepper	Gio	98	walubo - war leader, com-	7	0
vule — to suffer	Gb.	441	mander	L.	234, 235, 238
vulezu — act of suffering	Gb.	441	wana — bush (Mareya spi-		
vuloa — light	L.	446	cata), a poison (corset leaf)	Μ.	392, 394,
vulu — porcupine	M.				395, 401
vu ni — bull-roarer, voice of	Co M	277	wã - giant mongoose	M.	443
Bush devil	Gε, M.	272	we — son	Gb.	214
vuo – to awaken	Μ.	173, 478	webo ya - town crier's call		
vũ peda – twenty ("two	M	470	to clean up the town	H.G.	
tens")	М.	479	wee — day	S.	444
vũ peda wele do – twenty- one ("two tens and one")	M.	479	wegi — urine	L	Tall to
vusai – December (small		1/2	we gi – scarification of neo-		
cold moon)	L.	66	phyte in the Sande	L.	1 19, 292

wei – red plantain-eater			wi – animal; game (meat)	Gio, M.	66, 94,
(Turacus macrorhy n- chus)	M.		Wi – association of sorcerers	Gio	4, 447, 477 33 <i>5</i>
wei – urine	M.	479	wi-poisons; witch; a bad,		
weibo — to urinate	M.	479	mischief-working spirit	M.	331,379,
wein – wooden mortar	M.	102			428, 434
Wein Ge-Poro devil (the	*		wi – under; also, to break	Gio, H.G., M.	226, 260
Dudu bird)	M.	fig. 90, c	Widabo – association for witchcraft	S.	314
wein yıdı – hardwood tree (Sarcocephalus dider-			widio we5 – black magician	S.	380
richii), wood from which	M		wikonegi — accordion (cat- ladder)	Gb.	226
mortars are made	M.	130, 392,	winigi — bad hill people	L.	337
Wei zumo – degree of the Poro ("messenger" who		393, 397	wi pea to — November ("animal-tracks-stay		
calls boys to the Bush school)	L.	273	month")	M.	66
wele — white	L.	446	wı — language	M.	476
Weni – degree of the Sanda	12.	440	wi - to speak, to talk	Gio	
("bird" "bird women"),			wle – to capsize	Gr.	27
equivalent to Waisemu of			Wlebo —	Gr.	27
the Poro; also, Bird			wo — tail	Gio, M.	94, 443
Women's Association	L.	288, 307	wo - mouth, opening	S.	447
we sa ny5 - guard of the			wo - palaver, affair, fortune	Gio, M.	445
chief ("talk man")	Tiē	169	woboe - May (everybody		
we ya gi - scarifications of	OI:	0	plants rice)	L.	66
neophyte in the Sande	Gb.	118, 292	wobu — neck	Gb.	66
we - hyrax	М.		Wodigi (or Zodigi) - lead-	C1	- 0
wε (or wu) — witch or	H.G. (Webo)	227 226	er of the Sands cult	Gb.	287
witching spirit	M.	335, 336	woliyabu — September (no	Gb.	66
wē — house fly	H.G.	444	rains)	Gb., L.	
wē — sun		412	wolo — baboon	GD., L.	78, 342
we — to want	L.	446	wolo — corkwood tree (Musanga smithii)	M.	392
wei (or wai)—woman mem- ber of the Poro	М.	•	wolo — month	Gb.	66
we la – a weed (Piper			wologi – "swelling" medi-	.	
umbellatum)	М.	264	cine, supposed to cause		
wele - to add to ("plus")	M.	479	leprosy or dropsy (me	•	
wele - face	М.	.,,	dium to catch those who	•	
wele - seed core, bone	M.	94	harm others by means o		.00
wele — to stand up	M.	71	witchcraft)	Gb., L.	388, 390
wele do - eleven (shortene			wolo ke ke – snake monste		342
form of vũ do wele do)	М.	479	wolo kon jibli – town chie		
wele gbuo - hydrocele or		•••	(town belong to big ma or father)	Tiē	166
orchitis ("big seed")	M.		wololo - a greeting	H.G. (Webo	
wele peda – twelve (shor			Woluku - ordinal for firs	t-	
ened form of $v\bar{u}$ do $w\epsilon_{i}$	<i>Μ</i> .	470	born girl	L.	215
wene (or solo) — cassava	141.	479	woma — small tree (Tren guineensis)	M.	391
leaves	S.		woni mulu – tree (unident		394
weniwolo – baby bird	L.	445	fied), leaves of which a		
wewo - high official of the	ne		used for medicinal pu		
Poro	L.	410	poses	Mand.	391

522	TRIBE	S OF THE LIBE	RIAN HINTERLAND		
wonyo - black magician	H.G.	380	yabe — water pot	Tĩ̃	133
wooze - August (begin rice			yabo – rice pot	Tĩ̃	133
cutting)	Gb., L.	66	ya B5 – assistant to house	O:	00
woroba - town chief or			mother in Sanda	Gio	288
town father (town's	Gr., H.G.	39–41, 166	ya bo la – defecate involun-	Gio	447
father)	Gi., 11.G.	66	tarily	Ş.	447
wozi-October (light rains) wo-to lie (down)	M.		yabwe – water pot	у. М.	133
	M.	444, 479	yaka — three	H.G. (Web	479
wo — lion	Ge, L.	446	yakhroyo—a star	11.G. (WED	0) 413
wo—to make	Gε, Σ. S.		ya Kwi (or Kwi ba) – Big Devil of the Kwi-a-yunu		
- adcw	Gb.	444	Society	H.G.	310, 311
wolo – to break	S.	337, 339	yonder—afternoon greeting		
wolo — town	S.	30, 447	("you here?")	L.	173
wolo li – in town	M.	447	Yanwa - second of group of		
wolo vo – water people	IVI.	337, 338	Snake girls	M.	303
w5 se li — wife who brings good luck	M.	195	Yau - ordinal for second-		
wovi (see wozo) — (sound	147.	-93	born girl	M.	215
of falling tree)	Gio	447	Yau y5 - ordinal for first-		
wowo - crooked, no good,			born of twin girls	M.	216
worthless	Pidgin	478	Yawa – second of group of	Gio	202
wəzə (see wəvī) — (sound			Snake girls	Gio	303
of falling tree)	Gio		yawe — black deer (uniden- tified)	H.G.	456
wu - below, under	L.	306, 307	ye-gε zo devil's talk	Gio	280
wu — breath	M.	320		Gio, L.	260, 445, 446
wu - poisons for causing in-			ye — he	Gio, L.	306, 328,
sanity or loss of memory	S.	379, 380	ye - stream, water, river	G10, D.	330, 445
wu – witch or witching	c		Yei - ordinal for third-born		33.7.113
spirit	S.	335	girl	M.	215
wū — head	M.	94	yei fua - climbing shrub		
wũ (or wũ do) — one hun- dred	M.	479	(Mussaenda elegans)	M .	393
wũ do (or wũ) – one hun-	141.	4/9	yeisi – to laugh	M .	
dred	M.	479	ye me-water person	Gio	306
wulu - bad spirit	Kp.	331	yema — to forget	Gio, L.	444
wulu batje - poison for	•		yena — sun	Gε	412
causing a lingering, pain-			yenegruzengru - Pleiades		
ful death	S.	380	("[the] smith's hammer"—		
wulu wao - evening greet-	***		a constellation, combina- tion of Pleiades and 3		
ing (light has finished)	H.G., S.	173	stars in Orion)	Gio	67, 413
wumelegi – monster	Gb.	342	ye -to break, to split, to cut	L.	446
Wuo - ordinal for fourth-	M		ye – errand, task	M.	479
born boy	M.	215	yebo—to work	M.	479
wutjo – May	S.	67, 364	yeli — to bring	S.	7/2
ya (or da) – to climb	Gio	447	yenezu — tarantula	M.	323
ya – mischief or badness,	G. 10	447	yi — inside, in; there	M.	30, 71, 395, 477,
bad bad	Gio	319, 447	J. morae, m, enere	300 to 100	478, 480, 481
ya – to sit down, to set		, ,, 111	yi —sleep	М.	14 8 65
down	M.	288, 479, 481	yi – water	M.	66, 226,
ya — you	L.	446			306, 338, 430,
ya: — sickness	M.	477			443-45, 477, 481

		APPENDIA D.	310001111		
yia - to bake, to roast	M.		Yon - ordinal for second-	0:-	216
yiba (or yiso) — waterside	M.		boili of twill gaz	Gio	
y _{1Da} (or y _{1SO}) = waterside			y010 — 3un	H.G. (Webo')	66
yıdı floflopabe – larger, red, elongated pepper	S.	98	yosogi — to chome	Gb.	
	Τiἕ	342	yoyo —	M.	220
yidokolo — dragon-monster	M.	132, 133	yo - bad, badness	M.	65, 343,
yigbo - water pot	M.	481	· ·	2.6	389, 478
yikega — power	IVI.	40.	yo-to bend over	М.	
yi kwene – branch of a stream ("finger of the			yo – raffia palm (Raphia vinifera); also, palm wine	M.	
stream")	M.		yo - wife's family ("in-		
yi mi - water person	Μ.	306	laws")	M.	
yini — small anvil-hammer	M.	138, 140, 142–44,	Y5 - ordinal for second-		
,		264, 349, 375,	born of set of twins	M.	216
		426, 432	yodo – a perennial herb		
1.11		figs. 64, f, 75, b	(Hybophrinum brauni-		
yini m ba lo – a children's			anum)	M.	397
game ("sun gone down" — variation of the leopard-			yotre — star	H.G.	413
and-goat game	S.	223	yue – cotton (Gossipii sp.)	M.	126, 389
yi ple—to wash in water	M.		yũ nố – wife, woman	Tĩ̃	37 ²
	M.	479	yurukuyo — first set of twins		
yise — four		***	of either sex	H.G. (Webo)	216
yi sie si – boiling water or- deal ("water hot take")	Gio	430	yurukuyo obutiyo - second	H.G. (Webo)	216
yiso (or yiba) - waterside	M.		set of twins of either sex	M.	
yi to kai - October ("no-	•		yuwe — ashes	M.	114
water-in-the-house		,,	yu wele — hairpin	IVI.	
month")	М.	66	Z		
yiwa - rheumatic pains of		•••	za – big-eared rat (Mala-	M.	
yaws	М.	395	comys edwardis)	Gb., L.	
yize - to sleep	М.		za – to die	H.G.	423, 425
yı – to be born	М.		za — matters	11.0.	12
yıde - to tie together	M.	10 - 4	zã (see zãda, zãla) — the		
yıdı – tree, stick, wood	M.	114, 126, 130,	okra plant (Hibiscus escu- lentus)	Gio, M.	see p. 96
		196, 234, 350,	zaba – raffia-leaflet curtain	*	
		374, 387, 390, 392–94, 397, 402,	("no trespassing" symbol		
		477, 480, 481	of the Poro and Sande		- 6-
1 1 1 leach		7/// 11	cults)	L., M.	267
yıdı la ke mi – leech ("tree-leaf-making per-			zabe - sleight-of-hand, leg-	C1	226
son")	M.	374	erdemain	Gb.	48
yıdı yu wele – wooden hai	r-		zabogi — hamper-basket	L.	40
pin	M.	114	Zã bo lai-February (moor	1	
yını — to fight; also, red-			when one is poisoned by	7.	65
disk tree ant	М.	214, 215, 390	a roadside plant)	M.	
yını zā – vine (Morinda		.0π	zāda (see zā, zāla) — okra	Gio	96
confusa)	M.	387	leaves		287
yoda — yesterday	M.	68, 480	Zāde gi zu – Sande cult	L.	287
yodő-a sling	M.	226	zāde ki – stage in initiatio	n Gb.	14.
yodo kwε – leprosy	S.	388	Zāde ku (or Sāde) — Sand	Gb., L.	287
yokotai - temple of the g	od	1	cult		
of twins	L.	362	zade kwala (or sade kpwal pwa gi zu) – second Bus	sh	
Yomo - degree of the Po	oro	5.4	of the Sande cult	L.	289
("path," "road")	L.	273	OI LIID DIMAG		

<i>y</i> 1					
zai bo lu — Bush devil of the Poro	Gε, M.	272	zeī-gru — Pleiades ("[flock of] small birds")	Gio	413
	GE, IVI.	2/2	zeleve – stormy wind	Tiã	15
zaiza — a children's game (imitation of the sasswood			Zena – God	Gε	315
ordeal)	Gio	223	zengi — finger nails	L.	268
zãla (see zã, zãda) - okra			zeni – again, on the other		
leaves	M .	96	hand	M.	215,444
zalega (or zalega nya zai)			ze si – hot iron ordeal		
- medicine woman of a	1		("burn take")	Gio	428
chief ("sacred wife")	Gb., L.	372, 373	zevui — breath	Gb.	321
zalega nya zai (or zalega) —			zewolo - glove for cutting		
medicine woman of a chief ("sacred wife")	Ch I	277 272	bush	L.	56
	Gb., L.	372, 373	zewui – spirit of a living		
zane za kpwei bela nga – a children's game (imitation			person	L.	321
of the sasswood ordeal)	M.	223	Zeze - ordinal for first-born		
zang - cone fetish of zo sur-			boy; also, first-born of	T	27.7. 27.6
geon of the Poro cult	M.		twin boys	L.	215, 216
zapolo — Thursday	Gb.	67	zε — to hear	M.	
zapolo volo – Thursday	L.	67	ze – to kill	Gio, M.	260, 447, 479
zasa — dead	L.	445	zẽ (or sẽ; see zẽ shu or sẽ		
zawele – grass (Coix lacry-			shu) — plant (Aframomum		
mae-Jobii), seeds of which			melegueta) tasting like anise	Gio, M.	98
are used for beads	M.	152	zε kpulu – Pleiades ("[flock	0.10,	,
Zawolo - ordinal for fifth-			of] white birds")	M.	413
born boy	M.	215 .	zẽ shu (or sẽ shu; see sẽ) —		• •
Za Ze - fertility association;			perennial herb (Aframo-		
also, the "medicine" of the			mum melegueta)	M.	393
association	Gb., L.	249, 250,	zi – to sit down	L.	446
~ 1 1 (C		309, 310, 364	zi — road	M.	481
zā – herb (Costus dinklagei)			zi: — old	Gio, M.	445, 478
used in treating eye trouble; also, used for "no			zia (or zu) – road, trail	Gio, M.	215, 306, 445
trespassing" symbol of the			zia – water, wet	L.	306, 307,
Poro	M.	279, 392,	,		342,446
		393, 398, 444	zia wolo – water baboon	L.	342
zā wele – vine (Piper			zia wu nu – water people		
quineense), with pepper-		.00	("water-under people")	L.	306
like berry	M.	98	zia zo (or zia zoe) – water		
ze — bracelet	Gio		people ("water doctor")	Gb.	306, 307
ze — to burn	Gio	118, 428	zia zoe (or zia zo) - water		
ze — foreleg	L.	94	people ("water doctor")	Gb.	306
ze - forest vine (unidenti-			zie-to walk about	L.	446
fied)	M .	97	zie ligi – water pot, water		
Ze — ordinal for second-born	~.	216	jar	L.	133
of third set of twin boys		216	zinepo - young man	L.	446
zea — hand	Gb., L.	351	zine kpu – termites' nest		
zedui – a nut tree	L.	97	(Termes mordax)	M.	398
ze glo - tattooing	Gio	118	zı — to have	$\mathbf{G}_{\mathbf{io}}$	
zei — here	М.	223, 481	zı — long time	Gio	445
zei — loin	М.	94	zı – own, part, share; also		
zeī - thatch bird (sparrow)) M.	223, 224, 413	used as a possessive suffix		-0
zēi — middle	M.	67	meaning own, part, share	M.	443, 444, 478

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY

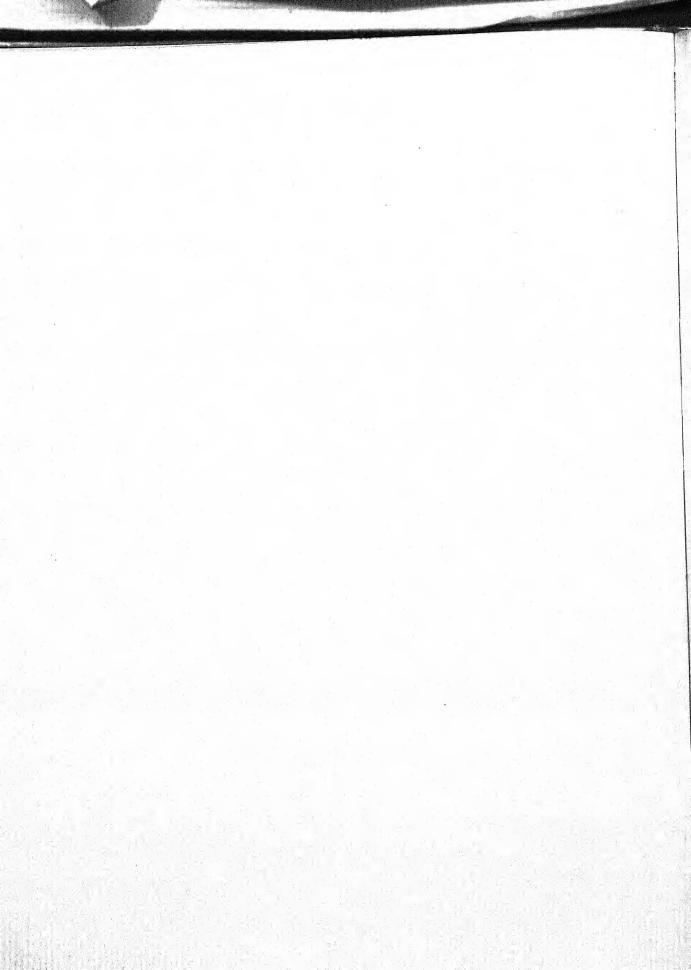
			zolo – antelope (Trage-		
ineria amortous.	M.	395	laphus scriptus scriptus)	м.	
Lilla giu - God, also, a	Gio	316	zolo - light red, brown, or	2.5	127, 215, 387
Zno winia – Poro devil, a mask	Gio	fig. 88, b	yellow	M. Gb.	427
zo (or so, sou) — doctor or priest in the Poro or			zolo – a variety of very small birds	L.	413
Sande cults	Gε, Gio, M	. 119	zolo gbwe gbwe-bright		
		267, 269, 271–74,	red	M.	127
· .		278–96, 305, 350, 364, 467	zolo kpwudu—Pleiades ("little birds [in a] flock")	L.	413
zo – heart	Gio, M.	94, ² 4 ² , ²⁴⁷ , ³²⁰	zona nyu – Orion ("axe- handle man")	L.	413
zo — large multicolored skink (<i>Rispa fernandi</i>)	M.	95	zonyui – medicine of the Gbwogi Society	Gb., L.	305
zo – medicine man	Gio, M.	36, 88, 169,	zo:va - axe, as symbolic	τ .	56
zo – medicine people	Gio	207, 246, 250,	magic	L. M.	,,,
		257, 258, 264,	zo — bees	IVI.	
		301, 302, 304,	zo – giant anteater (Smutsia	Μ.	
		306–08, 314, 316, 323, 330, 333–35,	gigantea)	Gio	445
		337-39, 343, 349,	z5 – to mix Zo Glü – Poro devil, a mask	Gio	fig. 88, e
		351, 360, 367, 373-76, 399, 424, 431, 432, 467	zəpa — shrub (Caloncoba echinata) medicine for	26	388
zo – wrestling	Gio	158	leprosy	M.	446
zobwue – to remember	Gio	445	zu (or gala zu) – to burn	Gio, L.	267, 287
Z nã - mask (spirit of fer-		2 0	zu — in	Gb., Gio	
tility)	Gio	fig. 89	zu (or zia) – road	Gio, L., M.	444, 445
zo dε — leader of the Sandε cult	м.	287	zu – soul, spirit, the dream soul	Gio	242, 321, 322, 326, 355
zo di — leader of the Sanda cult	M.	287, 288	zua – belly	Gio	71
zodigi (or wodigi) - leader		. 0	zui — earth	L.	411
of the Sande cult	Gb.	287	zulu — driver-ants		30
zo du-breast bone	М.	94	(Anomma)	M.	30
zodu (or zola) – brisket	М.	94	zulu – to wash	М.	
zoe (see zo) — medicine people (man)	Gb.	306	zulubo — tree (<i>Morinda</i> geminata), used for yellov	v	
zogi - medicine of witch			dye	M.	127
catchers	Gb.	304	zulugbo – bath pot	M.	132, 133
zo gu — fenced-in-quarter where zo's live	Gio	375	zu masa gi—clan chief zumu (<i>or</i> zumu wulu)—ir	L. 1-	100
zogu – medicine for invis	i- L.	233	strument which disguise the voice of the Big Dev	es	
zokolo – caterpillar	M.	96	zumu wulu (or zumu) - ii	n-	
zo kpw5 – sacred fish	M.	338	strument which disguis	es	
zola (or zodu) – brisket	M.	94	the voice of the Big Dev		
zola – large monitor lizaro (Veranus niloticus)	l M.	95	zu ni – initiated member the Poro	of L.	268

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TRIBES OF THE LIBERIAN HINTERLAND

zupu – March (first cutting, burning, and clearing of			zuru – to judge zuzu – long-snouted croco-	Tĩ̃	
farms); also, April (plant- ing moon)	L.	66	dile (Crocodilus nilo- ticus)	L. Tiế	340
zuro – bath pot	Gio	133	zuzu – a person's shadow	31.1	320

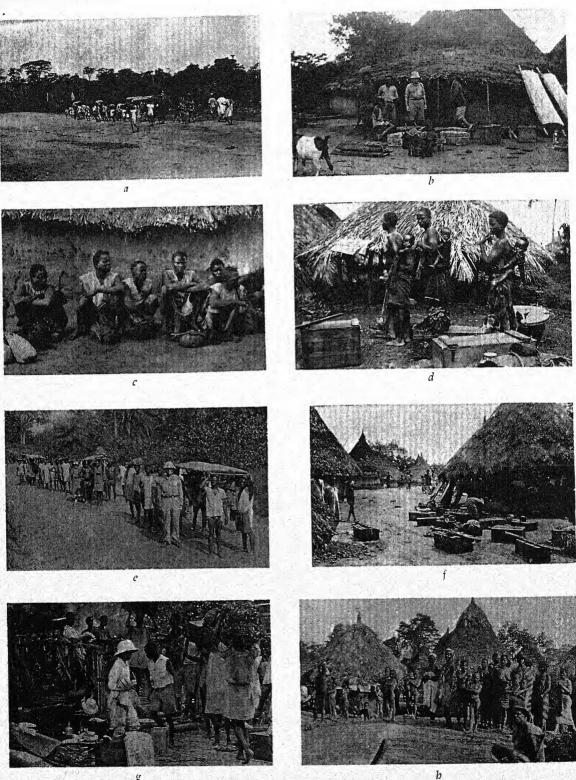
FIGURES 30-111





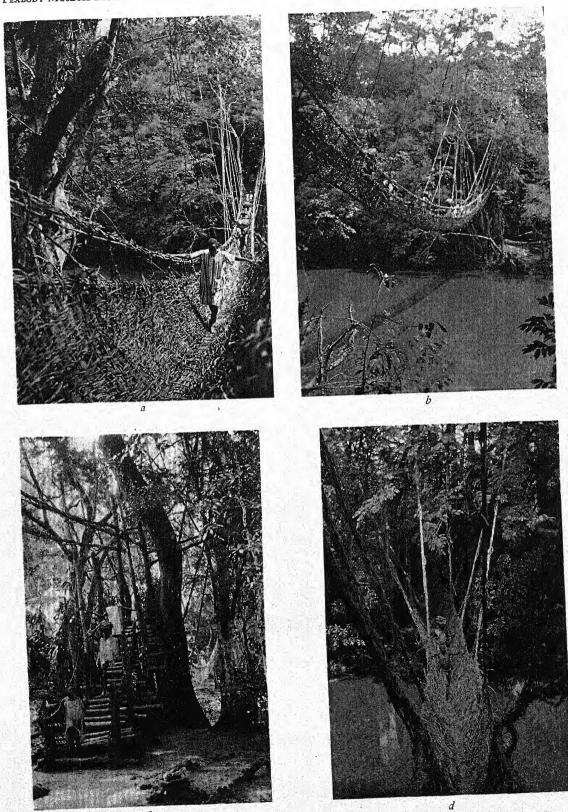
Trans and Roads. a, b, old Mano trails; c, Loma trail; d, Kpelle trail; e, f, Mano hammock trails; g, approaching St. Paul's River near White Plains, b, improved road near Sanokwele. c, f, courtesy of the Geographical Review (vol. 29, figs. 14, 16, p. 449).



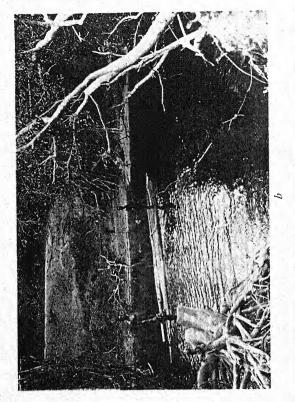


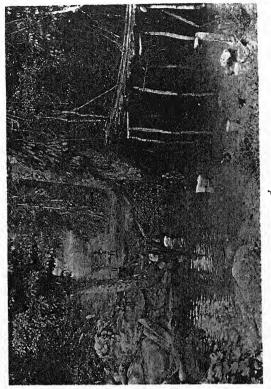
Travel. a, a chief and his retinue leaving town; b, Mr. Schwab waiting for carriers; c, Kpelle and Mano carriers waiting for instructions; d, Palepo women carriers where men are scarce, and Mr. Schwab's loads which they subsequently carried; e, Dr. Harley conducts the bishop and his wife on a trek; f, Dr. Harley's loads resting during stop for lunch in a Kpelle town; g, a halt at a riverside. Mrs. Tulk prepares lunch; h, Kpelle people

g

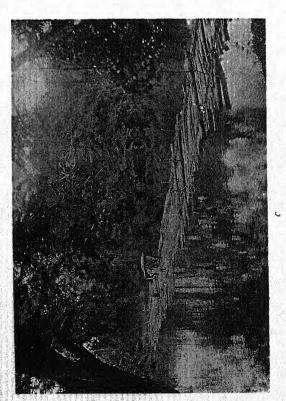


Suspension Bridges. a, suspension bridge across the upper St. Paul River in the Loma country; b, carriers crossing the same bridge; c, approach to suspension bridge across the St. John River at Baila; d, crossing the crossing the same bridge; a, b courtesy of the Geographical Review (vol. 29, figs. 2, 1, p. 448).

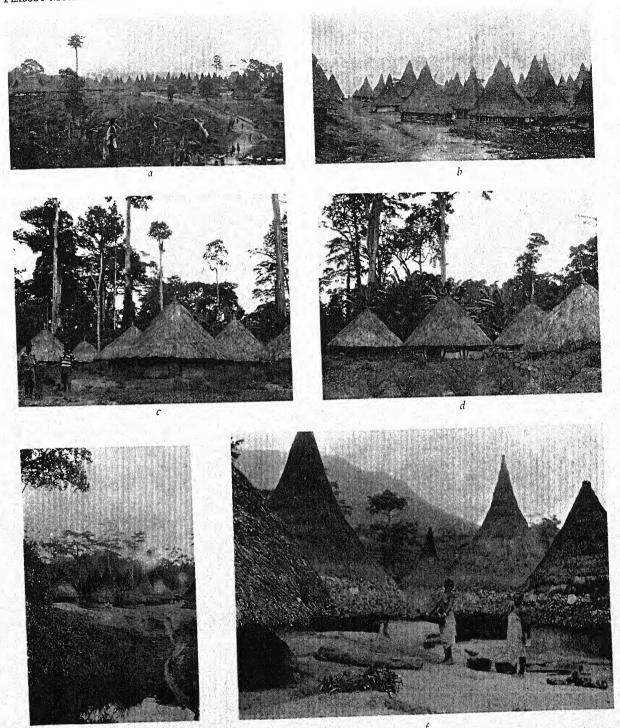




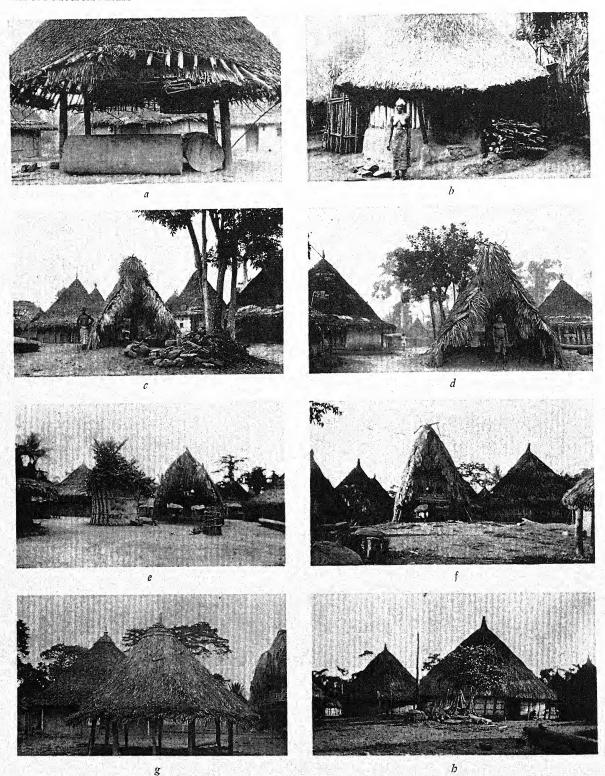




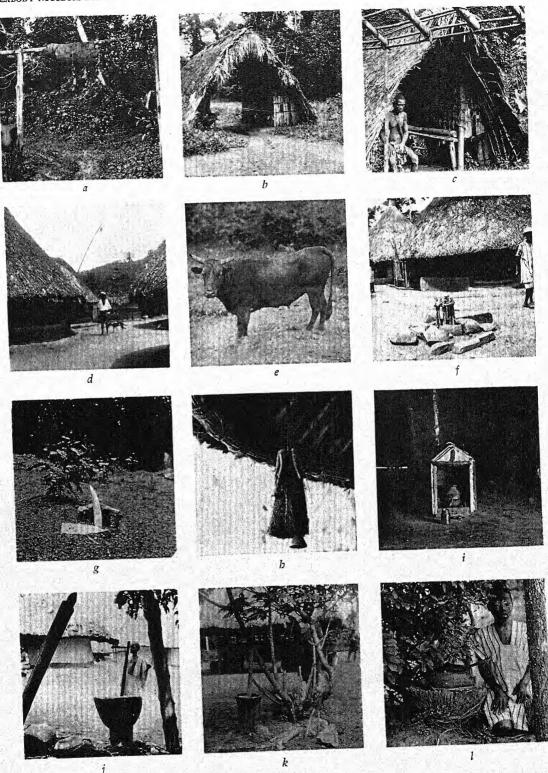
RIVER CROSSINGS. 4, CTOSSING a river in canoes near the coast; b, raft on the upper St. John River near Ganta; c, floating bridge across the St. John River near Gamu, on border of Manoland and Kpelleland; d, bridge on stilts in the Kpelle country.



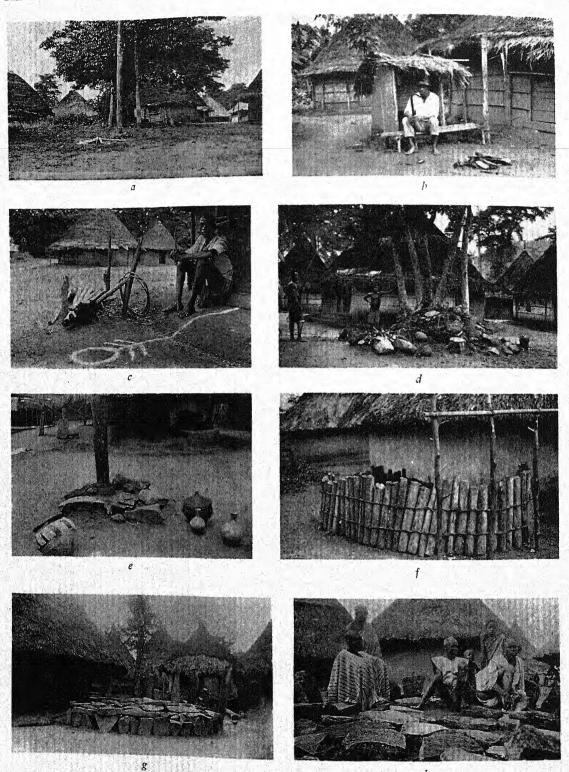
Towns. a, Womplei's town (Gio); b, entrance to Abi zã (Gio); c, d, deserted towns in Tiê country; e, a Ge town near Sakripie; f, a Gio (Dã) town in the hills near Sanokwele.



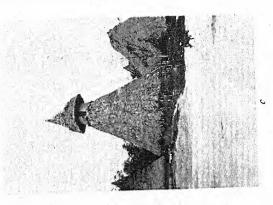
Palaver Houses. a, town drums, Tuobo clan, Half-Grebo; b, women's cult house, Pandamai, Loma; c, Half-Grebo men's cult house, town war drum under eaves of house at right, sacrifice fireplace in foreground; d, rear view of same, drum at left; e, mat around sacred tree near cult house; f, palaver (cult) house at Yopolo; g, smithy near palaver house at Yopolo, Palepo clan, Half-Grebo; b, chief's house and medicine place near cult house, Half-Grebo.

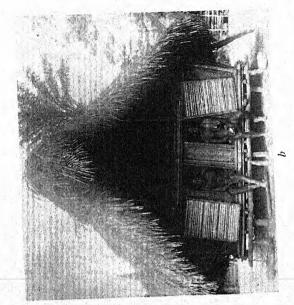


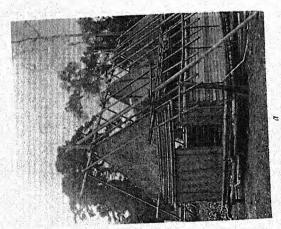
Town Medicine Places. a, medicine over path to keep bad spirits from entering a Sapā town; b, portal shrine guarding Sapā town entrance; c, guard at a Sapā portal shrine; d, medicine supported on a bamboo pole to keep off witches; e, Chief Towai's sacred town bull; f, a Gio town medicine place; g, a Gbunde hunter's grave with sacred tusk; h, medicine hung under the eaves of a Kpelle chief's house to guard hunter's grave with sacred tusk; h, medicine hung under the eaves of a Kpelle chief's house to guard against witchcraft; i, ancestral shrine in a Sapā chief's house; j, town medicine place at Gompa, stones and mortar from old mother town; k, a Tuobo town medicine place; l, town medicine place at Yala, Loma.

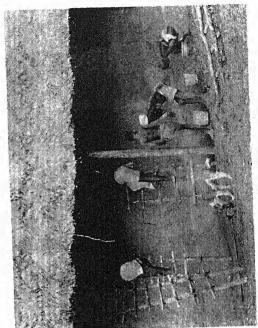


MEDICINE AND SACRIFICE. a, sacred fire in front of a Half-Grebo medicine house; b, fire medicine, Tuobo clan, Half-Grebo; c, mushroom meal sacrifice to the farm, Tuobo clan, Half-Grebo; d, town medicine place, Sabo clan, Half-Grebo; e, medicine post in center of a Loma town; f, grave of a Half-Grebo chief; g, grave of a Gbunde chief; b, Gbunde elders sit and talk palavers on the chief's grave.

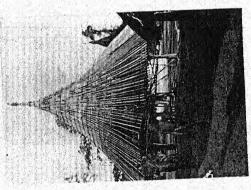




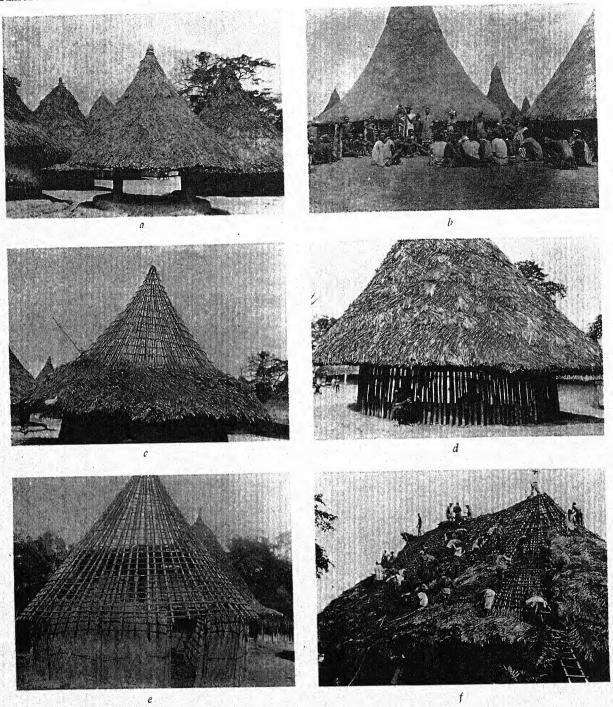






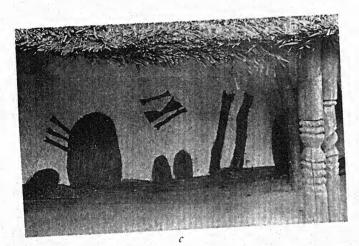


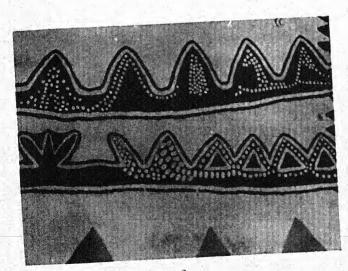
House Construction. 4, Sapá house under construction; b, typical Sapá house; c, an unusual experiment with a two-story house, by a Gechief; d, rafters in place for a Gio palaver kitchen; e, Loma men carrying thatch; f, Loma women rubbing cracks in the walls of a very large house built for the District Commissioner.



HOUSE CONSTRUCTION. a, typical Mano "rice kitchen" or palaver house; b, Chief Towai's palaver house kitchen in background (Gio); c, a Mano house with thatch partly on; d, Mano house, walls not yet daubed with clay; e, a Half-Grebo house ready for thatch; f, re-thatching a large house in the Mano country. The men at the right are taking off the old thatch while the rest put on new.

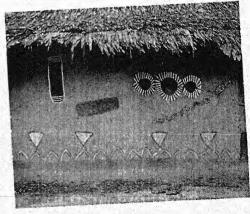




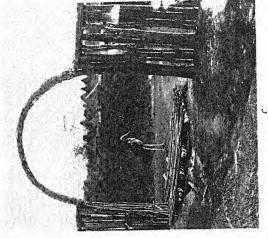


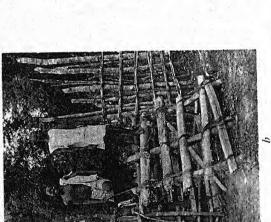


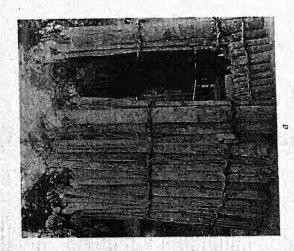




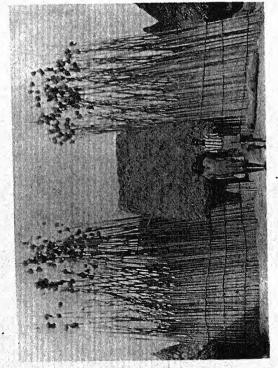
DECORATIONS. a, wall decorations on a Sabo house, Half-Grebo; b, carved posts at the entrance to a Loma palaver house; c, a Kpelle house wall; d, Mano daubings; e, f, clay decorations on a Kpelle house.



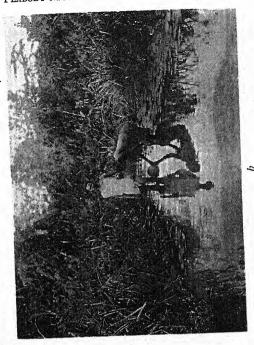




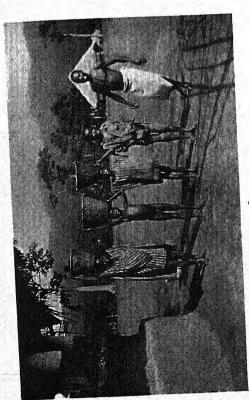


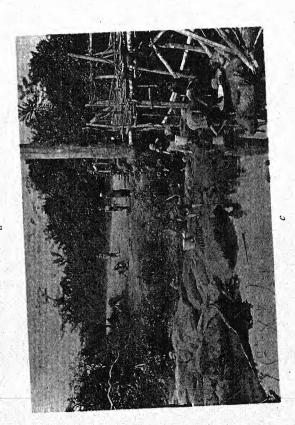


THINGS ABOUT TOWN. 4, Mano bath house; b, a stile to keep cattle out of the farms; c, a tame stork at the gate of a Government compound in Gio country; d, entrance to Paramount Chief Wuo's compound (Mano). The raffia bamboo poles attract weaver birds to build nests there; e, a Sapá latrine, a modern innovation.

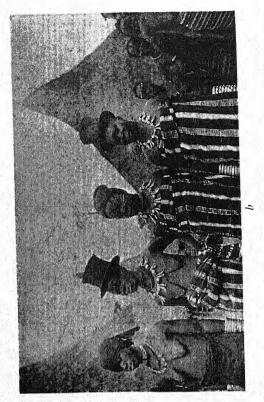


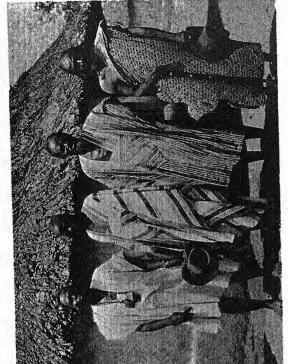


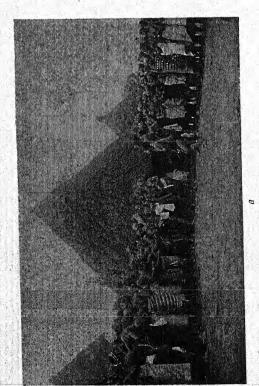


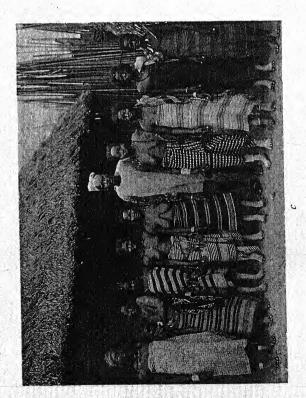


WATER SUPPLY. a, boys bringing water for the Commissioner and two others who wanted to get into the picture (Gbunde); b, typical town water supply, where the trail crosses a stream (Manoland). People walk upstream to drink, downstream to wash; c, washing clothes at a water supply, where the trail crosses a stream (Manoland). Water in the dry season.

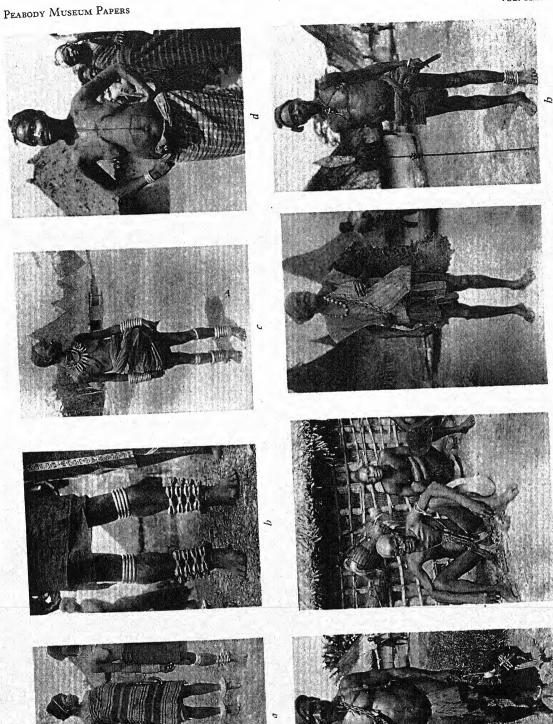




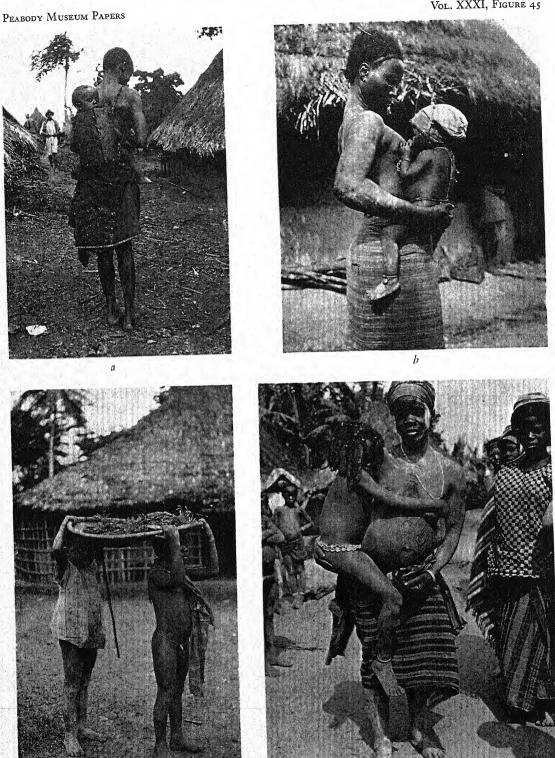




CHIEFS AND THER WIVES. 4, people dancing to celebrate reinstatement of a big chief after an investigation (Mano); b, Chief Towai's favorite wives (Gio); c, a Kpelle chief and his wives; d, 4 big Kpelle chiefs.

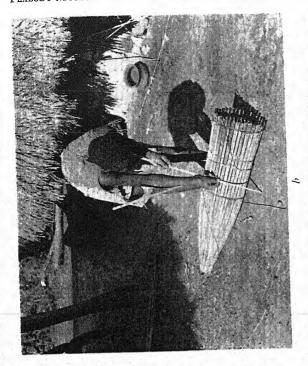


Dress and Adornment. 4, b, Gio anklets and other jewelry; c, Kpelle woman wearing brass jewelry; d, woman with black cosmetic marks, used by Mano women (made with juice of a shrub); e, Ge man who would not talk because he was in mourning; f, Gio elder seated on leopard skin, hourglass drums in background; g, Gio "doctor"; b, Half-Grebo warrior doctor and his divining spear.



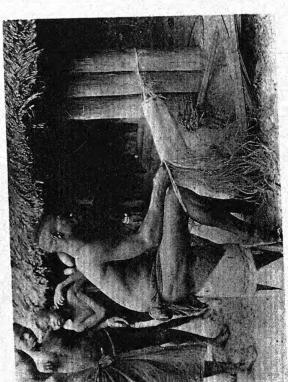
Children. a, Sabo baby carried in a box-like chair, Half-Grebo; b, a Gbunde baby wearing a cap and nothing else; c, Gio children playing at work; d, Kpelle child, born a "water person," i.e., with reddish hair. The hair is matted with beeswax and decorated with beads.

d







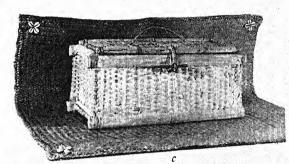


Handicrafts. 4, a Loma man mending a calabash; b, a Gio boy making a fish trap; c, a Gio man making a coarse bias-woven bag; d, a Kpelle woman weaving a dip net for catching fish.

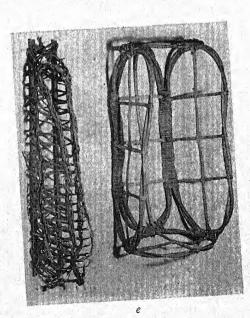
when cutting farms; j, calabash storage vessel; k, general utility basket; l, basket hung over the fire for smoking or drying condiments; m, o, r, baskets BASKETRY. 4, g, baskets carried by women when fishing with dip nets; b-f, baskets for spices and condiments; b, basket for trinkets; i, wrist guard worn for carrying babies (Half-Grebo); n, winnowing tray (Mano); p, q, s, t, baskets for storing small objects.



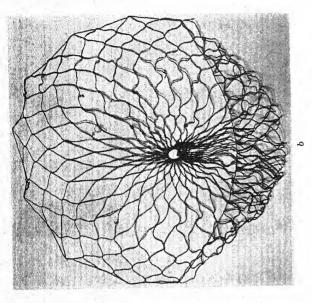


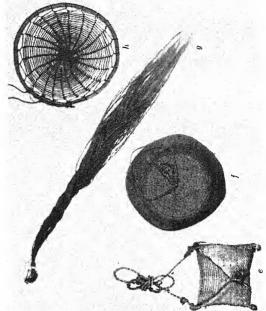


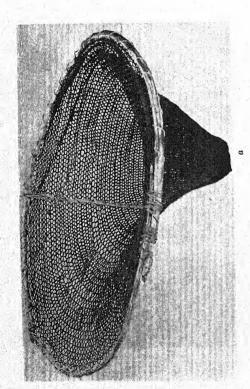


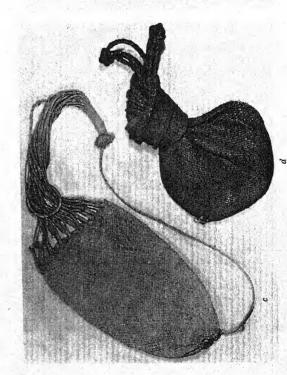


Weaving, Mat, Kinja. a, making a kinja, or temporary hamper (Mano); b, weaving a mat (Gio); c, basketry box for sacred objects of the Snake Society; d, fowl basket; e, carrying frames.

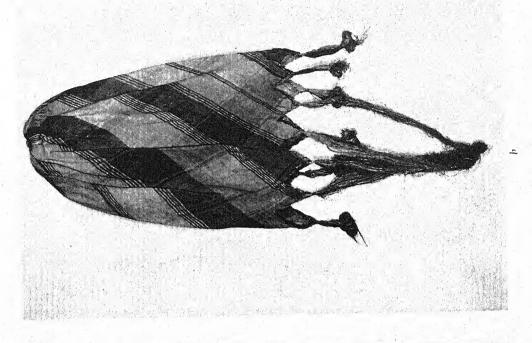


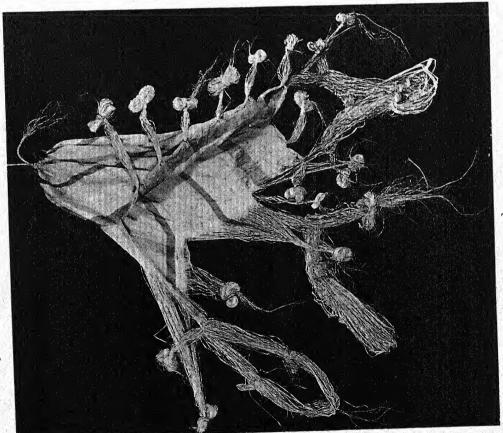




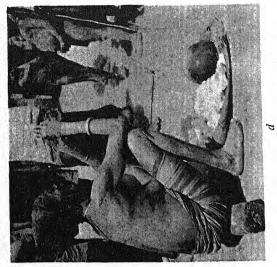


Ners. a, dip net for fishing; b, carrying net; c, d, coarse raffia bias-woven bags; e, raffia purse; f, water-tight basket; g, fiber from oilpalm leaflets, used for weaving nets and strainers; b, strainer used in making red palm oil.



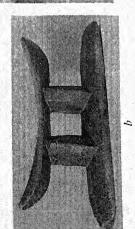


FINE BIAS-WOVEN RAFFIA BAG. 4, showing method of suspension and heddles in place. There is no shuttle or beater. The fibers are threaded and pressed home with the fingers; b, a bag almost finished. The loose ends will be plaited and tied.

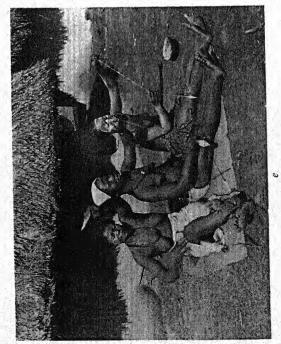




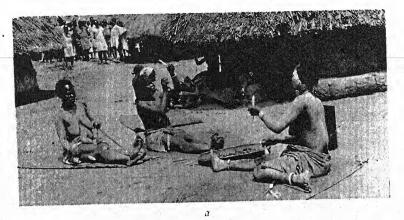




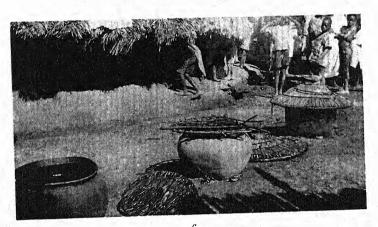


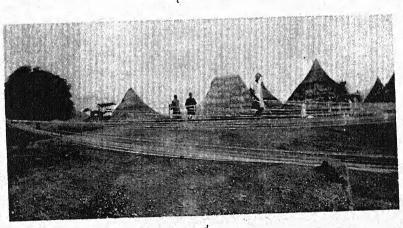


CARDING AND SPINNING COTTON. 4, Wooden block and iron rod used to roll out cotton seed; b, a stool worn thin by the process of rolling out cotton seed; c, Mano man carding cotton with a bow; d, Kpelle woman carding cotton with a small comb; e, Gio girls spinning cotton yarn; f, this is woman's work, but sometimes the old men help.



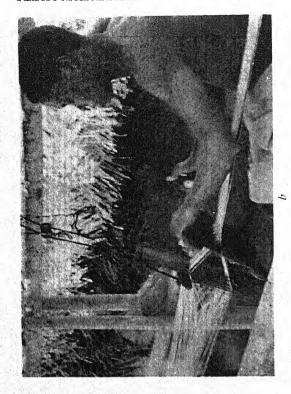


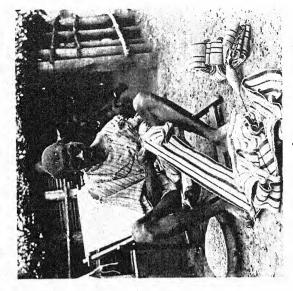


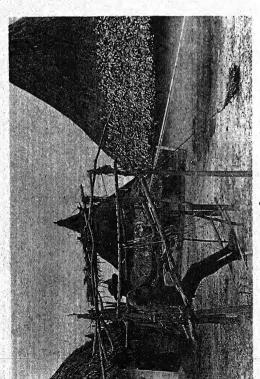


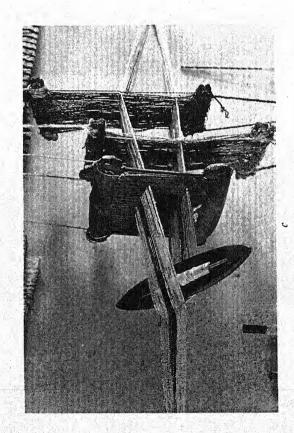


Spinning Cotton and Carding. a, Kpelle women spinning yarn; b, Mano man dyeing yarn; c, Mandingo dye pots; d, Mano man laying out a warp; e, Mende loom.

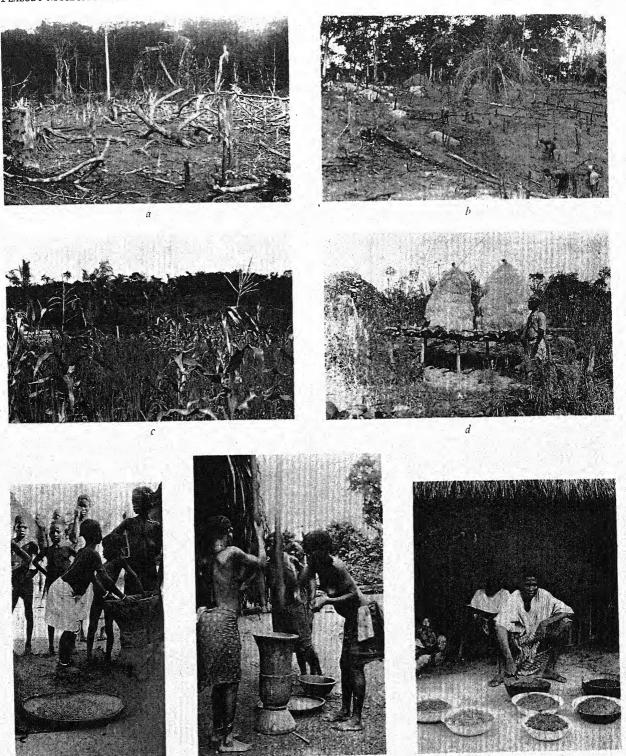




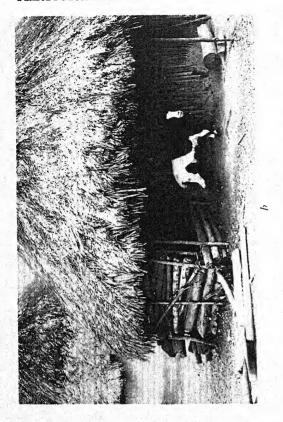




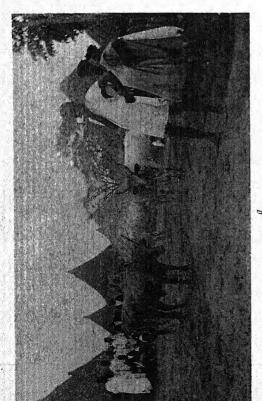
Weaving Corron Cloth and Carding, a, Mano man weaving; b, close-up of a loom; c, details of a loom set up in the Museum; d, Mano town chief sewing cloth strips together to make a new shirt for himself.

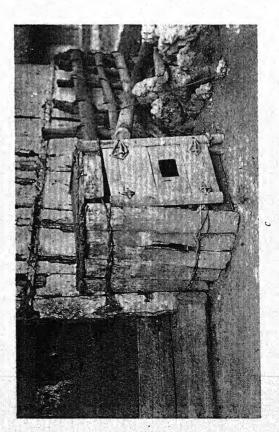


THE STORY OF RICE. a, recently burnt farm; b, women planting rice; c, rice and corn growing together; d, temporary storage in the field—the man with the gun is not guarding the rice, just a passer-by; e, treading out the heads (threshing); f, hulling and polishing rice in a mortar; g, rice, cooked and served with gravy for our carriers by a paramount chief in Gbunde country.

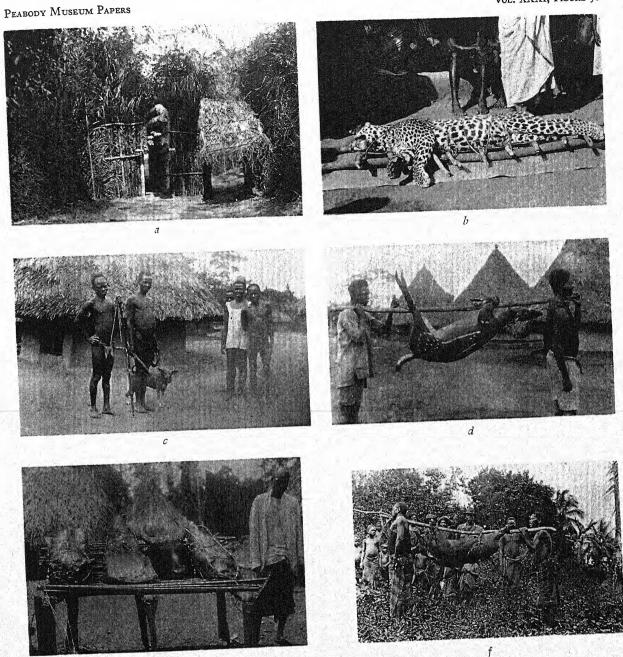




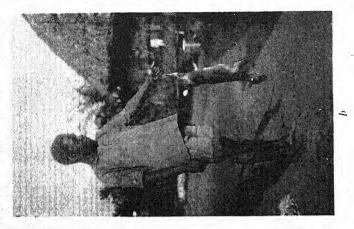


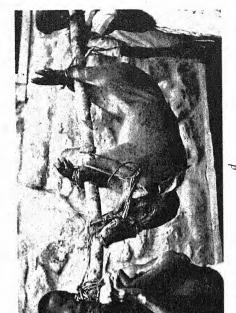


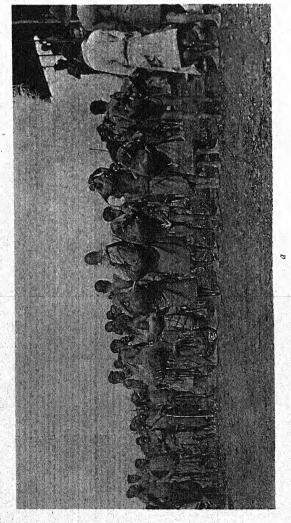
Domestic Animals. 4, Mandingo cattle; b, Sapā goat house; c, Tië goat house; d, Mano chicken house.



Trapping and Hunting. a, leopard trap with by-pass (right) open; b, a leopard caught in this trap; c, Mano hunters with bows and arrows; d, a harnessed antelope; e, a "bush cow" (buffalo) cut in sections for easy transportation; f, a "bush hog" (wart hog).

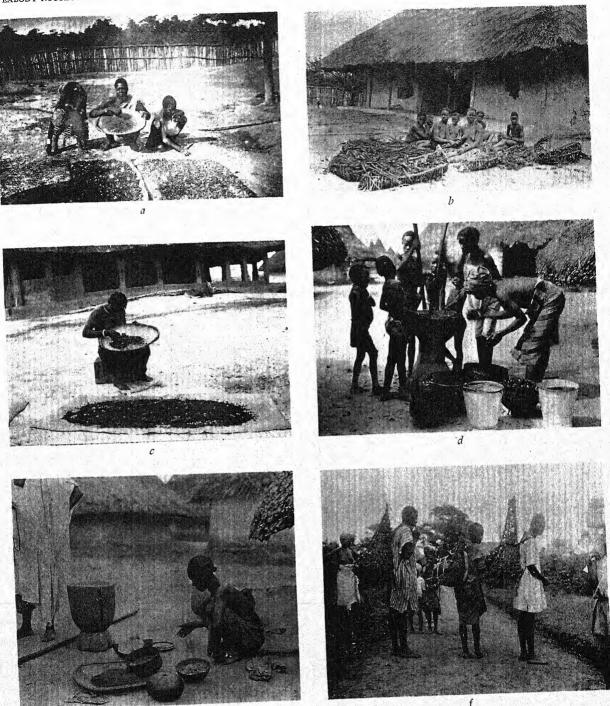




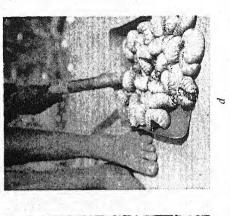




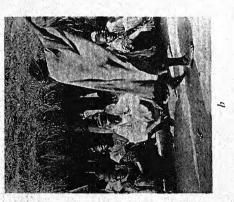
HUNTING. 4, the bag after a drive with nets: 7 antelopes and a civet-cat; b, a pigmy antelope, full grown; c, 32 monkeys killed in one tree; d, close-up of a wart hog.



FOODSTUFF. a, b, winnowing termites to get rid of their wings; c, picking palm nuts from the bunches; d, beating boiled palm nuts in the process of extracting oil; e, Mandingo woman mixing snuff; f, Loma men returning from a market town near the coast.

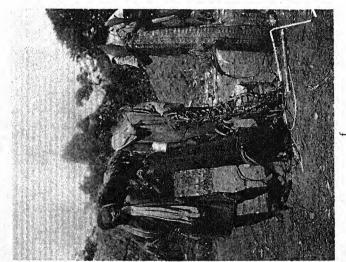


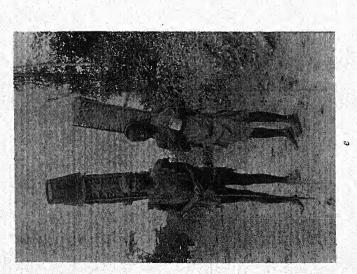




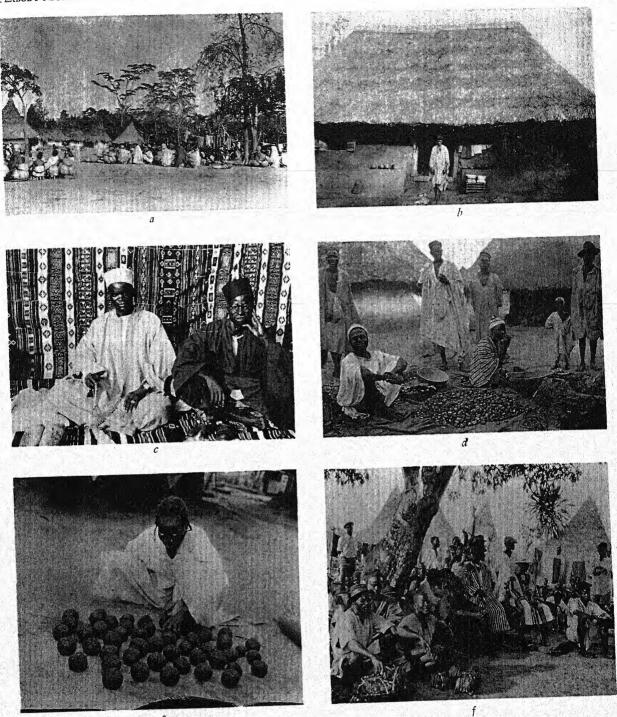




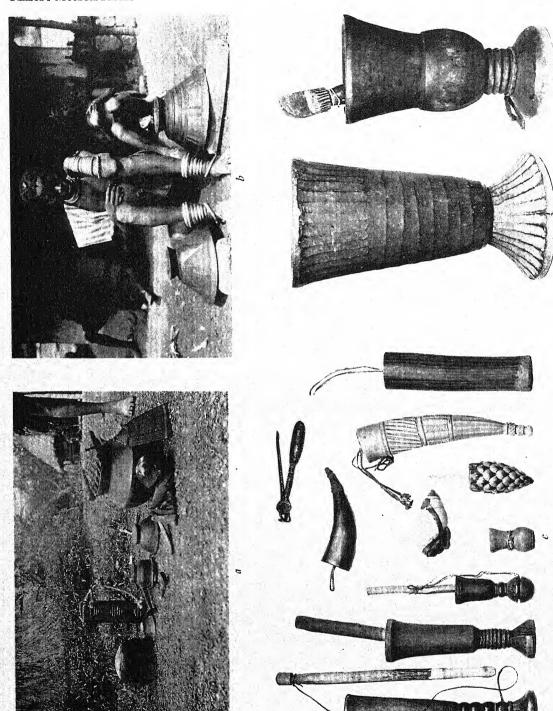




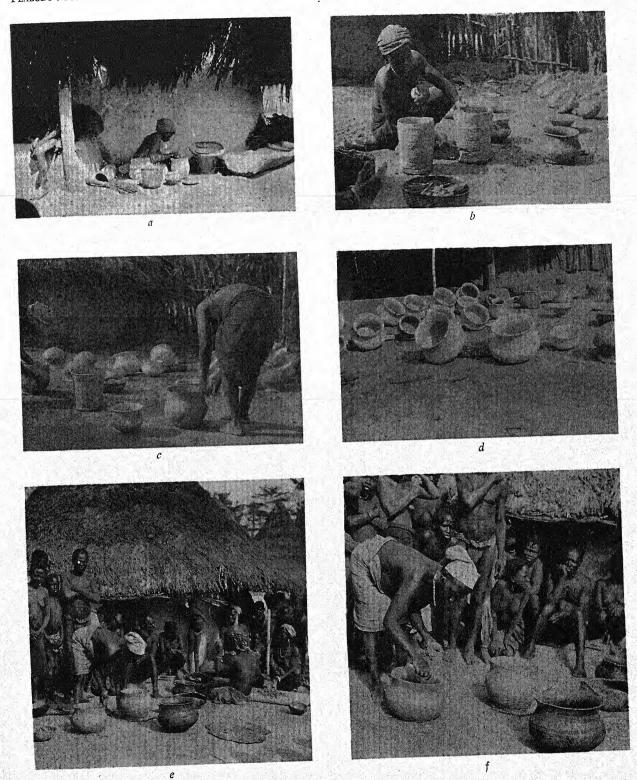
FOODSTUFF AND MARKETS. 4, Mandingo traders lined up for inspection of licenses to trade; b, Mano market-crier making public proclamation; c, waiting for market to open; d, a shovelfull of grubs of the rhinoceros beetle, considered a great delicacy; c, Kpelle man and boy carrying rice to market (weight: 70 pounds each); f, Loma men returning from the coast submit their loads to inspection for animunition; g, a child has lunch while mother sells snuff out of a pot.



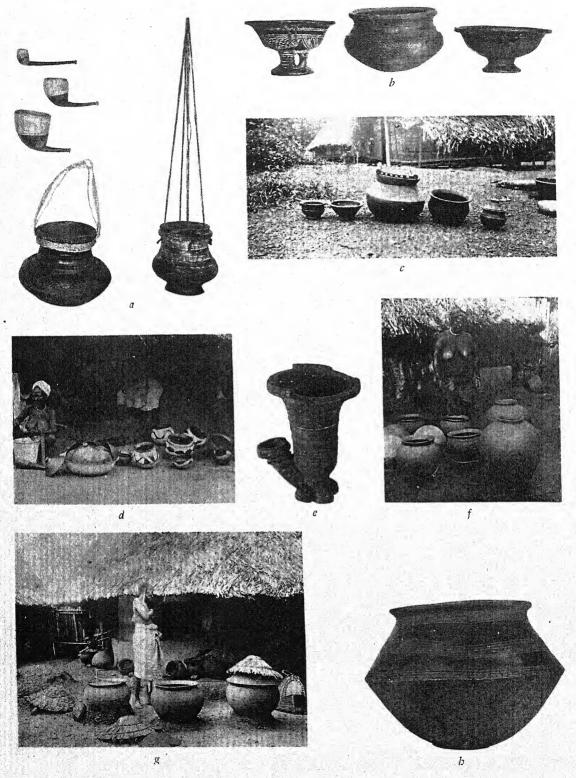
Market. a, waiting for the market to open at Sakripie; b, Mandingo trading post in Loma country; c, Vai traders with cloth woven in French West Africa; d, Mandingo traders sorting cola nuts, Sanokwele; e, Mandingo spreading balls of indigo in the sun to dry; f, Chief Wuo at the town market in Zuluyi.



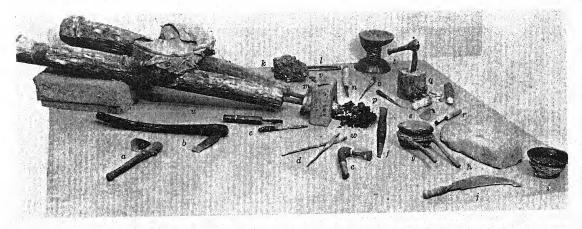
Household Utensils. 4, utensils from a Sapa house: cooking pots, carrying case for the baby, bowls for food, large water pot with woven splint cover, fan-shaped strainer; b, Konibo woman posing with wooden bowls for food; c, snuff mortars, snuff horns, and iron snuff spoons; d, mortars for hulling rice and beating dumboy.



Making Pors. a, Loma girl working on a pot; b, Mano woman laying the coils; c, Mano women flaring the rim, rounding the bottom, and bellying out the sides; d, Mano pots and bowls drying in the sun; e, women seated at right are pounding clay with short pestles; f, finishing off the rim.

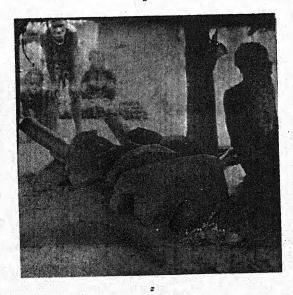


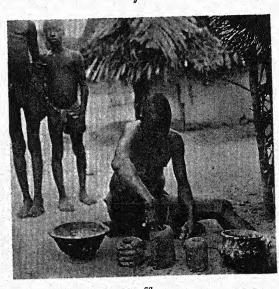
POTTERY. a, Mano clay pipes, and Gio pots for burnt palm oil; b, Gio pot and dishes for cooked rice; c, Sapā pots; d, Loma water pots and pot covers; e, Sapā ceremonial pipe; f, Loma dye pots and tall pots for palm oil; g, a Loma woman dyeing yarn; b, a Gio water pot, capacity, 5 gallons.



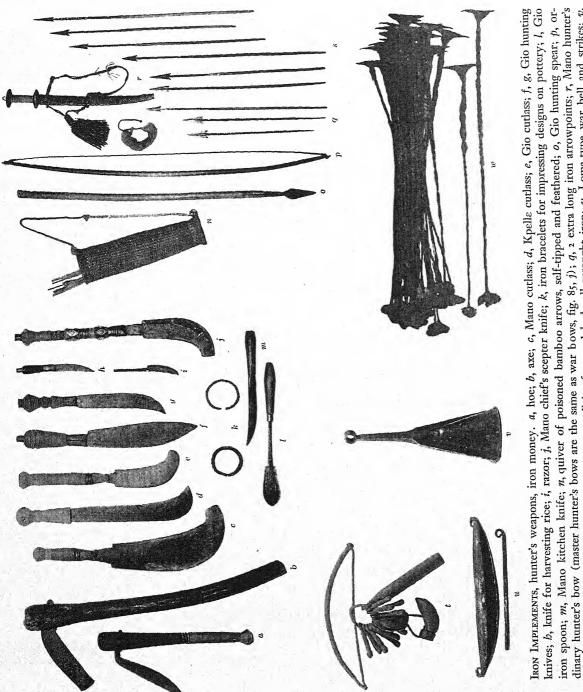




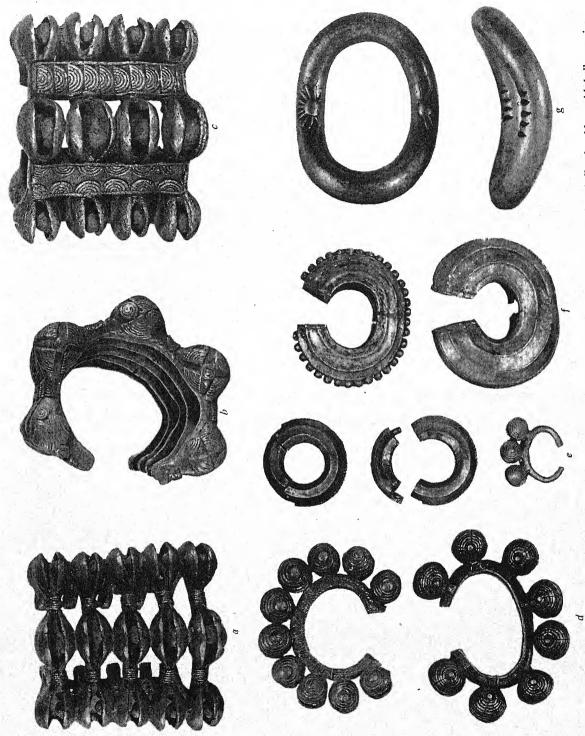




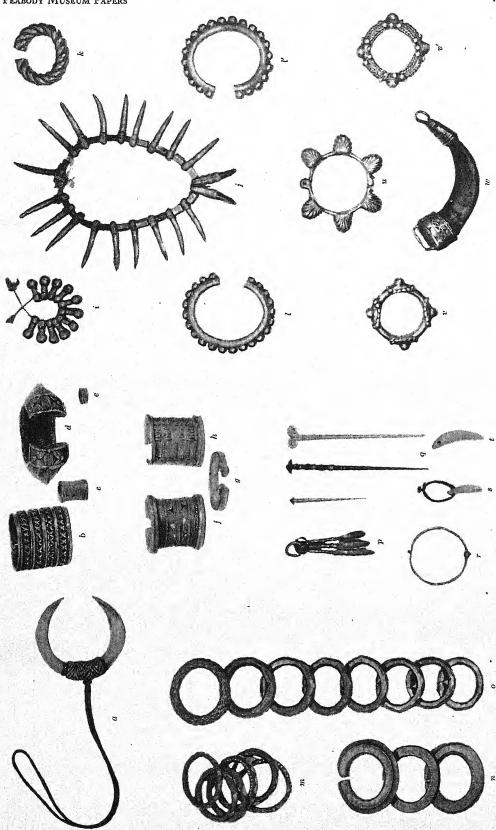
METAL WORKING — THE SMITHY. a—w, a Mano blacksmith's outfit set up in the Museum: a, hoe; b, axe; c, sockets for holding tongs or knife blades while being forged; d, tongs; e, light hammer, gbana; f, spindle-shaped anvil yini which in turn becomes a hammer for medicine; g, the great sledge hammer, kpume, which is also the anvil for yini work; h, the stone anvil for kpume and yini; i, pot of water for cooling iron; j, a cutlass; k, a lump of native smelted iron; l, a bamboo mold for casting brass-rod "money"; m, old brass money; n, an end-cutting chisel for wood work; o, a hot awl for boring holes in wood; p, a knife for whittling; q, adz for wood working; r, a curved-on-the-feat knife for hollowing out bowls; s, hoe blade; t, a stool to sit on; u, the paired bellows; v, a chisel; w, slag; x, a Mano blacksmith at work; y, the same shop, showing helper blowing the bellows; z, a Ge shop with slightly different set-up; aa, a Ge smith preparing molds for casting brass bracelets, using the lost-wax process.



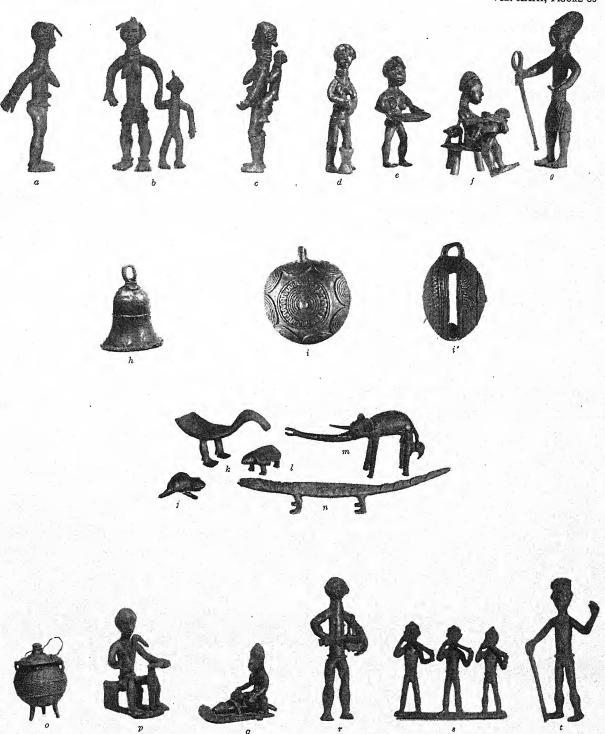
iron spoon; m, Mano kitchen knife; n, quiver of poisoned bamboo arrows, self-tipped and feathered; o, Gio hunting spear; p, ordinary hunter's bow (master hunter's bows are the same as war bows, fig. 85, j); q, 2 extra long iron arrowpoints; r, Mano hunter's knife; s, 7 Mano master hunter's arrows; t, town medicine for good luck, all wrought iron; u, Loma-type war bell and strikes; v, Mano-type war bell of wrought iron; w, Kisi iron money.



Brass Anklets of the Gio Tribe. 4, c, anklets composed of 25 bells cast in one piece; b, another with 20 bells; d, anklets with bells cast in a single row; e, anklet with 3 bells and a solid removable anklet; f, very large hollow anklets (weight: 7 pounds each); g, solid removable anklets.

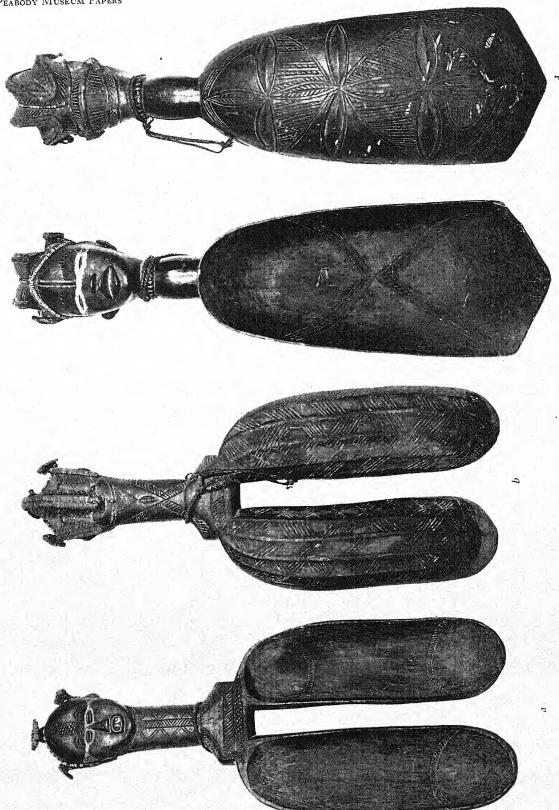


JEWELRY AND ORNAMENTS PREDOMINANTLY BRASS. 4, pendant made of pigmy hippopotamus teeth; b, cuff bracelet; c, thumb ring; d, anklet with fish-mouth bracelets cut from the sole-horn of an elephant's foot, decorated with aluminum pins or "tacks"; n, a set of 3 heavy bracelets taken off a woman's left motif; e, finger ring with plaited design; f, cuff bracelet, pierced design; g, plain bracelet with snake-head motif; h, cuff bracelet with cowrie-shell motif; arm; o, a set of 8 bracelets taken from the right arm of the same woman; p, 3 iron snuff spoons; q, 3 hair-pins: 2 of aluminum, 1 of copper; r, child's neckpiece of iron with spring clasp, s, child's leather wristlet with leopard's tooth; t, an unusually large tooth said to be a lion's; u, a child's hinged neckpiece i, child's necklace of small bells; j, large necklace of imitation (brass) leopard teeth; k, twisted bracelet; l, 2 leg pieces worn just below the knee; m, with shell motif, v, 2 elaborate bracelets of the sacred nitie type; w, ram's horn pendant with brass fittings.

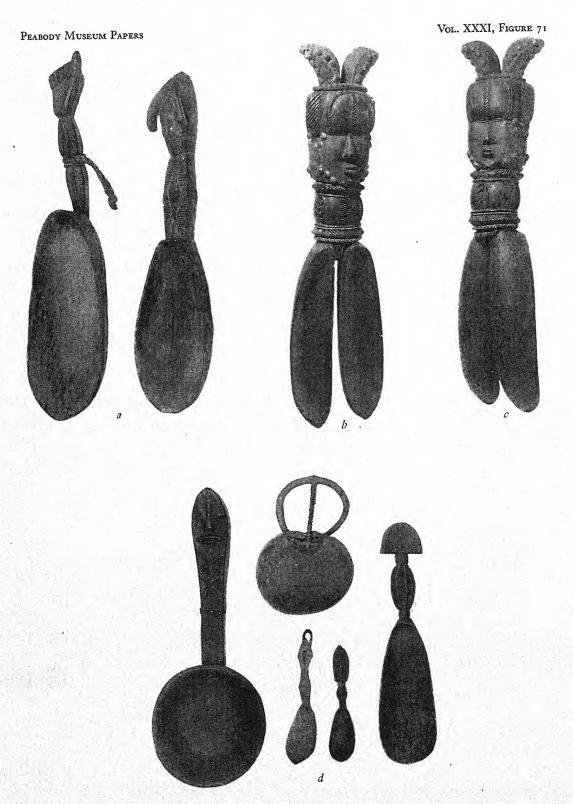


Cast Brass Objects. a, woman with arms tied behind her, a severe form of punishment; b, c, women with children; d, woman beating food in a mortar; e, woman with winnowing tray; f, woman comforting her baby, dog on stool behind her; g, man wearing ritual dress demanding tribute; b, brass bell of unusual design; i, i', a unique bell of Gio workmanship; j, frog; k, duck; l, turtle; m, elephant; n, crocodile; o, model of pot with cover; p, blacksmith at work; q, boy blowing the smith's bellows; r, drummer; s, 3 trumpeters; t, chief with a big stick, apparently drunk.

Trade Beads. a, a girdle with beads of many varieties, some faceted by grinding down; b, a string mostly of native-made aluminum beads; c, d, 2 collections of the most interesting types, including 5 murano beads, dating anywhere from the Roman Empire period to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and some very old mosaic glass; e, deep translucent blue glass, probably made in America; f, more recent opaque glass beads; g, smaller ones, translucent red over white and larger ones, hollow enamel or opaque red glass, one opaque red over yellow; b, heavy opalescent glass with several opaque beads, white and colored — one very old murano; i, heavy colored glass beads; j, polychrome beads with colored decorations fused on a black body; k, this necklace has 4 murano (chevron) beads of a workmanship which would date them probably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century; l, necklace with 11 different types of very old Italian handmade beads; m, massive blue and yellow opaque glass beads with 5 murano beads of more recent workmanship, probably nineteenth century; n, a massive belt or girdle with some cast brass beads and a brass "apron" piece; o, necklace of glass beads.



Double Spoons. a, b, a Krá carved wooden ceremonial twin spoon; c, d, a Gio ceremonial spoon.



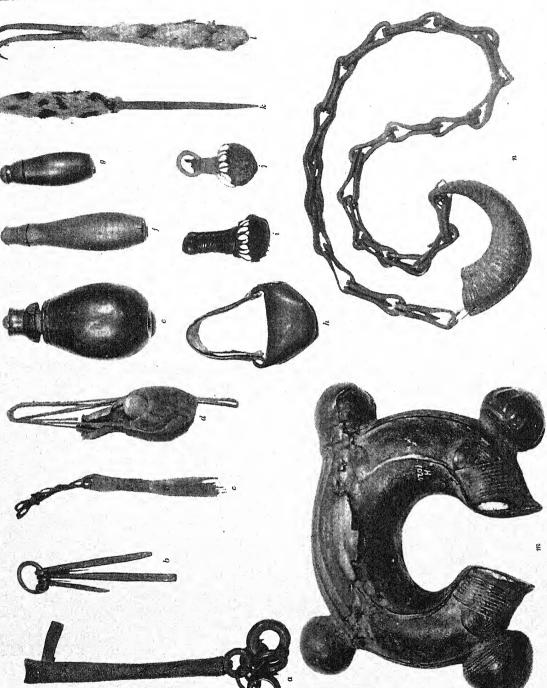
MISCELLANEOUS DOUBLE Spoons. a, 2 Gio spoons used for food dishes; b, c, a Gio Janus twin spoon used ceremonially in the women's Bush school; d, various spoons showing considerable use. The bowl of one is a piece of calabash.

"Stick Babies" (Wooden Figures). a, wooden figure by a Krā man, probably recently made; b, an excellent copy of a sacred Bassa figure; c, old Gio figure, probably a ceremonial effigy; d, an old Gio effigy commemorating a human sacrifice by a now defunct witch cult; e, f, a pair of figures made on request, by a Gio artist.

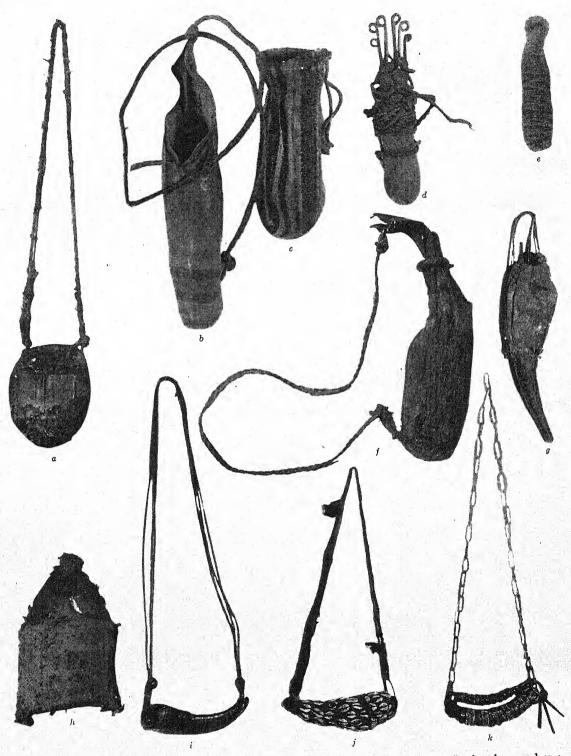
STOOLS AND CHARS. 4, Kpelle stool; b, Mano stool; c, Loma stool; d, six-legged Gbunde stool; e, chief's chair or backrest (Mano); f, g, typical chiefs' chairs in Mano and Gio country (height: 12% inches).



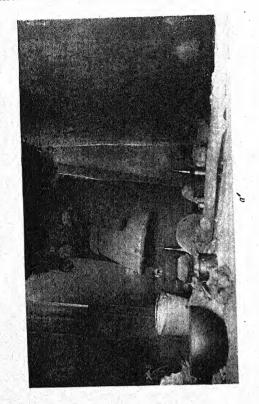
SWAGGER STICKS, GAMING BOARD, WOODEN BOWL, AND KNIFE AND SHEATH. a, a mā game board, common in Mano country; b, a Gio wooden bowl; c, a Gio knife and sheath; d, a leather whip or gbato, symbol of authority of a town chief; e, elephant-tail swagger brush, carried only by big chiefs; f, cow's tail brush, carried by any Zo and lesser chiefs; g, a plaited raffia gbato; h-n, various walking sticks, a staff, and a swagger stick.

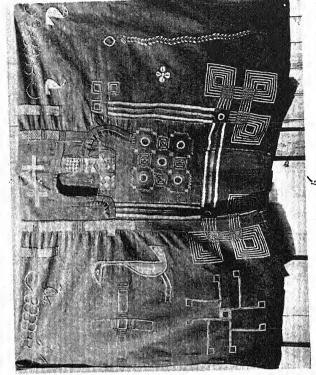


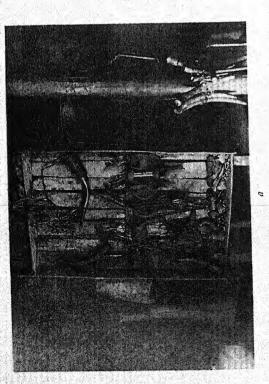
b, typical blacksmith's badge of office, 3 small yinis on a ring; c, warrior's charm to prevent spirit of slain enemy from bewitching him; d, bag with "sewing eye" cowrie shell to keep off witches; e-g, old wooden powder flasks; b, hunter's dog bell. Dogs are silent while hunting; i, warrior's charm to give him power and skill; j, hunter's charm, worn on the belt to give him good luck; k, l, stiletto AMULETS AND CHARMS. 4, personal talisman of a big chief, the axe to which no tree is invulnerable with rings that cannot be opened; and iron hooks of the Human Leopard Society, used to inflict wounds imitating leopard teeth and claws respectively, m, large solid cast-brass nitie, weighing just 15 pounds; n, a ram's horn of medicine and iron chain to protect warrior against bullets.



AMULETS AND CHARMS. a, a turtle shell full of medicine by Poro "justice of the peace" who also acted as a fact finder for Wai, the final judge inside the camp; b, c, flumo and inner bag containers for: (d, black magic implement used to "tie" an enemy 7 ways at once); e, black magic, containing such ingredients as owls' feathers, a piece of dead car's skin, part of a foetus, parts of bucket handles from a game, a poisonous plant; f, the flumo or bag to keep the bad medicine in; g, a Snake Society horn of poison mixed with antidote. A little is licked daily to build up an immunity; h, cloth pad worn by Poro official who caught boys on the road; i, leather-covered horn of medicine designed to cure rheumatism; j, war medicine containing the dried heart of a slain enemy; k, charm worn by a great warrior who was a blacksmith.

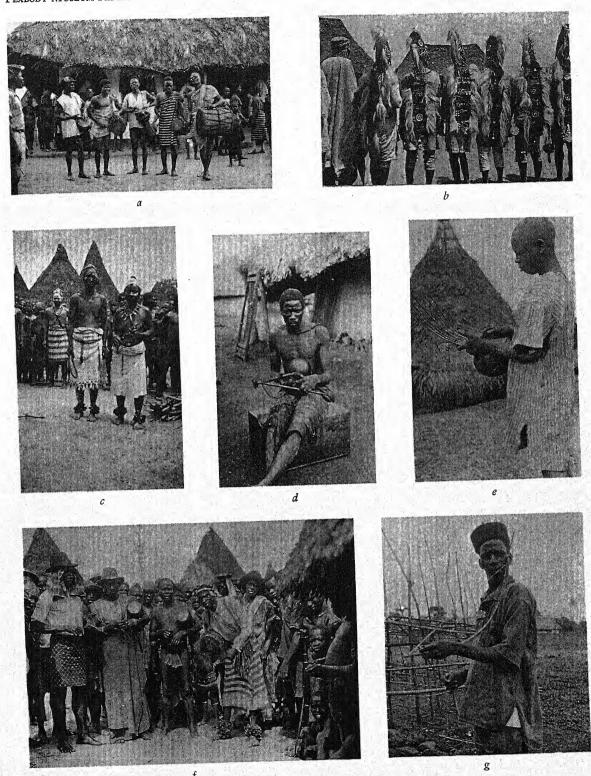




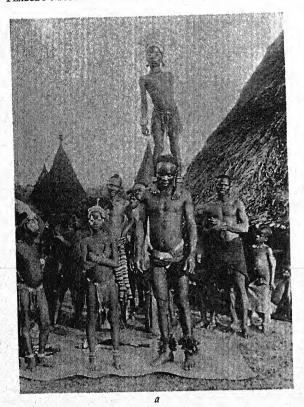


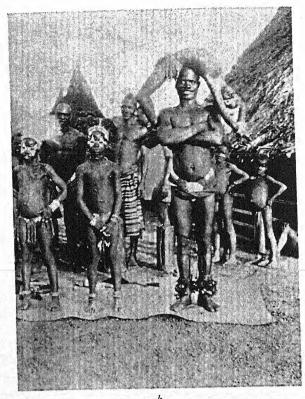


MEDICINE PANELS AND A RAKE, a, a', medicine panels in Half-Grebo medicine house; b, b', rake formerly worn by a Mano chief. It was made by someone from the north. The decorations suggest Kisi influence.



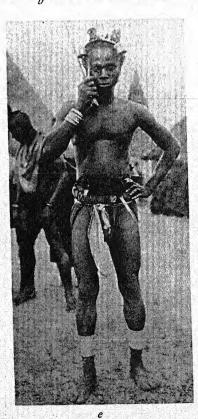
Music and Dancing. a, celebrating the birth of a Ge chief's son; b, Chief Wuo's minstrels (Mano); c, Gio women dancers; d, a Kpelle minstrel singing to his harp; e, a Ge boy with a 6-bowed calabash instrument; f, a Gio Snake Society interpretive dancer; g, a musical bow, the mouth acting as resonator, played by one of our Gbunde interpreters.



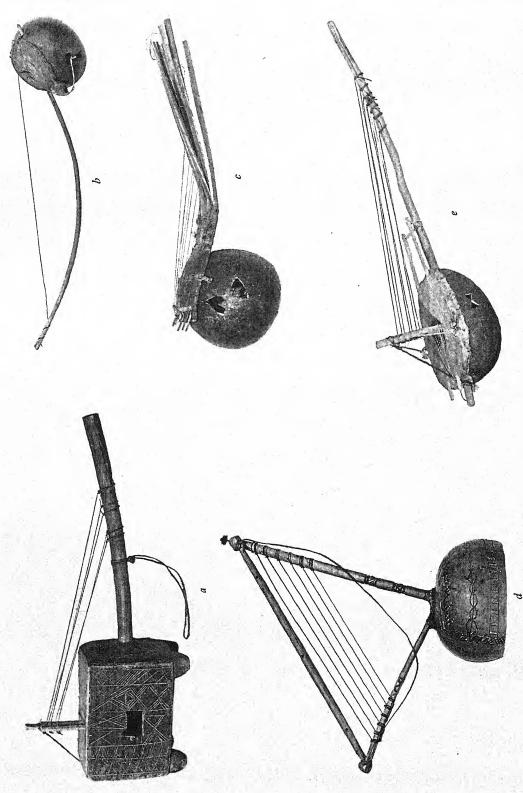




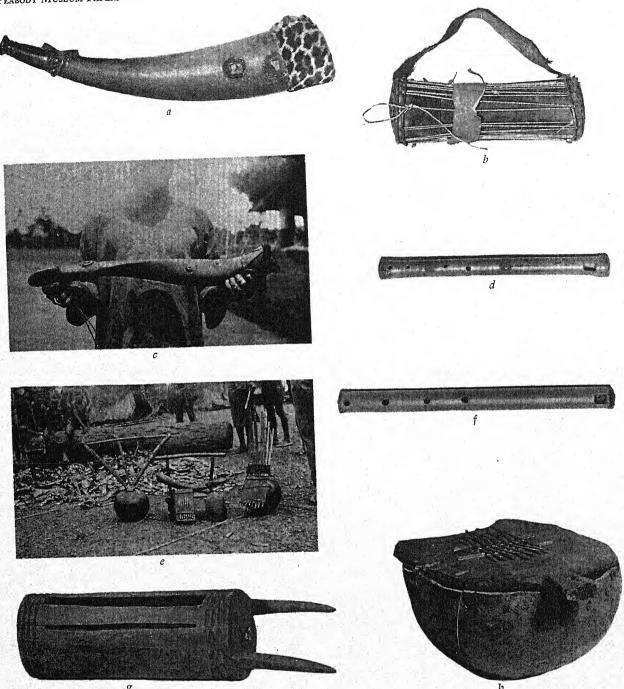




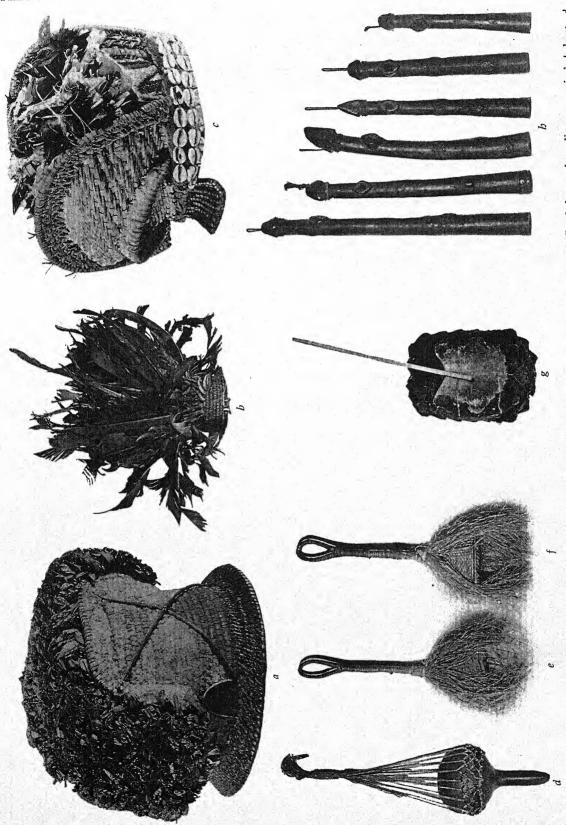
Dancers. a, b, Snake Society jugglers and little girls; c, a Gbunde drummer; d, a wandering minstrel (Gio); e, Gio champion bush-cutter, dressed for ceremonial dance.



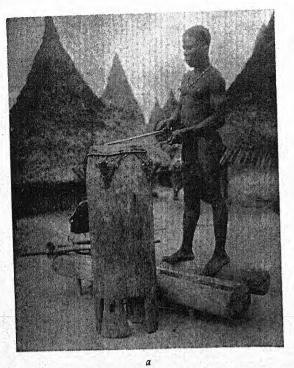
STRINGED INSTRUMENTS. 4, Loma war dance guirar, with wooden box; b, a one-stringed violin gourd; c, an instrument with 7 bows and strings; d, a Loma harp; e, a Mano war banjo with gourd resonator.

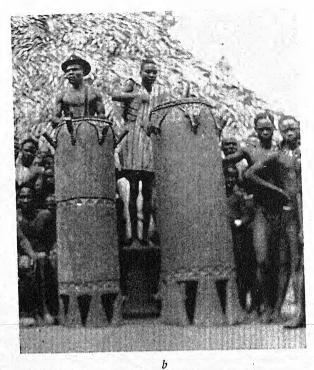


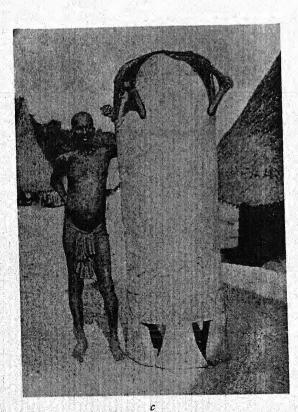
Musical Instruments. a, carved ivory horn; b, hour-glass drum; c, Eland's horn; d, flute of bamboo; e, Sapa lap instruments: harp, clicker, Eland's horn, turtle-shell drum, calabash with 8 bows; f, flute of Raphia vinifera; g, two-toned hollow log drum; b, Mano clicker with calabash resonator.



WAR HELMETS, RATTLES, FTC. 4, c, champion bush-cutter's helmets. In the old days champion warriors wore similar helmets; b, ordinary warrior's helmet; d, minstrel's gourd rattle with beaded net striker; e, f, farm-cutting rattles with gourd bottoms; g, turtle-shell "drum" used by women and sacred to the Sande; b, set of 6 wooden trumpets (Loma).

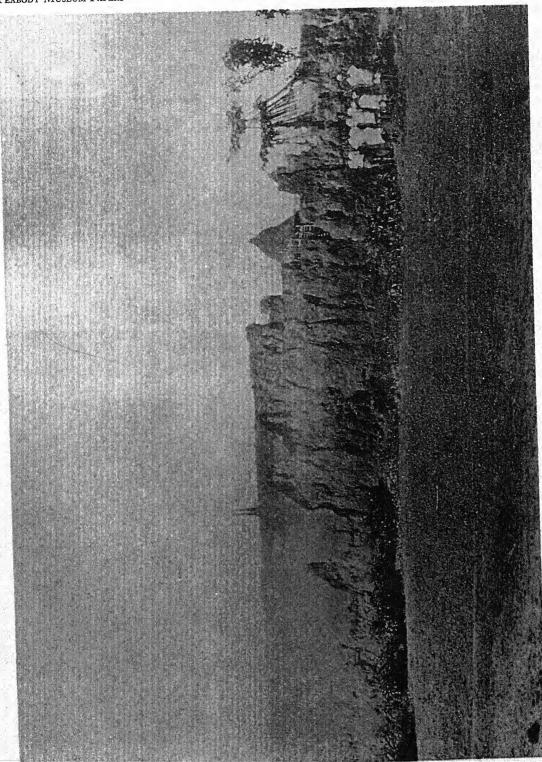








 W_{AR} Drums. a, a small Gio town drum; b, 2 full-sized Gio war drums; c, a Gio drum in poor repair; d, an abandoned Sapā war drum.

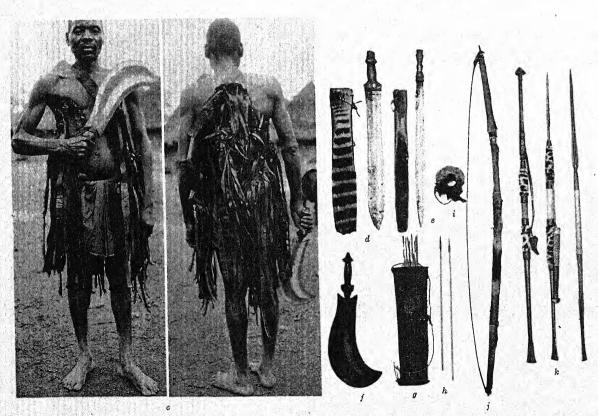


Part of the old mud wall fortification at Zorzor in Loma country. This wall surrounded the town.

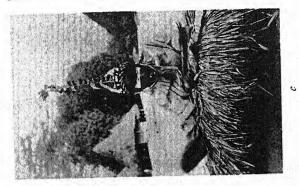
PEABODY MUSEUM PAPERS

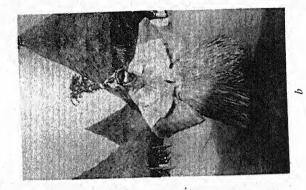


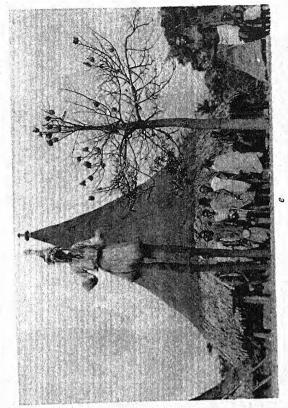




Warriors and Weapons. a, an old Gio war leader reminiscing; b, a Webo war leader and his son, with war-medicine balanced on his head; c, a Half-Grebo warrior with war knife and costume for war dance, front and rear views; d, e, Gio swords with cast-brass handles and sheaths; f, Half-Grebo war knife or cutlass, of Kru type; g, driver with light iron-tipped arrows; h, 2 Mano war arrows with poisoned iron tips; i, wrist guard for bowman; j, warrior's bow reinforced with rawhide cuffs from antelope's legs; k, 2 Mano war spears, one sheathed, one unsheathed (see fig. 27, b; also a Gio spear (lance headed).



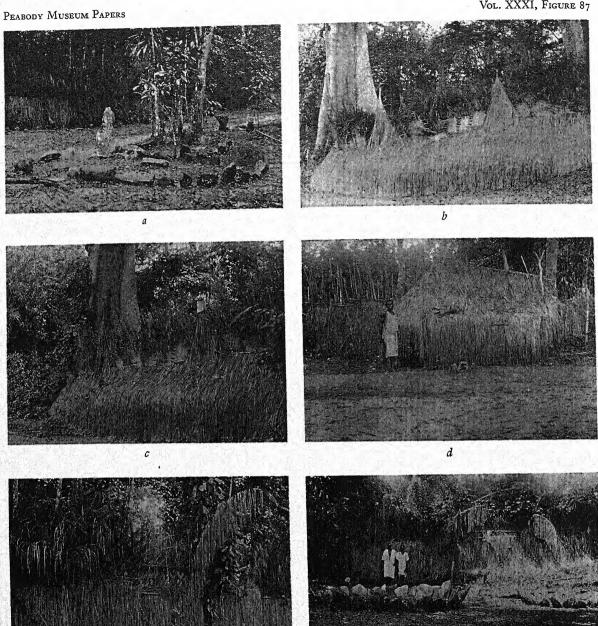






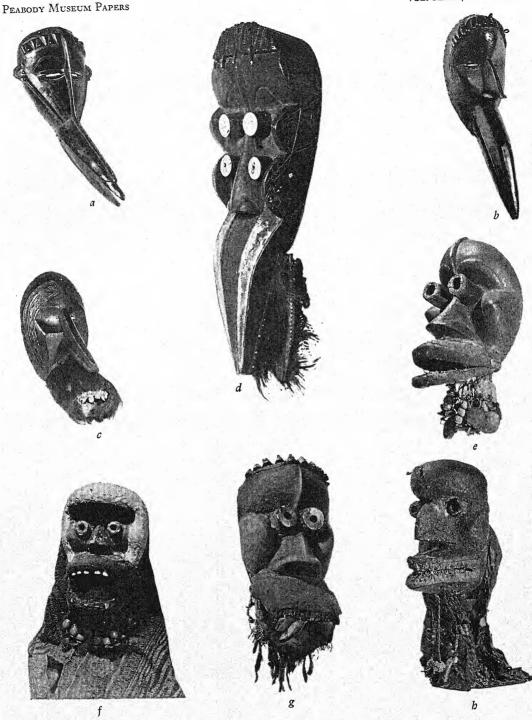


COUNTRY DEVILS. 4, Mano boy's devil, Kie Ge, the chimpanzee; b, Mano dancing devil, an entertainer; c, close-up of the same devil; d, boys playing devil in Half-Grebo wear a mask; e, a Gio "Long Devil," a dancer and entertainer.



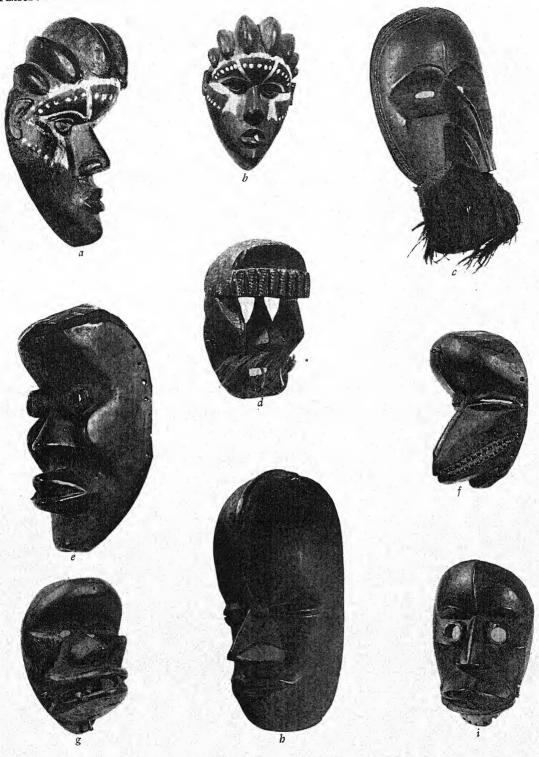
Entrance to Poro Bush. a, ancestral graves in front of Poro entrance in Belle country; b, c, Poro entrances in Jo Kwelle country; d, Kwelle Poro entrance near one of the settlements; e, a Mano entrance to a more recent "short session" Poro; f, graves before Poro entrance in Loma country.

f

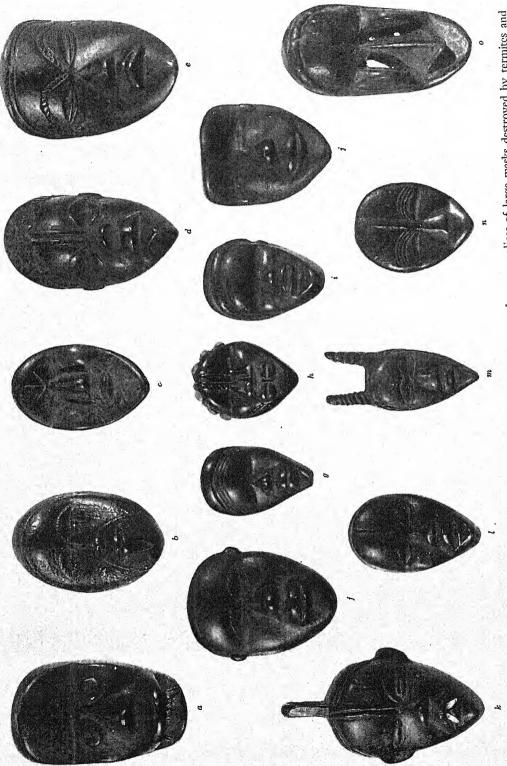


Masks of Poro Spirits or "Devils" called Ge or Glü. a, the lesser Hornbill; b, the greater Hornbill; c, reveals hiding boy by pointing at the house. The door flies open; d, the Great Spirit of the forest (Gio) Lu bo bie (52.8 cm.). The four eyes correspond to the Gorilla masks of the Camerouns. The elongated mouth corresponds to the crocodile masks of the Loma tribe; e, Zo Glü of the Gio tribe. He appears in town when too many people are sick, tells all the people to stop bewitching each other; f, Gbe Glü: the one with the hamper. Forced payment from any man accused of adultery with chief's head woman, then had his hamper filled as his "commission"; g, Glü do Glü. This great red-faced Devil presided over sasswood ordeals. He is supposed to have the face of a cow, but the teeth of a leopard; b, Zno winia. He was sent to collect cows long overdue, or break all the pots in the town. His fee was two dogs and a cloth.

Masks. a, Ka Glü—"the crab"; b, a Konor dance mask, showing Mandingo influence; c, a Mandingo mask; d, Z nã—Gio spirit of fertility. Prepared a basin of water in which women could dip their fingers, rub their bodies, praying for babies; e-g, known portrait masks; b, "Dancing Devil's" mask; i, a Mano devil who came to town on various public occasions.

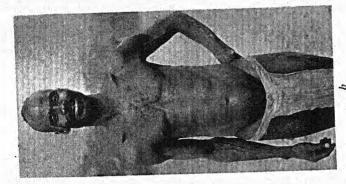


Masks. a, b, a Bassa mask of the $m\bar{a}$ gs type used in Mano country for swearing members to loyalty at the entrance of the Poro grove; c, Wein Gs—the Dudu bird; d, Wai, the monkey—an entertainer in the Poro; e, Fo Glü—protector of palm nuts. Can declare closed season on palm nuts; f, the dog—a forager for the Poro; g, Tie Bli Sai—a bad devil, licensed to attack and plunder travelers on roads near the Poro grove; h, function unknown—a mask made by a Loma artist (10½ inches); f, Gbla ze Ge. "Executioner" of boys who break the most sacred law of the Poro forbidding contact with women during the period of seclusion.

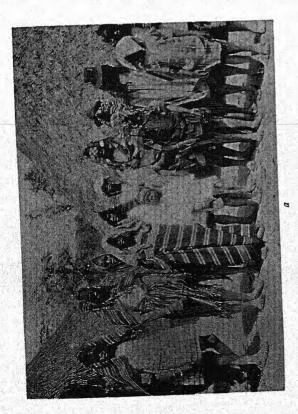


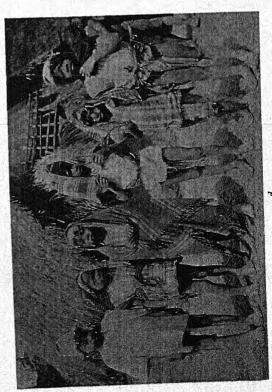
A Collection of Small $m\tilde{a}$ Masks, varying from 1% to 3 inches in height. a, m, and o, are replicas of large masks destroyed by termities and decay; b-d, f, and g, typical personal $m\tilde{a}^{\dagger}s$, probably portraits of the owners; g, h, i, and l, typical of those made for children selected by the diviner to become $z\tilde{o}^{\dagger}s$; k, worn under the arm, supported by the ring, at top; n, head from a very old handpiece carried by a Poro official.







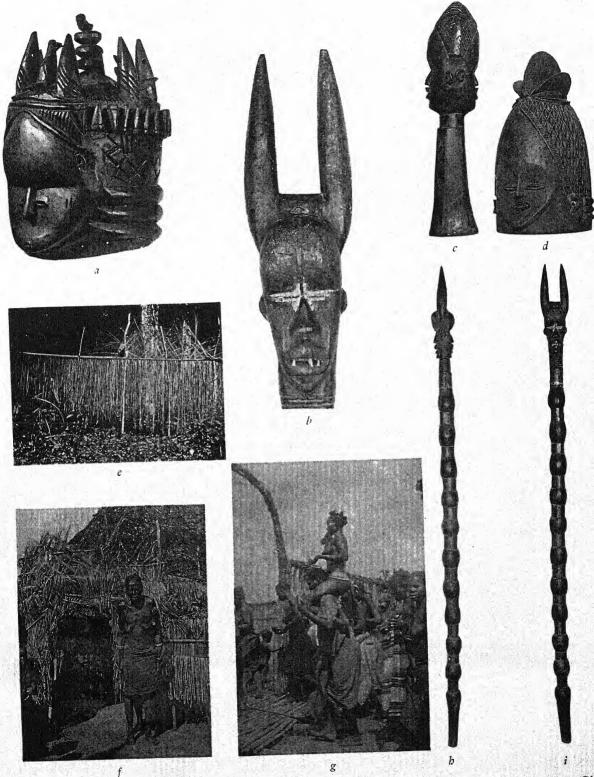




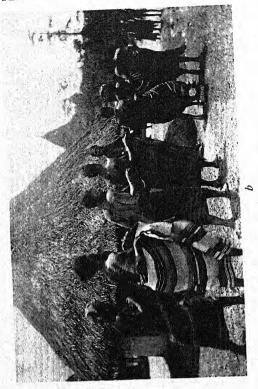
Bors COMING OUT OF THE PORO. a and d, Kpelle boys as they first appear in public as "new" individuals; b and c, Kpelle men showing the Poromarks on chest and abdomen; e, 3 larger boys doing their best to act like bewildered new-born "babies."

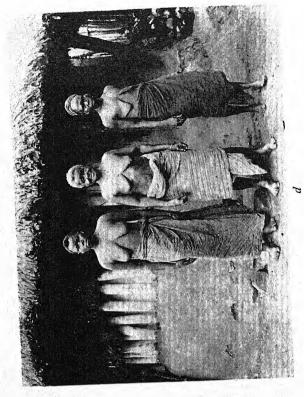


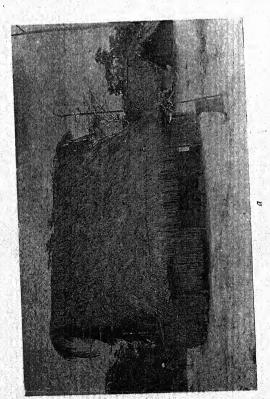
SACRED OBJECTS OF PORO. a, headpiece worn by a "country devil" in Gio; b, another type of headpiece; c, a red, white, and blue girdle; d, 3 iron hooks used to raise bits of skin for cutting the scarifications of the Poro; e, the razor used to cut these tiny flaps of skin almost, but never quite, off; f, a small sacred celt used as a whetstone for the ceremonial razor; g, case in which the hooks were kept; h, i, and j, leather-covered pottery whistles used to make the sweet music called "the voice of the Ge"; k, pottery resonator into which a horn was blown to make the deep note called the voice of the Ge's wife or "Devil's woman."

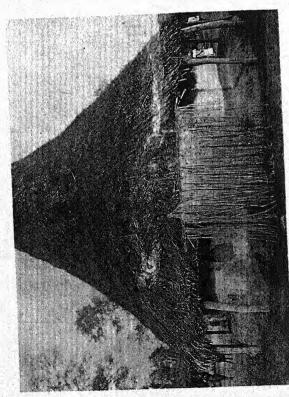


Sande. a, Vai mask of the Sande; b, b, and i, Mano Janus staff of office of the head woman of the Sande; c, Gio Janus piece; d, Gbunde Sande mask; e, raffia curtain at the entrance of a Sande "Bush"; f, Gio women's cult house, and guardian carrying an initiate who is not supposed to be seen by a man until she has "come out"; g, Gio girl being carried to the "Bush" for initiation.





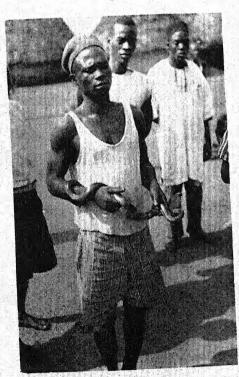


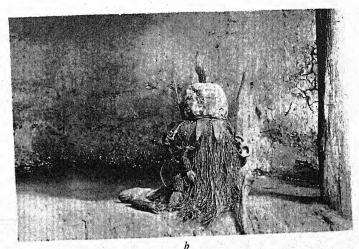


SANDE. 4, Gio house where the girls slept while being prepared for initiation; b, Gio women parading on the day the girls went into the "Bush"; c, another Gio women's cult house with raffia curtain – "keep out" sign; d, Gbunde Sande head woman and her 2 assistants standing in front of their mediother Gio women's cult house with raffia curtain – "keep out" sign; d, Gbunde Sande head woman and her 2 assistants standing in front of their medi-

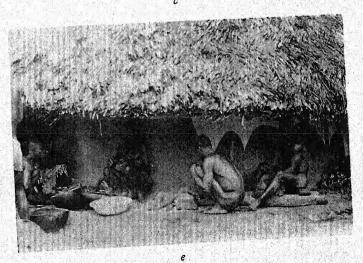
cine house.







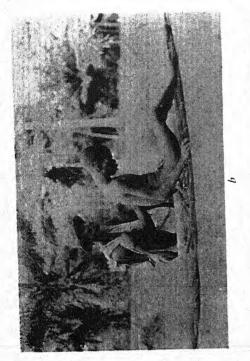


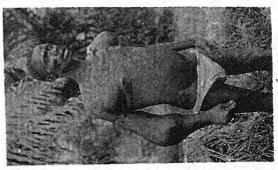


SACRED ORJECTS. a, steatite figure (2 feet high) from Beleyela; b, the same figure dressed and decorated with medicine, including 2 chimpanzee skulls; c, Snake Society men, some with tame snakes; d, one of these men holding a chimpanzee skulls; c, Snake Society men, some with tame snakes; d, one of these men holding a black cobra; e, naked men conducting a trial by ordeal of every individual in the town to discover a witch (Mano). Everyone ate from a common bowl. A sacred smithy fire was kept going and the yini ringing on the kpume during the entire ordeal. It was a rainy day.

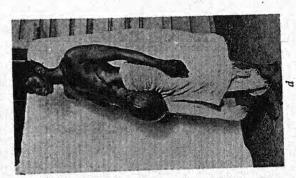


Sick People. a, secondary yaws in a child; b, "Alastrim" which is probably smallpox with secondary yaws as a concomitant eruption; c, tertiary yaws ulcerations with scarring and deformities. The ulcers are covered with clay; d, fumigating ulcus tropicum; e, a woman with an ulcerated ankle makes her laborious way along the ground; f, mixed yaws and fungus infection of the foot.









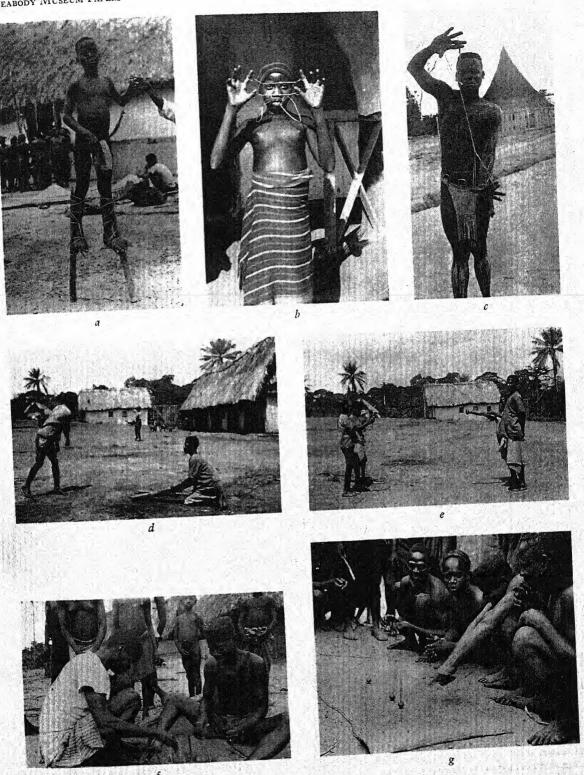




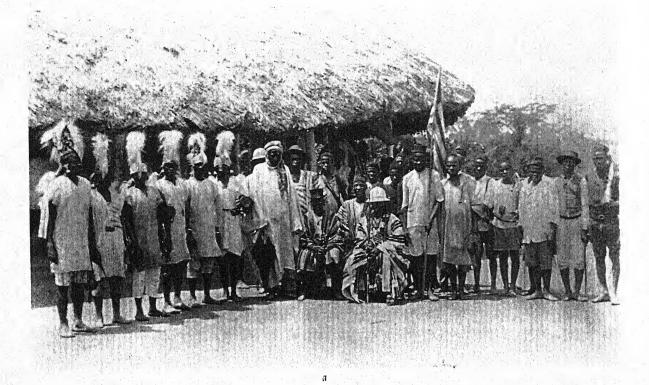
TUMORS, LEPROST, ALBINISM. 4, an Albino family, grandmother of normal dark color, 2 daughters — one shows almost complete albinism; ism, the other partial. The grandson shows partial albinism; b, a boy with African sleeping sickness asleep while waiting for treatment. His friend is propping him up for the photographer; c, a woman with leprosy abandoned to starve by her people; d, an umbilital hernia which was cured by operation at the Firestone Hospital; e, a typical case of elephantiasis of the scrotum; f, a rare case of multiple osteochondromata.



Prisoners. a, typical Government prison in the interior; b, two big chiefs imprisoned as members of the Human Leopard Society at Lanoquillih (1927); c, a young chief with his "foot in a stick"; d, a woman with her foot in a stick. She must carry the stick with her wherever she goes.



GAMES. a, stilt-walking was formerly forbidden in most tribes because it imitates the "Long Devil" (fig. 86, e); b and c, cats' cradles are known everywhere; d, darts. The kneeling boy tries to obstruct the darts; e, "battedore and shuttlecock" – probably introduced; f, "African checkers," played with sticks in holes; g, Gs men sometimes spin tops "for keeps."

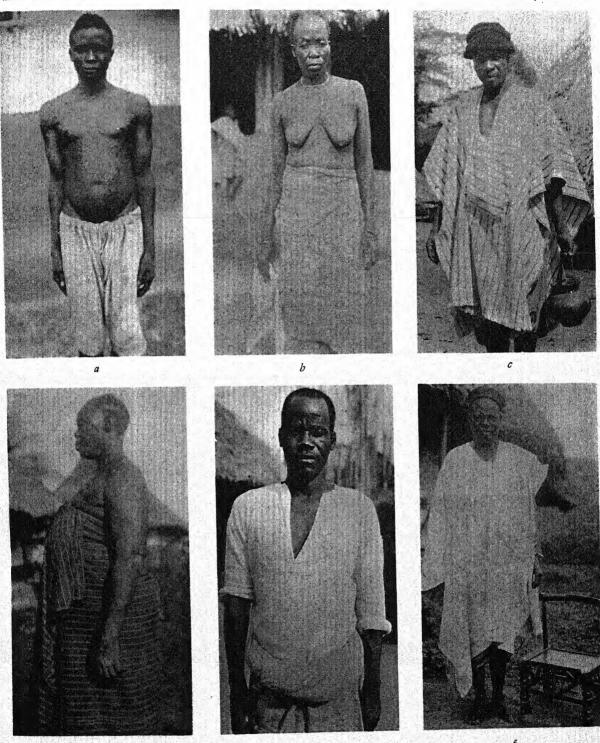




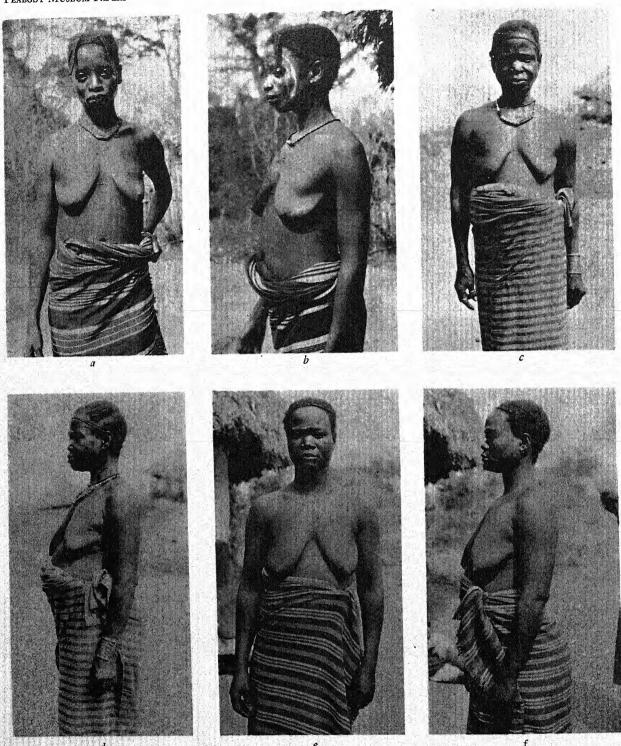




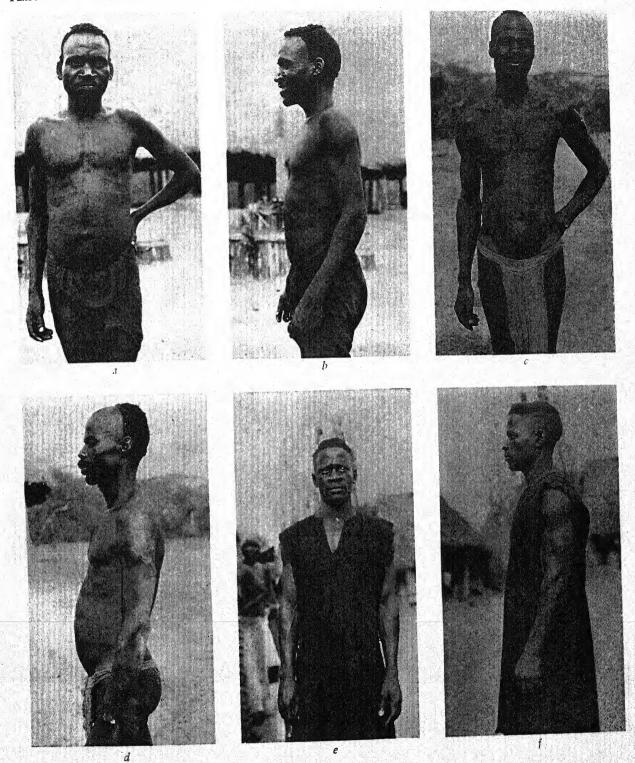
CHIEF Wuo, Old Women, Two Men. a, Paramount chief Wuo with his speaker, town chief, minstrels, and messengers. Ganta, 1926. A Mandingo trader stands at left center with an umbrella (to keep off the sun). The house in the background is a large Government "rest house" for use by officials and traders. At the right is a soldier of the Frontier Force; b, Sapā woman carrying new rice. The baby had to walk, his carrying chair is on top of the rice; c, a Half-Grebo woman carrying firewood; d, a Mano blacksmith with his Poro "father."



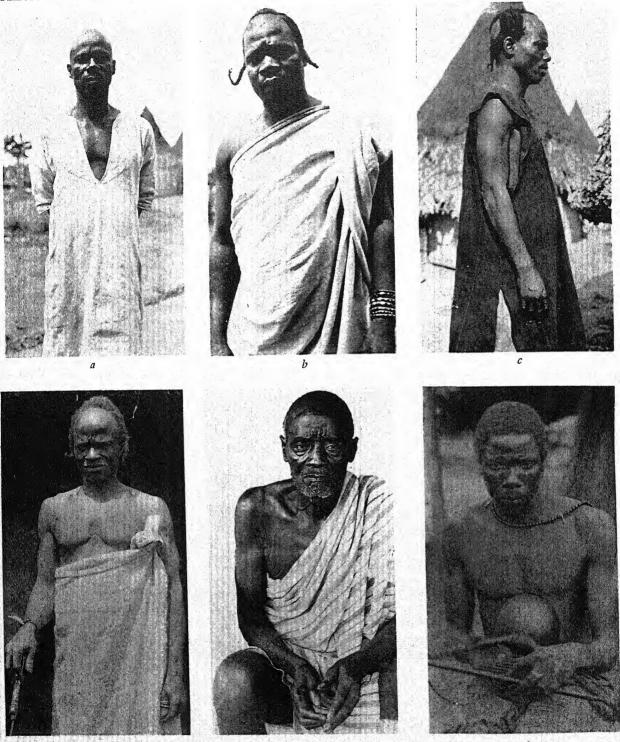
Loma Men. a, a Loma man, drawstring trousers of country cloth; b, a Loma woman, typical wrap-around cloth; c, a Loma chief wearing native gown with pocket, carrying clay jars; d, Loma woman showing adiposity (a rather rare physical type); e, a Kpelle Loma halfbreed, trade blanket used for a "cloth"; f, Chief Kolba, Kpelle.



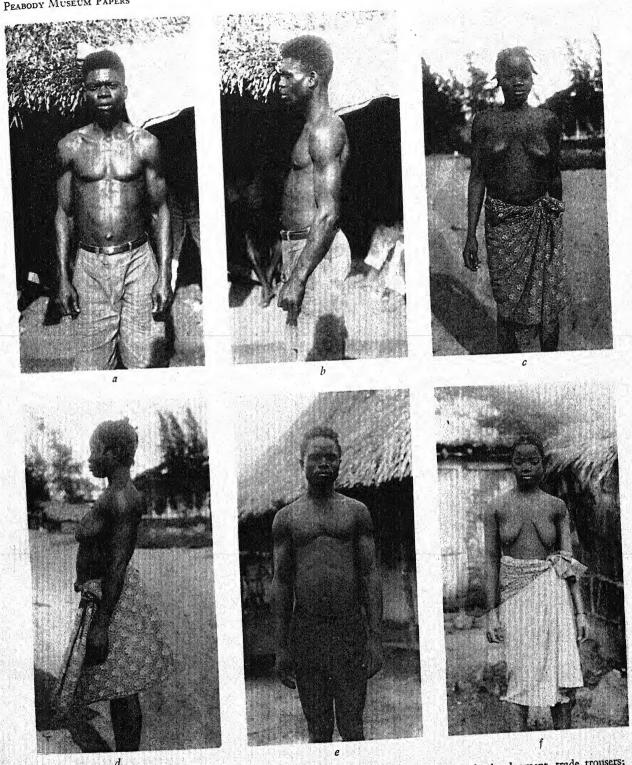
KPELLE WOMEN. a, b, full face and profile of woman, note decorative cicatrices, coiffure, wrap-around, c, d, woman, note beads, head band (medicine?), brass finger rings, and cuff bracelets; e, f, woman, note decorative scars, wrap-around, earrings.



KPELLE MEN. a, b, a Kpelle man, note lines of decorative scarring, wide nose-alae, trade cloth for loin cloth; c, d, man, note lines of scarring, front half of head shaved, native loin cloth; e, f, Mano-Kpelle halfbreed, note blue-dyed native shirt.



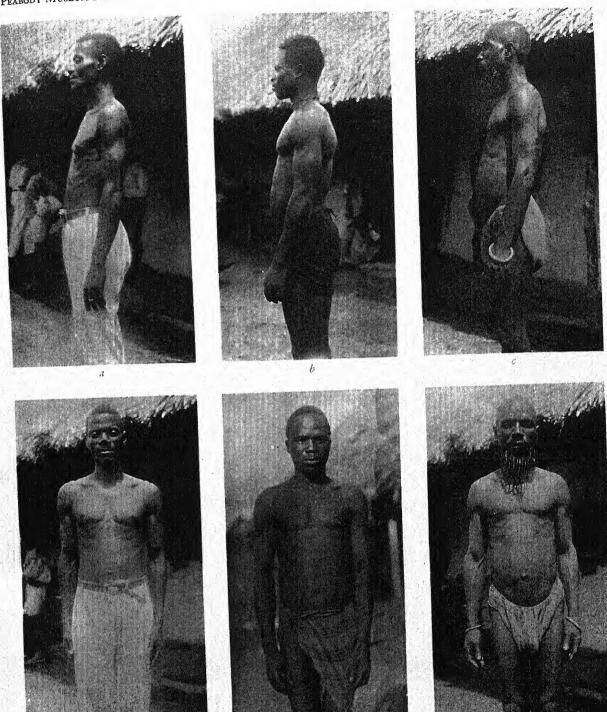
Mano Men. a, Nya Gbatu, a quarter chief (Gompa); b, head of zo quarters, (Gompa), note elephant-sole bracelets, shaved forehead, toga; e, Mano man, Sanokwele area, note blue native cloth shirt, unusual hairdo; d, Dao, blacksmith of Gbarsheho, note thumb rings, leopard tooth walking stick (Mano); e, Mano leech, Towolo; f, Mano-Kpelle man.



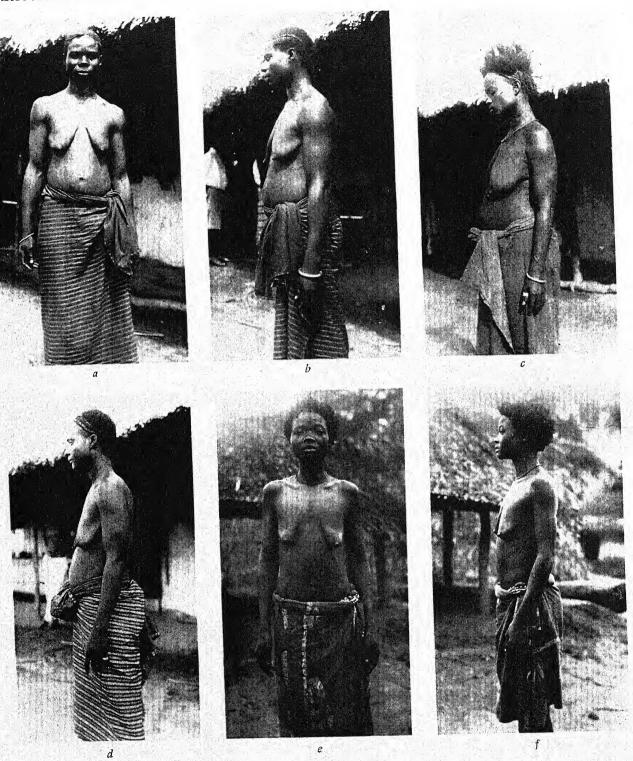
One Bassa Man, Two Women, and Bassa-Kpelle Man. a, b, Bassa man, note muscle development, trade trousers; c, d, Bassa woman, note hairdo, trade cloth; e, Bassa-Kpelle man; f, Bassa woman.



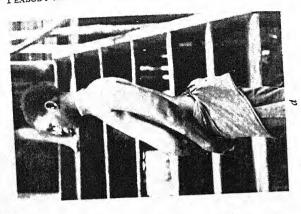
Gio-Krā Men and Women. a, Chief Towe; b, a Krā chief, note leopard teeth (one lion); c, young woman, note kerchief; d, Gio-Mano woman, note cap; e, Gio-Mano man; f, Ge man, note loin cloth, hairdo.

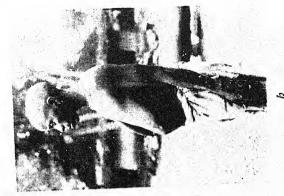


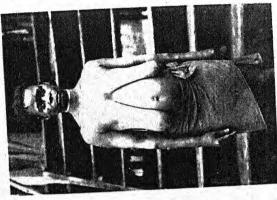
Tiế-Kru Men

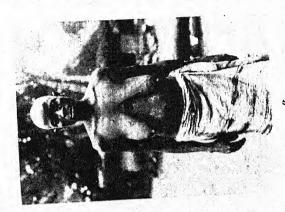


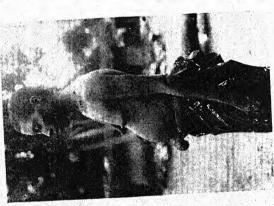
Tiē-Kru Women (a-d) and Sapā Woman (e, f)



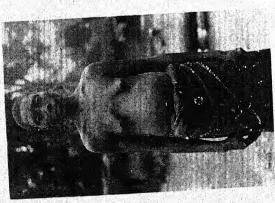






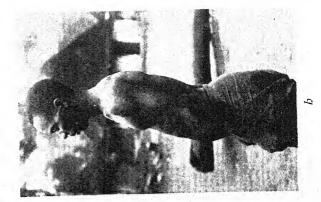


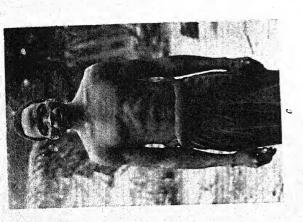


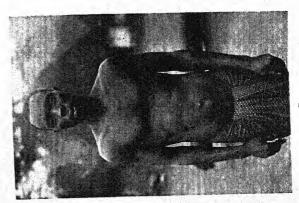




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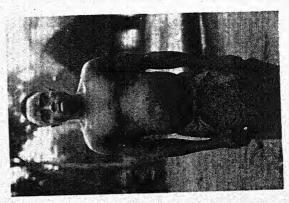












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